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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	PAGE
ARONOVICI, CAROL. Americanization - - - - -	695
BARNES, HARRY E. The Doctrines of William G. Sumner - - - - -	I
———. The Doctrines of Lester F. Ward - - - - -	150
BERNARD, L. L. The Objective Viewpoint in Sociology - - - - -	298
BUSHNELL, C. J. Scientific Method in Sociology - - - - -	41
CLOW, FREDERICK R. Cooley's Doctrine of Primary Groups - - - - -	326
———. Sociology in Normal Schools - - - - -	584
DASHIELL, J. F. Some Psychological Phases of Internationalism - - - - -	757
DEVINE, EDWARD T. Statement to the Steel Corporation - - - - -	769
EAVES, LUCILE. Plans for Co-operative Research - - - - -	568
GAULT, ROBERT H. Suggestion and Suggestibility - - - - -	185
GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN H. Pluralistic Behavior - - - - -	385, 539
HEIERMANN, FRANCIS. Sainthood - - - - -	24
HENKE, FREDERICK G. The Ethical Bases of Democracy - - - - -	202
ROSS, EDWARD A. Institutional Competition - - - - -	171
———. Individuation - - - - -	469
———. Ossification - - - - -	529
SELDEN, FRANK H. Industrial Intelligence and the Present World-Crises	195
SIEDENBURG, FREDERIC. The Recreational Value of Religion - - - - -	445
SMALL, ALBION W. Christianity and Industry - - - - -	673
———. Mr. George E. Roberts and Democracy - - - - -	59
———. Some Structural Material for the Idea "Democracy" - - - - -	257, 405
SMART, THOMAS J. The Shortage of Rural Teachers - - - - -	456
SNEDDEN, DAVID. Educational Sociology - - - - -	129
Students' Dissertations in Sociology - - - - -	63
TAYLOR, CARL C. The Social Survey and the Science of Sociology - - - - -	731
VOGT, PAUL L. Training for Rural Service - - - - -	562
YARROS, VICTOR S. What Shall We Do with the State? I - - - - -	572

REVIEWS

ANGELL, NORMAN. The British Revolution and the American Democracy.— <i>A. J. Todd</i> - - - - -	230
ARONOVICI, CAROL. Americanization.— <i>Emily P. Cape</i> - - - - -	486
AYRES, CLARENCE EDWIN. The Nature of the Relationship between Ethics and Economics.— <i>E. L. Talbert</i> - - - - -	103
BARNETT, HENRIETTA O. R. Canon Barnett, His Life and Friends.— <i>Mary McDowell</i> - - - - -	643
BELL, BERNARD IDINGS. Right and Wrong after the War - - - - -	243

	PAGE
BLOOMFIELD, MEYER. Management and Men.— <i>R. W. Stone</i> - - -	496
BOGARDUS, EMORY S. Essentials of Americanization.— <i>A. E. Jenks</i> -	651
BOGART, ERNEST L. Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great War.— <i>C. J. Bushnell</i> - - - - -	650
BOWMAN, HENRY NEWPHER. The Crimes of the Oedipodean Cycle -	243
BYE, RAYMOND T. Capital Punishment in the United States.— <i>Jerome Dowd</i> - - - - -	498
CABOT, RICHARD C. Social Work—Essays on the Meeting-Ground of Doctor and Social Worker.— <i>J. E. Ransom</i> - - - - -	493
CALHOUN, ARTHUR W. A Social History of the American Family.— <i>G. E. Howard</i> - - - - -	91
CLEVELAND, FREDERICK A. Democracy in Reconstruction.— <i>David Snedden</i> - - - - -	75
CLOPPER, E. N. Child Welfare in Kentucky.— <i>G. B. Mangold</i> - - -	786
CUBBERLEY, E. P. Public Education in the United States.— <i>Kimball Young</i> - - - - -	506
CURTIS, HENRY S. Recreation for Teachers.— <i>C. C. North</i> - - -	85
DAVENPORT, CHARLES BENEDICT. Naval Officers, Their Heredity and Development.— <i>L. L. Bernard</i> - - - - -	241
DAVIS, MICHAEL M., JR., AND WARNER, ANDREW C. Dispensaries, Their Management and Development.— <i>S. A. Queen</i> - - - - -	368
DOUGLAS, PAUL HARLAN. The Little Town.— <i>Paul L. Vogt</i> - - -	77
DUGGAN, STEPHEN P. The League of Nations.— <i>A. P. Scott</i> - - -	791
ELLWOOD, CHARLES A. Sociology and Modern Social Problems.— <i>A. W. S.</i> - - - - -	649
———. The Social Problem.— <i>Benjamin Stolberg</i> - - - - -	648
FLEXNER, ABRAHAM, AND BACHMAN, FRANK P. The Gary Schools.— <i>Lucile Eaves</i> - - - - -	238
FOERSTER, ROBERT T. The Italian Emigration of Our Times.— <i>A. E. Jenks</i> - - - - -	783
FOLLETT, M. P. The New State.— <i>C. A. Ellwood</i> - - - - -	97
FRADENBURG, A. G. American Community Civics.— <i>E. H. Shideler</i> -	790
GRANT, ROBERT. Law and the Family.— <i>G. E. Howard</i> - - - -	641
GRIGG, HARRY J., AND HAYNES, GEORGE E. Junk Dealing and Juvenile Delinquency.— <i>S. A. Queen</i> - - - - -	369
GROSSMANN, LOUIS. The Aims of Teaching in Jewish Schools.— <i>F. R. Clow</i> - - - - -	502
GULICK, LUTHER H. Morals and Morale.— <i>E. L. Talbert</i> - - - -	84
HACKETT, FRANCIS. Ireland, A Study in Nationalism.— <i>E. C. Hayes</i> -	99
HARRIS, GARRARD, The Redemption of the Disabled.— <i>J. F. Steiner.</i> -	233
HEATON, WALTER. Temperament and Sex.— <i>Benjamin Stolberg</i> - -	790
HERBERT, MRS. S. Sex-Lore - - - - -	243
HIBBARD, BENJAMIN H. Effects of the Great War upon Agriculture.— <i>Dwight Sanderson</i> - - - - -	789

CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
HOBSON, ELSIE GARLAND. Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York, 1777-1850.— <i>W. R. Smith</i> - - -	84
HOCKING, WILLIAM ERNEST. Human Nature and Its Remaking.— <i>C. A. Ellwood</i> - - - - -	95
HOWE, FREDERIC C. The Land and the Soldier.— <i>F. W. Hoffer</i> - -	242
———. The Only Possible Peace.— <i>V. E. Helleberg</i> - - - - -	488
HUTCHINSON, EMILIE J. Women's Wages.— <i>Mary Van Kleeck</i> - - -	497
INMAN, SAMUEL G. Intervention in Mexico.— <i>D. H. K.</i> - - - - -	503
IRVING, H. B. A Book of Remarkable Criminals.— <i>J. P. Lichtenberger</i> -	88
JACOBS, JOSEPH. Jewish Contributions to Civilization.— <i>E. B. Reuter</i> -	236
JELLIFFEE, SMITH ELY. The Technique of Psycho-analysis.— <i>E. R. Groves</i> - - - - -	100
JERUSALEM, WILLIAM. Problems of the Secondary Teacher.— <i>F. R. Clow</i> - - - - -	501
JOHNSON, F. ERNEST. The New Spirit in Industry.— <i>D. H. K.</i> - -	504
KALLEN, HORACE MEYER. The League of Nations.— <i>R. F. Clark</i> - -	366
KENNARD, BEULAH E. The Educational Director.— <i>M. E. Carroll</i> - -	102
KOREN, JOHN. The History of Statistics.— <i>F. Stuart Chapin</i> - - -	493
LASKI, HAROLD J. Authority in the Modern State.— <i>A. B. Hall</i> - -	360
LAY, WILFRED. The Child's Unconscious Mind.— <i>E. R. Groves</i> - -	367
LIEBKNECHT, KARL. The Future Belongs to the People - - - -	243
LOEB, JACQUES. Forced Movements, Tropisms, and Animal Conduct.— <i>L. L. Bernard</i> - - - - -	240
LORD, HERBERT GARDINER. The Psychology of Courage.— <i>E. L. Talbert</i>	83
MCCULLOCH, JAMES E. Democracy in Earnest.— <i>G. H. Smith</i> - - -	489
MACKINDER, H. P. Democratic Ideals and Reality.— <i>Ellen C. Semple</i> -	487
McMURTRIE, DOUGLAS C. The Disabled Soldier.— <i>C. E. Gehlke</i> - -	494
MARSHALL, HENRY RUTGERS. Mind and Conduct.— <i>C. A. Ellwood</i> -	647
MEANS, PHILIP AINSWORTH. Racial Factors in Democracy.— <i>F. Stuart Chapin</i> - - - - -	491
MERCIER, CHARLES. Crime and Criminals.— <i>S. A. Queen</i> - - - -	86
MERRILL, WILLIAM PIERSON. Christian Internationalism.— <i>S. W. Hopkins</i> - - - - -	504
MINER, JAMES BURT. Deficiency and Delinquency.— <i>Rudolph Pintner</i> -	228
MOORE, EDWARD CALDWELL. The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World.— <i>G. W. Fiske</i> - - - - -	786
National Child Labor Committee. Child Welfare in Alabama.— <i>G. B. Mangold</i> - - - - -	90
NICOLAI, G. F. The Biology of War.— <i>L. L. Bernard</i> - - - - -	96
NORTHCOTT, CLARENCE H. Australian Social Development.— <i>M. B. Hammond</i> - - - - -	362
PAPILLAUT, G. Science Française: Scolastique Allemande.— <i>L. L. Bernard</i> - - - - -	492
PERRY, RALPH BARTON. The Present Conflict of Ideals.— <i>E. L. Talbert</i> -	81

	PAGE
PHELPS, EDITH M. A League of Nations.— <i>R. F. Clark</i> - - - -	366
PILLSBURG, W. B. Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism.— <i>H. A. Miller</i> - - - - -	782
POPONOE, PAUL, AND JOHNSON, ROSWELL HILL. Applied Eugenics.— <i>J. L. Gillin</i> - - - - -	104
POWERS, H. H. The Great Peace.— <i>N. L. Sims</i> - - - - -	82
RAI, LAJPAT. The Political Future of India.— <i>Benjamin Stolberg</i> - -	651
REUTER, EDWARD BYRON. The Mulatto in the United States.— <i>Kelley Miller</i> - - - - -	218
RICHARDSON, ROY FRANKLIN. The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger. — <i>L. L. Bernard</i> - - - - -	492
ROSS, EDWARD A. What Is America?— <i>Anna G. Spencer</i> - - - -	485
RUSSELL, BERTRAND. Proposed Roads to Freedom.— <i>F. H. Knight</i> -	227
RUSSELL, CHARLES EDWARD. Bolshevism and the United States.— <i>V. E. Helleberg</i> - - - - -	487
RYAN, JOHN A. The Church and Socialism.— <i>V. E. Helleberg</i> - - -	794
SARTORIO, ENRICO C. Social and Religious Life of Italians in America	243
SCOTT, J. W. Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism.— <i>C. E. Ayres</i> -	81
SHARP, FRANK CHAPMAN. Education for Character.— <i>F. R. Clow</i> - -	503
SLINGERLAND, W. H. Child Placing in Families.— <i>G. B. Mangold</i> -	101
SMITH, REGINALD HEBER. Justice and the Poor.— <i>A. B. Hall</i> - - -	788
SMITH-GORDON, LIONEL. Rural Reconstruction in Ireland.— <i>Dwight Sanderson</i> - - - - -	79
SOREL, GEORGES. Matériaux d'une Théorie du Prolétariat.— <i>C. A. Ellwood</i> - - - - -	785
SWIFT, EDGAR JAMES. Psychology and the Day's Work.— <i>E. S. Bogardus</i>	83
TEAD, ORDWAY. The People's Part in Peace.— <i>R. De McKenzie</i> - -	365
TERMAN, LEWIS M. The Intelligence of School Children.— <i>Rudolph Pintner</i> - - - - -	499
TUFTS, JAMES H. The Ethics of Co-operation.— <i>J. M. Mecklin</i> - -	235
WÁRD, HARRY F. The New Social Order.— <i>C. J. Bushnell</i> - - -	645
WARNER, ANDREW R., AND DAVIS, MICHAEL M., JR. - - - - -	368
WHITE, BOUCK. The Free City.— <i>Benjamin Stolberg</i> - - - - -	792
WHITMAN, CHARLES OTIS. Orthogenic Evolution in Pigeons.— <i>L. L. Bernard</i> - - - - -	490
WILSON, LUCIUS E. Community Leadership.— <i>C. C. North</i> - - -	793
WINES, FREDERICK H. Punishment and Reformation.— <i>H. P. Fairchild</i>	498
WOOD, EDITH ELMER. The Housing of the Unskilled Wage-Earner.— <i>Carol Aronovici</i> - - - - -	507
WOODRUFF, CLINTON ROGERS. A New Municipal Program.— <i>S. A. Queen</i>	506
WOODS, ARTHUR. Policeman and Public.— <i>J. L. Gillin</i> - - - -	794
WRIGHT, FLORENCE SWIFT. Industrial Nursing.— <i>C. A. E.</i> - - - -	652
ZNANIECKI, FLORIAN. Cultural Reality.— <i>J. E. Boodin</i> - - - -	224

ix

NEWS AND NOTES

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NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

[illegible]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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NUMBER I

TWO REPRESENTATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY TO POLITICAL THEORY: THE DOCTRINES OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER AND LESTER FRANK WARD

HARRY ELMER BARNES
Clark University

INTRODUCTION: THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW OF THE STATE

In this period of rapid social change; cataclysmic transformations of governments, and multiplicity of proposals for new and improved forms of political organization, it is particularly desirable that one should be able to secure orientation by getting back of superficial externals to the fundamental basis of the origin, nature, functions, and justification of political institutions. The complete futility of a purely metaphysical or legalistic interpretation of political institutions is generally agreed upon by all progressive students. Realizing that man in political life, as in other phases of human activity, is guided primarily by his mental mechanism, emotional and rational, enterprising writers and students have made promising beginnings in a psychological reconstruction of political theory. Others, holding that man's material interests have greatly influenced his emotional and intellectual reactions and activities, have endeavored with no little success to show the relation of economic life to the nature and functioning

of the state. Then there is a school of writers, calling themselves, since the time of Comte, *sociologists*, who believe that the most significant fact about the life and conduct of man is that he does not act in isolation but in association with his fellows, in other words that in every phase of human activity the group life of man is the most fundamental element to be considered. They start from the assumption that a collective rather than a purely individualistic struggle for existence has from the beginning of human history been indispensable for the survival and progress of society, and they further assume the necessity and existence of the state as a most powerful and vital organ in this process of social development. From this point of view the state appears not as some metaphysical "ethical being" or as a purely legalistic entity emitting "commands of a determinate superior," but as a purely natural product of social evolution, more or less distinctly correlated in its development with the stages of group progress with which its growth is associated. Viewed in this sense it must be agreed that political institutions cannot be properly understood or profitably studied except in their relation to their broader foundations in the social or group life of mankind, and the only sound criterion for estimating the value and relative excellence of the state is its adaptability to the function of promoting the progress and basic interests of the group at any given time.

While this type of approach to political problems must be regarded as dating back to Aristotle and was revived in modern times by Hume, Ferguson, Calhoun, Comte, Spencer, and Schaeffle it has been only recently and reluctantly recognized as a legitimate method of investigation and a valid line of approach to political problems. Nevertheless, it has already made some most signal contributions to our understanding of the nature of political activities and institutions. To mention but a few of the more notable examples, this type of analysis has been evident in the studies of the historical evolution of the state by Spencer, Giddings, Hobhouse, and Oppenheimer; in the elaboration of the conception of political activity as a process of adjustment between different interest-groups by Gumpłowicz, Ratzenhofer, Small, Bentley, and others; in Professor Michels' sociological study of

leadership in political parties; in the discussion of the relation of group psychology to political life by Tarde, Durkheim, LeBon, Sighele, Trotter, Wallas, Ross, Cooley, Ellwood, Giddings, and Sumner; and in Ward's monumental exposition of the relation of the state to social progress.

Believing that the sociological interpretation of the state is worthy of a more sympathetic reception and a more extensive study than it has hitherto received, the writer has aimed to contribute, however slightly, to this desirable end by presenting an analysis of the socio-political theories of two of the most distinguished of American sociologists. In order to avoid the charge of advocating any specific interpretation of political theory these writers have consciously been chosen as representing widely different points of view. The late Professor Sumner stands out as the great American exponent of the *laissez faire* doctrine so inseparably associated with the name of Herbert Spencer. Professor Ward represents, on the other hand, the most advanced views yet taken by an avowed sociologist in the advocacy of a comprehensive program of social reform through the medium of legislation. If one should be inclined to regard this divergence of opinion as an evidence of an innate weakness of sociology, it is but necessary to call attention to the diversity of the respectable types of economic theory, to the different lines of approach to the analysis of government, and to the some eight or ten different interpretations of historical material, to say nothing of the historians who deny the validity of any type of historical interpretation.¹

PART I: WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER (1840-1910)

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Among the sociologists of America there is little doubt that the late Professor William Graham Sumner, of Yale, was the most vigorous and striking personality. Probably the most inspiring

¹ The lack of total unanimity among the adherents to the other social sciences is a significant fact which seems to have escaped Professor Deslandres when he was preparing his vigorous indictment of sociologists for their divergent doctrines. See his *La Crise de la science politique et le problème de la méthode*, pp. 49-87, especially p. 74.

and popular teacher that Yale University or American social science has produced, Sumner's direct contact with thousands of students was, without doubt, more important for the development of sociology in the United States than his own published works upon the subject, or the published works of many another American sociologist. Consequently, in even a brief introduction to his contributions to sociology, an attempt to interpret his personality and methods, as revealed in his writings and in written and oral estimates from former students at Yale, is more essential than it would be in the case of any other American sociologist.

In spite of the fact that Sumner frequently emphasizes the necessity for an objective point of view in social science and decries any attempt upon the part of a sociologist to moralize,¹ it is impossible for a reader to emerge from a protracted examination of Sumner's economic, political, and sociological writings without becoming convinced that Sumner was primarily a preacher in the true sense of that term. Trained originally for the ministry and serving for a short time as an ordained curate of the Episcopal Church, Sumner tells his readers² that he left the ministry because he wanted to be able to turn his attention to political, economic, and social questions rather than to the preparation of sermons on theological subjects. It is hard to escape the conviction that he employed his professorial career in these more fertile fields in developing an intellectual ministry which has been unexcelled for its success, influence, and inspiration by that of any other American teacher. Sumner was as subtle in his preaching as Jefferson was in his political epistolography, for he continually disclaimed any attempt to do more than set forth concrete facts in a candid manner. Yet his *Social Classes* is, above all, an exhortation to independent thought and action, self-reliance, and individual initiative, and the element of the preacher is not entirely absent even in *Folkways*.³ If one adds to this initial zeal the influence of a commanding personality, a wide

¹ Cf. his *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York, 1883), p. 155.

² Cf. "A Sketch of William Graham Sumner," in *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, June, 1889, pp. 261-68, reprinted in the *Challenge of Facts and Other Essays*. Yale University Press, 1914.

³ Cf. chaps. i-ii, xv, xix-xx.

learning, a splendid, if not entirely accurate or consistent, dogmatism, and a mastery of incisive English which makes his essays models of terse nineteenth-century critical prose, it is not difficult to understand Sumner's reputation as a teacher or his dominating influence at Yale.

Sumner's writings are intensely dogmatic and he was an uncompromising foe of all the unscientific sentimentality which has permeated so many of the pseudosociological writings and movements of the last quarter of a century. His basic message to his students and readers in this respect has been concisely epitomized by one of his students as "Don't be a damn fool!"¹ Sumner's dogmatism, however, was not entirely logical or consistent. For example, he stated² that he did not believe in either metaphysics or psychology and that he had always tried to prevent sociology from being infected by them. Nevertheless, he continually indulged in a rather crude type of metaphysics of his own, and his *Folkways* is unquestionably the most important objective treatment of a very essential portion of social psychology which has ever been written.

As Professor Small remarks,³ Sumner's position in the development of sociology in the United States has not been definitely determined. While it may be true that, as Professor Keller asserts,⁴ Sumner was always primarily a sociologist in method and point of view, there can be no doubt that he built up his academic and literary reputation in the fields of economics and political science as an exceedingly vigorous advocate of "hard money," free trade, and laissez faire. Again, while Sumner may claim a priority of practically a decade over any other American teacher in introducing a serious course in sociology into the university curriculum,⁵ he never published a systematic exposition of sociology, and his great monograph, *Folkways*, did not appear until

¹ *War and Other Essays*, ed. by A. G. Keller, Introduction, p. xxiii.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, XV, 209.

³ *Ibid.*, XXI, 732.

⁴ Introduction to *War and Other Essays*, pp. xv, xvii.

⁵ Cf. Small, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXI, 729-48; C. H. Walker, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XX, 829-30; Giddings and Tenney in article "Sociology" in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*.

three years before his death. These facts doubtless account for the fact that few persons who have not been Yale students, or who have not been intimately acquainted with Sumner's academic work, are aware that Sumner may be accurately classed as a sociologist, and one need not be surprised that Professor Small was "shocked" in 1907 by the proposal of Sumner as president of the *American Sociological Society*.¹ Further, it is doubtful if Sumner's views upon, and contributions to, sociology can ever be accurately determined unless Professor Keller completes from notes and publishes Sumner's unfinished systematic treatment of sociology. At present Sumner's published works on sociology, aside from several brief essays, are almost entirely limited to his *Folkways*. Of this work it is not inaccurate to say that it is unsurpassed as a sociological monograph in any language and that it has made the sociological treatment of "usages, manners, customs, mores, and morals" practically a completed task.

As far as one can judge from his essays and lectures upon sociology, from his autobiographical sketches, and from Professor Keller's comments,² Sumner's sociological views were colored by his economic and political predispositions and were inspired by the general thought and methods of procedure of Darwin, Spencer, and Lippert. An evolutionary view of social life and development, a slight predilection for the use of biological concepts, and a firm conviction of the preeminent value of ethnography as the "data" and to a large extent the substance of sociology are the dominant features of Sumner's sociological thought. He seems to have been little influenced by, or acquainted with, the recent systematic sociological literature of America or Europe, and Professor Keller states³ that he had little respect for such works. On the whole it was probably fortunate that Sumner specialized in the descriptive and ethnographic, rather than the theoretical, phase of sociology, as his power of that sustained and logical

¹ Cf. Small, *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXI, 732-33.

² Cf. "Sociology" in *War and Other Essays*, pp. 167-93; "Introductory Lecture to Courses in Political and Social Science" in *The Challenge of Facts and Other Essays*, pp. 391-403; "Sociology as a College Subject," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XII, 597-99; *ibid.*, XV, 209; and Professor Keller's Introduction to *War and Other Essays*.

³ *War and Other Essays*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

abstract thinking, such as has characterized Professor Giddings' work, was very modest.

It seems that, tentatively at least, Sumner's position in American sociology may be summarized as follows: He was the first teacher of sociology in the country from the standpoint both of time and ability; his *Folkways* is one of the richest treatments of a special branch of sociology that has yet appeared; his sociological writings were primarily concrete and descriptive rather than abstract and theoretical; his views regarding social initiative or "collective telesis," to adopt Ward's terminology, were exceedingly biased and archaic, being almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of the *laissez faire* individualistic position. If Sumner's uncompleted exposition of his sociological system is ever published from the manuscript and the classroom notes of his former students, one will doubtless be able to form a more just and accurate conception of his contributions to sociology.

No extended analysis of Sumner's *Folkways* can be attempted within the scope of the present article, but it is essential that his fundamental conceptions be pointed out. As the subtitle of his work indicates, it is "a study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores, and morals." The work is essentially an attempt to explain the origin, nature, value, and persistence of certain of the most important and characteristic group habits. Briefly, Sumner's theory of the folkways is that, guided in a general way by the instincts which he inherited from his animal ancestors and by the psychophysical capacity to distinguish pain from pleasure, man has built up gradually by a process of trial and error certain types of group conduct which have been found by experience to be conducive to a successful issue of the struggle for existence. These group habits or folkways function primarily on a subconscious level and acquire greater power as time passes, through the force of tradition, habit, and religious sanction. When the folkways reach the stage where they are raised to the level of conscious reflection and are regarded as adapted to securing the continued welfare and prosperity of the group, they become thereby transformed into *mores*.¹ The mores,

¹ *Folkways*, pp. 2-4, 28-29, 30, 33-34, 59, 521-22.

as supported by group authority, are the chief agency through which societal selection operates.¹ The mores determine what shall be regarded as right and wrong modes of conduct in any group, morality thus being not absolute and universal, but relative and local.² The question of the evolution of the mores or the ability of society consciously to change them is not discussed by Sumner at any length, though he makes it plain that he did not believe that members of any group were competent to discuss and criticize the validity of their own mores, much less to change them by predetermined action.³ The following selected and rearranged quotations from the *Folkways* epitomize Sumner's theoretical position:

Men in groups are under life conditions; they have needs which are similar under the state of the life conditions; the relations of the needs to the conditions are interests under the heads of hunger, love, vanity, and fear; efforts of numbers at the same time to satisfy interests produce mass phenomena which are folkways by virtue of uniformity, repetition, and wide concurrence. The folkways are attended by pleasure or pain according as they are well fitted for the purpose. Pain forces reflection and observation of some relation between acts and welfare. At this point the prevailing world philosophy suggests explanations and inferences, which become entangled with judgments of expediency. However, the folkways take on a philosophy of right living and life policy for welfare. When the elements of truth and right are developed into doctrines of welfare, the folkways are raised to another plane. They then become capable of producing inferences, developing into new forms, and extending their constructive influence over men and society. Then we call them the mores. The mores are the folkways, including the philosophical and ethical generalizations as to societal welfare which are suggested by them, and inherent in them, as they grow. They are the ways of doing things which are current in a society to satisfy human needs and desires, together with the faiths, notions, codes, and standards of well living which inhere in those ways, having a genetic connection with them. By virtue of the latter element the mores are traits in the specific character of a society or a period. They pervade and control the ways of thinking in all the exigencies of life, returning from the world of abstractions to the world of action, to give guidance and to win revivification. At every turn we find

¹ *Folkways*, pp. 173-74.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 521-22.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98. Sumner's disciple and successor at Yale, Professor A. G. Keller, has extended his master's discussion of the mores with respect to evolution and conscious alteration in *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1915).

new evidence that the mores can make anything right. What they do is that they cover a usage in dress, language, behavior, manners, etc., with the mantle of current custom, and give it regulation and limits within which it becomes unquestionable. The limit is generally a limit of toleration. The mores set the limits or define the disapproval. The most important fact about the mores is their dominion over the individual. Arising he knows not whence or how, they meet his opening mind in earliest childhood, give him his outfit of ideas, faiths, and tastes, and lead him into prescribed mental processes. They bring to him codes of action, standards, and rules of ethics. They have a model of the man-as-he-should-be to which they mould him, in spite of himself and without his knowledge. If he submits and consents, he is taken up and may attain great social success. If he resists and dissents, he is thrown out and may be trodden under foot. The mores are therefore an engine of social selection. Their coercion of the individual is the mode in which they operate the selection. It is vain to imagine that a "scientific man" can divest himself of prejudice or previous opinion, and put himself in an attitude of neutral independence towards the mores. He might as well try to get out of gravity or the pressure of the atmosphere. The most learned scholar reveals all the philistinism and prejudice of the man-on-the-curbstone when the mores are in discussion. The most elaborate discussion only consists in revolving on one's own axis. When the statesmen and social philosophers stand ready to undertake any manipulation of institutions and mores, and proceed upon the assumption that they can obtain data upon which to proceed with confidence in that undertaking, as an architect or engineer would obtain data and apply his devices to a task in his art, a fallacy is included which is radical and mischievous beyond measure.¹

In addition to his notion of the mores, the other fundamental conception in Sumner's sociological theory was the assumption that social as well as organic evolution is almost entirely an automatic spontaneous process which cannot be extensively altered by social effort. In the light of Sumner's admitted obligation to Spencer it seems reasonable to suppose that this view of social development was either directly derived from the latter, or was strengthened by Spencer's vigorous exposition of this doctrine, particularly in his *Study of Sociology*. The following passage is the best summary of Sumner's views on the subject of the automatic evolution of society and the futility of social initiative:

If this poor old world is as bad as they say, one more reflection may check the zeal of the headlong reformer. It is at any rate a tough old world. It

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 33-34, 59, 97-98, 173-74, 521-22.

has taken its trend and curvature and all its twists and tangles from a long course of formation. All its wry and crooked gnarls and knobs are therefore stiff and stubborn. If we puny men by our arts can do anything at all to straighten them, it will be only by modifying the tendencies of some of the forces at work, so that, after a sufficient time, their action may be changed a little and slowly the lines of movement may be modified. This effort, however, can at most be only slight, and it will take a long time. In the meantime spontaneous forces will be at work, compared with which our efforts are like those of a man trying to deflect a river, and these forces will have changed the whole problem before our interferences have time to make themselves felt. The great stream of time and earthly things will sweep on just the same in spite of us. It bears with it now all the errors and follies of the past, the wreckage of all the philosophies, the fragments of all the civilizations, the wisdom of all the abandoned ethical systems, the débris of all the institutions, and the penalties of all the mistakes. It is only in imagination that we stand by and look at and criticize it and plan to change it. Everyone of us is a child of his age and cannot get out of it. He is in the stream and is swept along with it. All his sciences and philosophy come to him out of it. Therefore the tide will not be changed by us. It will swallow up both us and our experiments. It will absorb the efforts at change and take them into itself as new but trivial components, and the great movement of tradition and work will go on unchanged by our fads and schemes. The things which will change it are the great discoveries and inventions, the new reactions inside social organism, and the changes in the earth itself on account of changes in the cosmical forces. These causes will make of it just what, in fidelity to them, it ought to be. The men will be carried along with it and be made by it. The utmost they can do by their cleverness will be to note and record their course as they are carried along, which is what we do now, and is that which leads us to the vain fancy that we can make or guide the movement. That is why it is the greatest folly of which a man can be capable, to sit down with a slate and pencil to plan out a new social world.¹

It would be interesting to know to what extent Sumner's rather violent support of *laissez faire* was derived from his reading of Spencer, and how far it was the outcome of his practical experience in American municipal politics early in his career. At any rate Sumner's dogmatic opposition to the doctrine that social

¹ "The Absurd Attempt to Make the World Over," written in 1894 and reprinted in *War and Other Essays*, pp. 195-210. This statement, written a decade after the appearance of the *Social Classes*, and the opinion expressed more than ten years later in *Folkways*, which was quoted above, constitute a definite answer to Professor Small's query (*Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXI, 733) as to whether Sumner ever changed his views regarding the efficacy of social effort and initiative.

reform can be effected through the agency of political machinery may be pardoned, as it would be a rare individual who could emerge with any other viewpoint from the simultaneous influence of Spencer's *Study of Sociology* and three years' experience in American city politics.¹

2. SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL THEORY

A. THE NATURE OF THE STATE

Though a professor of political science, Sumner never published any systematic treatment of political theory.² His reputation as a contributor to political theory rests upon a clear and vigorous elaboration of certain specific topics; chiefly the differentiation between democratic and republican government, a defense of *laissez faire*, and a condemnation of imperialism.

¹ Sumner was an alderman in New Haven from 1873-76. Sumner's works which will form the basis of the analysis of his political theory are his *What the Social Classes Owe to Each Other* and his collected essays. The latter, in so far as they have been published, are contained in the following five volumes:

1. *Collected Essays in Political and Social Science* (New York, 1885). This contains the following essays which deal with political theory; "The Theory and Practice of Elections," pp. 98-139; "Presidential Elections and Civil Service Reform," pp. 140-59.

2. *War and Other Essays* (Yale University Press, 1913). The pertinent selections in this are: "Sociology," pp. 167-92; "The Absurd Attempt to Make the World Over," pp. 195-210; "State Interference," pp. 213-26; "The Fallacy of Territorial Expansion," pp. 285-93; "The Predominant Issue," pp. 337-52.

3. *Earth Hunger and Other Essays* (Yale University Press, 1913). Particularly valuable are the following: "Rights," pp. 79-83; "Equality," pp. 87-89; "Liberty," pp. 109-203; "Fancies and Facts," pp. 207-79; "Democracy," pp. 283-333.

4. *The Challenge of Facts and Other Essays* (Yale University Press, 1914). Especially to be noted are: "Legislation by Clamor," pp. 185-90; "The Shifting of Responsibility," pp. 193-98; "The State as an Ethical Person," pp. 201-4; "The New Social Issue," pp. 207-12; "Speculative Legislation," pp. 215-19; "Republican Government," pp. 223-40; "Democracy and Responsible Government," pp. 243-86; "Advancing Political and Social Organization in the United States," pp. 289-344; "Introductory Lecture to Courses in Political and Social Science," pp. 391-403.

5. *The Forgotten Man and Other Essays* (Yale University Press, 1918), containing also a bibliography of Sumner's works and an index to the last four volumes of essays. A complete list of all of Sumner's published books and articles is also to be found in *War and Other Essays*, pp. 377-81.

² The nearest approach to a comprehensive statement of his political theory is to be found in *Collected Essays in Political and Social Science*, pp. 98 ff.

Sumner's conception of the state was extremely practical and matter-of-fact. He had little patience with the transcendental theories of writers like Hegel who regarded the state as "perfected rationality" or an "ethical person." He says, in summarizing his analysis of the validity of the expression that the state is an ethical person: "It appears, therefore, that the assertion that we ought to conceive of the state as an ethical person does not rest upon any such solid analysis of the facts of life and the nature of the state as would make it a useful and fruitful proposition for further study of social phenomena, but that it is a product of the phrase-mill. It is one of those mischievous dicta which seem to say something profound; but, upon examination, prove to say nothing which will bear analysis."¹ As an abstraction, Sumner held that the state is nothing more than "All-of-us." In actual practice "it is only a little group of men chosen in a very haphazard way by the majority of us to perform certain services for all of us."²

B. FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Sumner was also opposed to any dogmatic statement that any type of government was absolutely the "best" under all circumstances, but, like Montesquieu, made a strong plea for the recognition of the principle of relativity in the excellence of political institutions. The "best" government for any particular people is simply that type which is best adapted to the general social, economic, and intellectual conditions which prevail. "We must abandon all hope of finding an absolutely 'best' system of government. . . If we study human nature and human history, we find that civil institutions are only 'better' and 'best' relatively to the people for whom they exist, and that they can be so called only as they are more closely adjusted to the circumstances of the nation in question."³

Though Sumner denied that there could be any absolutely or universally "best" government, there was no doubt, however, in

¹ *The Challenge of Facts*, p. 203.

² *Social Classes*, p. 9. It is obvious that Sumner's view of the state as a practical institution is identical with the conception of government as held by the best political scientists.

³ *The Challenge of Facts*, p. 244.

his mind as to what type of government was best adapted to the United States of the present day. He was an uncompromising advocate of a conservative constitutional republic, based upon a sound system of representation. Such a government he defined after Hamilton as a "form of self-government in which the authority of the state is conferred for limited terms upon officers designated by election."¹ Sumner's political tenets were founded upon a curious, if interesting, combination of a Hamiltonian admiration of an aristocracy of talent with the ardent Jeffersonian defense of individualism, *laissez faire*, and free trade, and the conservative Republican advocacy of "hard money."

Sumner laid great stress upon the necessity of a clear differentiation between a "pure" democracy and a representative republic. Democracy is based upon the principle of equality and involves the direct participation of the people in every act of the government. The aim of a republic, on the other hand, is not equality but the securing and guaranteeing of civil liberty.² Sumner held that democracy is an error in principle in so far as it rests upon the assumption of the inherent equality of mankind. He said on this point that "the assertion that all men are equal is perhaps the purest falsehood in dogma which was ever put into human language; five minutes' observation of facts will show that men are unequal through a very wide range of variation."³ From this error of democracy in principle, and as a result of its non-adaptability to the government of a large area, Sumner held that the attempt to preserve the ideals and practices of "pure" democracy in the federal and state governments of the United States was a dangerous anachronism and a menace to civil liberty and effective administration.⁴ With admirable clarity Sumner points out the fact that a "pure" democracy is only fitted for the administration of small local units such as rural townships. The United States has completely outgrown the possibility of employing this type of a democratic system in the federal or state governments,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Earth Hunger*, p. 88. Were Sumner now alive, his views on Bolshevism would not be likely to lack the characteristic Sumnerian vigor.

⁴ *The Challenge of Facts*, pp. 226-27; cf. *Folkways*, pp. 167, 194, 637.

but in adopting the necessary system of representation it has carried over the extremely dangerous dogma of the older rural democratic local government that all men are equally fit to hold office and that office-holding is the legitimate privilege of every person.¹ This general disregard of the necessity for expert guidance and for special talent in the holding of public office is a chief defect of our political system. Its other main imperfection is its impotence in the face of plutocratic and partisan interests.² If our political system is to be successful in the future it must witness a revival of a proper estimation of the value of real statesmanship, an extension of the principle of representation, and an improvement of the civil service in opposition to the antiquated dogmas and practices of pure democracy.³ None of these indispensable prerequisites of a successful representative system can be expected, however, without an intelligent and politically educated electorate.⁴

C. THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH STATE ACTIVITY

There can be no doubt that Professor Sumner's reputation as a political theorist rests primarily upon his defense of *laissez faire* and his advocacy of a restriction of the functions of the state. He was easily the most able and tireless exponent in this country of the individualistic social philosophy which writers like Humboldt and Spencer had upheld in Europe. Sumner's arguments in favor of *laissez faire* center around three main propositions: (1) that it is morally wrong to extend state activities, inasmuch as the burdens are not distributed in accordance with the benefits received; (2) the state is proved by history to be incompetent as compared with private enterprise and, moreover, when it extends its activities it neglects its proper function of maintaining order and preserving liberty; (3) social evolution being primarily a product of non-volitional forces, the interference of the state in

¹ *The Challenge of Facts*, pp. 255-67.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 266-76; *Earth Hunger*, p. 299.

³ *The Challenge of Facts*, pp. 276-86; *Earth Hunger*, p. 303; *Collected Essays in Political and Social Science*, pp. 98-159.

⁴ *The Challenge of Facts*, p. 235.

an attempt to accelerate the process of evolution cannot fail to be mischievous and an impediment to progress.¹

The fundamental end for which states exist, according to Sumner, is to obtain and preserve civil liberty. Civil liberty he defines as "the careful adjustment by which the rights of individuals and the state are reconciled with one another to allow the greatest possible development of all and of each in harmony and peace."² In other words, the question of state activity can be expressed in the abstract as follows: "Can we get from the State security for individuals to pursue happiness in and under it and yet not have the State itself become a new burden and hindrance only a little better than the evil which it wards off?"³ In practice this problem reduces itself to the simple question of "What ought Some-of-us to do for Others-of-us?"⁴

It is in his answer to this practical question that Sumner makes his most original and distinctive defense of the principle of *laissez faire*, which he renders in his sociological terminology as "mind your own business!"⁵ Practically all examples of an extension of state activity involve an agreement between A and B, who are "the ignorant social doctors,"⁶ as to what C, who is the "Forgotten Man," shall do for D, who represents the class that has failed in the struggle for existence.⁷ The "Forgotten Men" make up that great self-respecting middle class in society, which, being industrious, independent, and unobtrusive, attracts little attention, but in reality is incomparably the most important of all social classes in its contribution to all phases of civilization.⁸

While this middle class never asks for any assistance from the government for itself, it invariably has to defray a disproportionate share of the expense of every extension of state activity.

¹ *Social Classes*, *passim*; *War and Other Essays*, pp. 208-10, 224-25; *Earth, Hunger*, p. 299. It is of fundamental importance to note that none of Sumner's arguments for non-interference are based upon the conventional individualistic tenets.

² *The Challenge of Facts*, p. 239. In this rather vague and equivocal definition, Sumner barely escapes giving forth a product of the "phrase-mill," as he liked to call the source of all rhetorical or metaphysical definitions.

³ *War and Other Essays*, p. 218.

⁶ See their creed, *Earth Hunger*, pp. 207-11.

⁴ *Social Classes*, p. 12.

⁷ *Social Classes*, p. 123.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 148-49.

"It is the 'Forgotten Man' who is threatened by every extension of the paternal theory of government. It is he who must work and pay. When, therefore, the statesmen and social philosophers sit down to think what the state can or ought to do, they really mean to decide what the Forgotten Man shall do."¹ The evil which is inherent in an extension of state activity, then, is perfectly apparent: the burden of state activity always falls upon the middle class; this class gets little or no benefit from these added burdens and tends to be crushed or diminished by them. Inasmuch as this class is the most important element in the population, beyond all comparison, an extension of state action tends to destroy the valuable elements in society for the benefit of those whose very need of assistance marks them as inferior.² It is important to note that Sumner does not defend *laissez faire* from the purely metaphysical individualistic standpoint, but maintains that from the strictly sociological point of view a curtailment of state activity is indispensable. Professor Sumner's answer to his famous question, "What do social classes owe to each other?" is that the sole duty of one class to another in society is to maintain an attitude of good-will and mutual respect toward the other, and to strive to bring about liberty and security so that all classes may improve the opportunities which are presented to them. The only duty of the state, aside from its police function, is to increase the opportunities of each class, and under no circumstances should it attempt to redistribute the achievements of the different classes.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 148-51. This vital point in Sumner's political theory is analyzed and criticized by Professor Giddings, *Democracy and Empire*, pp. 110-21. This is, of course, the argument that Guizot employed in defending the French middle class during the assault upon its financial power in the Restoration period. Showing how Rome had fallen, not because of immorality or paganism, but on account of the extinction of the middle class by unjust taxation, he tried to make it clear that France was inviting a similar fate by weakening the bourgeoisie.

³ *Social Classes*, pp. 168-69. A criticism of Sumner's position by a writer whose political philosophy was diametrically opposed to Sumner's upon this point is to be found in Ward's *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, III, pp. 301-5. It is obvious that Sumner practically admits the fallacy of his argument in regard to social responsibility, as any amount of paternalistic legislation might be defended as designed to increase the opportunities of different classes in society.

In extending its activity into new and questionable fields the state, Sumner holds, is losing its grip upon its primary function of providing "peace, order, and security." The extra-legal powers which have been usurped by party leaders and labor organizations have already vitiated the power of the state to give security, and this practically means a revival of the "private war," so common in primitive society.¹ Paternalistic legislation also provides a means for insidious and corrupt plutocratic interests to give themselves legal security in carrying on their exploitation of society.² History has never proved the state to be as competent as private enterprise, and the government of the United States has never shown a degree of intelligence and efficiency at all comparable to that exhibited in our private enterprises. As we have no reason to believe that the capacity of the state is likely to be improved, the only alternative is to restrict as much as possible the function of the state and leave the greatest possible opportunity for the development of the more competent private enterprise and initiative.³ The most urgent necessity in regard to the state is not to increase the sphere of its activity, but to improve its performance of its legitimate functions.⁴

Sumner's last argument in favor of *laissez faire* involves the question of the possibility and desirability of achieving the improvement of society by direct state action; in other words, the question of the amenability of social evolution to artificial acceleration. Sumner's theory on this point is a combination of the ideas of Burke and the Romanticists on the historical development of institutions and the impossibility of making a break with the past, with Spencer's conception of the automatic and non-volitional nature of social evolution. The attempt to reform social conditions by direct legislative action, he believed, is foredoomed to failure because of the spontaneous nature of social evolution and the impossibility of taking into account all of the factors involved in any particular case:

¹ *War and Other Essays*, pp. 224-25; *Earth Hunger*, p. 299.

² *Earth Hunger*, pp. 299, 303, 309; *Social Classes*, pp. 105-8.

³ *Earth Hunger*, pp. 300-305.

⁴ *Social Classes*, pp. 162-67; *War and Other Essays*, pp. 224 f.

Social improvement is not won by direct effort. It is secondary, and results from physical or economic improvements. That is the reason why schemes of direct social amelioration always have an arbitrary, sentimental, and artificial character, while true social advance must be a product and a growth.¹

The conviction that social improvement can be effected by direct action, then, is but one of those schemes for lifting one's self by his boot straps which have been discredited by natural science but have found a last intrenchment in social science.²

In the place of Ward's term "attractive legislation," Sumner coins that of "speculative legislation" to designate all schemes to alter the existing social order by direct legislative action. After the manner of Burke, he declares that all "speculative legislation" is opposed to the fundamental principles of the Anglo-American legal and political systems, which are marked "by slow and careful growth, historic continuity, practical sense, and aversion to all dogmatism and abstractionism."³ The very complexity of social conditions prevents "speculative legislation" from achieving the desired results:

It is a characteristic of speculative legislation that it very generally produces the exact opposite of the result it was hoped to get from it. The reason is because the elements of any social problem which we do not know so far surpass in number and importance those which we do know that our solutions have far greater chance to be wrong than to be right.⁴

Another important reason for distrusting the efficacy of direct legislative action for social reform is to be found in the fact that, even if the plans for reform were perfectly scientific, as theoretical abstractions, they would be likely to fail in their practical application, since they would have to be put into operation, not by the learned reformers, but by the incompetent and avaricious machine politicians who constitute our body of public officials.⁵

¹ *Social Classes*, pp. 160-61; cf. *War and Other Essays*, pp. 208-10; and *Earth Hunger*, pp. 283 ff.

² *Earth Hunger*, pp. 233-34.

³ *The Challenge of Facts*, p. 215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 219; cf. Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, pp. 270-71.

⁵ *Earth Hunger*, p. 287. These arguments against large-scale state activity, which have just been enumerated, embody Sumner's main theoretical contributions to the subject. For minor considerations and questions of detail see *Earth Hunger*, pp. 283-87; 300-301. It is, of course, well known that the specific curtailment of state action in which Sumner was most interested was an abolition of the system of protective tariff in the United States.

In view of all these important objections to an extension of state activity, Sumner maintained that it was not only a matter of theoretical importance but also a patriotic and civic duty for all intelligent men to resist any increase of state interference.¹ It is even futile to hope to make such changes in the social order as will retain the useful elements in the past and secure the benefits of innovations.² It is a mere waste of time to reflect what the state might accomplish if politicians could attain to real wisdom, for it is generally agreed that they never can do so.³ In short, Sumner advocated a greater efficiency in the exercise of the legitimate or "police" functions of the state, and maintained that progress must come through the gradual and unconscious operation of social, economic, and intellectual forces.⁴

D. SOVEREIGNTY, LIBERTY, AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

Sumner's discussion of the problems of sovereignty, liberty, and rights is not particularly important or entirely consistent, though in certain point it is suggestive.

He was not inclined to assign much importance to the concept of sovereignty. "Sovereignty is the most abstract and metaphysical term in political philosophy." It is undefinable and hence abused by all writers on political science.⁵ In another reference to the subject, however, he apparently regards sovereignty as identical with ultimate political power in a state, and holds that the location of this power in a society is the criterion for classifying states.⁶

In regard to liberty, Sumner was particularly insistent that there was no real liberty apart from law and political authority.⁷

¹ *War and Other Essays*, p. 225.

² *The Challenge of Facts*, pp. 243-44.

³ *Social Classes*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 167; *Earth Hunger*, pp. 304-5; *War and Other Essays*, pp. 208-10. There is no evidence that Sumner ever changed his views regarding the futility of attempting to accelerate social evolution by legislative effort. His successor, Professor A. G. Keller, has discussed this problem further, and argues that any artificial acceleration of evolution in society must be achieved indirectly through an improvement of the "mores of self-maintenance" (*Societal Evolution*, especially chap. v).

⁵ *War and Other Essays*, p. 310.

⁶ *Earth Hunger*, p. 290.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67, 198-202; *Social Classes*, p. 34.

Sumner distinguishes three different types or conceptions of liberty: anarchistic, personal, and civil. The anarchistic view of liberty, which was prominent in the earlier writing of Rousseau, maintains that man is free from all social responsibility. According to this fallacious view of liberty no member of modern society can be said to possess liberty unless it be the tramp.¹ Personal liberty simply means a freedom from artificial impediments in the struggle for existence.² Civil liberty is "a status created for the individual by laws and institutions, the effect of which is that each man is guaranteed the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare."³ As has already been pointed out, Sumner held that it is the chief purpose of the state to produce and preserve civil liberty.⁴

Sumner was not entirely consistent in his discussion of political rights. In one reference to the subject he denied that the conception of natural rights possessed any validity whatever.⁵ In another analysis of the subject he held that the conception possessed a very considerable value and held that "natural rights, as opposed to chartered rights, meant that every man must, in the view of social order and obligation, be regarded as free and independent, until some necessity had been established for restraining him."⁶ In his latest treatment of the subject Sumner reached what may be called a distinctly sociological conception of rights, namely, that they are "rules of the game of social competition which are current now and here."⁷ To be effective they must be "recognized in laws and provided for by institutions."⁸

E. IMPERIALISM AND EXPANSIONISM

Sumner was not only an ardent advocate of *laissez faire* in domestic or internal policies; he also vigorously criticized the imperialistic tendencies in the United States which broke out

¹ *Earth Hunger*, pp. 138-55.

² *Social Classes*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-202.

⁴ *Challenge of Facts*, p. 239.

⁵ *Collected Essays in Political and Social Science*, p. 98.

⁶ *Earth Hunger*, p. 223.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83; cf. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 418.

⁸ *Ibid.*

about 1896 and culminated in the Spanish-American War and the conquest of several Spanish colonies. In both cases his fundamental argument was the same. Imperialism, like paternalistic legislation, imposes upon the population burdens which quite outweigh the benefits which are forthcoming. The increased expenses of government are thrown upon the middle class, and imperialistic administration necessitates a curtailment of liberty and the adoption of militaristic measures which seriously threaten the existence of free republican government and industrial democracy.¹

Sumner makes no attempt to dogmatize as to the exact size of the state which is most desirable, but he lays down the general proposition that in every case there is a maximum size of the political unit which is most advantageous under the given circumstances. In each instance it is the task of the best statesmanship to determine the size which is most expedient.² The tendency of the statesmanship of the nineteenth century to make nationality, in its ethnic sense, the test of the expedient size of the state has been proved fallacious. Sweden and Norway are homogeneous as regards nationality, but have not been able to form a compact political unity, while Austria-Hungary, though extremely heterogeneous from the standpoint of nationality, has been able to be welded into a fairly coherent and stable political unit.³ If territorial expansion proceeds beyond this expedient size, while it may enhance the prestige of the ruler or governing classes, it does not give added strength to the state. Under the present international system of unrestricted travel and enterprise, territory acquired by a state is merely an increase in its burdens and liabilities and brings no adequate return. Not since the abolition of the old mercantilistic colonial system has additional territory proved an asset to a state.⁴

More serious than the financial liabilities which are bound to be incurred by an imperialistic policy is the reaction of imperialistic ideas and practices upon the politics of the state. The whole imperialistic complex is fundamentally opposed to democracy and

¹ *War and Other Essays*, pp. 285 ff.

³ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-89.

industrialism.¹ It invariably creates an attitude of political arrogance and chauvinism.² When conquered territories are populated by peoples widely different in culture from the conquering state they must either be admitted into the state to participate in government or be ruled as subjects. In the first case, corruption or disintegration is likely, while the second alternative involves a sacrifice of democratic principles.³ Imperialism invariably means militarism, which is at all points opposed to industrial democracy; it favors plutocracy by diverting the attention of the people from the sinister acts of corrupt interests; if persisted in it is bound to transform the United States into an empire and render our republic merely a transitional form.⁴ Finally, it is only the person of a defective intelligence who would maintain that the accomplishments of the United States in war are better calculated to inspire patriotism than its achievements in peaceful pursuits.⁵

Sumner riddles some of the stock arguments which are usually adduced in favor of imperialism. He argues that no state is fitted to judge when another is adapted for self-government or to decide what constitutes a stable government in another state. On such grounds a conquest of the United States might be justified from the standpoint of certain other nations.⁶ Again, it is a very dangerous fallacy to claim that a nation must conquer adjoining territory to protect its present dominions. It was claimed that the United States must have Hawaii to protect California; according to this doctrine the conquest of the Philippines would render necessary the acquisition of China, Japan, and the East Indies to protect the Philippines. "Of course this means that, on the doctrine, we must take the whole earth in order to be safe on any part of it, and the fallacy stands exposed."⁷

¹ *War and Other Essays*, pp. 314 ff., 322 ff., 331 f., 347 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 311 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-32.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 334. Sumner's remarkable discussion of the part that war has played in social processes and social evolution, as well as his singularly accurate prediction that European "defensive" preparedness for war would ultimately lead to a general European conflict, is contained in his *War and Other Essays*, chap. i.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 349 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

The following extracts admirably summarize the main arguments of Sumner against imperialism:

Any extension will not make us more secure where we are, but will force us to take new measures to secure our new acquisitions. The preservation of acquisitions will force us to reorganize our internal resources, so as to make it possible to prepare them in advance and to mobilize them with promptitude. This will lessen liberty and require discipline. It will increase taxation and all the pressure of government. It will divert the national energy from the provision of self-maintenance and comfort for the people, and will necessitate stronger and more elaborate governmental machinery. All this will be disastrous to republican institutions and democracy. Moreover, all extension puts a new strain on the internal cohesion of the pre-existing mass, threatening a new cleavage within. If we had never taken Texas and northern Mexico we should never have had secession.¹

The issue (involved in imperialism) is nothing less than whether to go on and maintain our political system or to discard it for the European military and monarchical tradition. It must be a complete transformation of the former to try to carry on under it two groups of political societies, one on a higher, the other on a lower plane, unequal in rights and powers; the former ruling the latter perhaps by military force.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

² *Ibid.*, p. 346; cf. the nearly identical arguments advanced by Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction*, chaps. ii, viii. The arguments of Sumner are criticized by Professor Giddings, *Democracy and Empire*, pp. 269-90. While his criticism is by no means as effective as in the case of his analysis of Sumner's doctrines on state-interference, chaps. i, xvii, xx of Professor Giddings' work form the most vigorous defense of imperialism yet contributed by an American sociologist.

[To be concluded]

SAINTHOOD

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR JOHN M. MECKLIN'S "THE PASSING
OF THE SAINT," JANUARY, 1919

FRANCIS HEIERMANN, S.J.
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In reading the article "The Passing of the Saint" in the January issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* the reviewer was vividly reminded of the following warning of Professor George T. Ladd, of Yale University: "Especially in matters of morals and religion, a vast multitude of men *will not* take their reasonableness into serious consideration; either because they do not wish certain beliefs to be true, or because they have already established their beliefs according to opposing tendencies."¹ The title of Mr. Mecklin's paper pithily expresses the thesis which is stated in the following words: "For the traditional idea of saint is strangely out of place in a democratic age. The term 'Saint' is not in harmony with our scientific naturalism or our militant industrialism." There is a second part to the thesis, viz., the Roman Catholic is openly blamed for his attitude toward the saint, "a strange and almost apathetic disregard for its lack of harmony with the changed conditions of modern life." Hence in the essay of Mr. Mecklin we may well distinguish the statement of a tendency in a certain church and the criticism to which such a church is open for its tendency. If the tendency is not correctly given, naturally the criticism directed against it is misplaced and aimless. Incorrect statements in such an important matter are highly improper if true and reliable information is easily obtainable. In the latter case this misrepresentation and distortion of facts may easily involve absence of fair play, or, to apply the words of Professor Ladd, the author does not wish certain beliefs to be true or he has already established his beliefs according to opposing tendencies.

¹ George Trumbull Ladd, LL.D., *What Should I Believe?* p. 55.

Fairness would demand that the writer study carefully and state clearly and exactly what this church, that is most outrageously and with apodeictic dogmatism criticized all through the article, means by "a saint." The answer is plain to the Catholic. Even to the non-Catholic, a simple book, *Question Box*, by Rev. Bertrand L. Conway, found in the bookracks of many Catholic churches, would offer the following concise definition (p. 538):

A saint is one whose extraordinary holiness of life and heroic virtues have attracted the notice of the Universal Church, and who after the most exact scrutiny into every detail of his life, writings, etc., has been placed on the approved list of God's chosen followers. Except in the case of martyrs, their holiness must be proved conclusively by evident miracles before they are canonized. Of course there are many men and women who live and die unknown to the world, but whose lives are just as holy in God's sight.

The possession of saints at all times is claimed by the Roman Catholic church, because she asserts that, as the true church, she must and does possess the mark of holiness. This mark of holiness consists in this: that the true church, having Christ for its holy author, with his saving doctrine and means of grace, must produce members of extraordinary holiness of life, and that the great deeds and miraculous manifestations which Christ has promised his church must continue to the end of the world.

VENERATION OF SAINTS IS NOT IDOLATRY

The church honors and venerates the saints not with any idolatrous worship, but with a respect that is due to the friends and servants of God. The church has always honored the saints from the early times of Christianity, but it required the official pronouncement of the church before such honor could be bestowed in public. While in the beginning such pronouncement was made and could be made by the single bishop, later on all official pronouncements were reserved to the pope. The beatification and canonization is a most complicated but interesting part of church legislation. A summary of the rules which insure the extreme care in such an important affair may be read in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article on "Beatification and Canonization."

HONOR BESTOWED ON THE RELICS OF THE SAINTS

The church honors the memory of her saints by honoring their images and relics. If we treat with respect the abode of George Washington or his sword, the pen of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, the insignia and distinctions which our war heroes have received and which will be kept in high esteem after their death by their admiring sons and daughters, and if the writer of the strange contribution preserves with reverence the portrait or a lock of hair of his beloved mother or wife, why should the church be blamed for paying proper respect to the images and relics of her saints? The church is most careful in examining the genuine relics and in putting a stop to the veneration of relics which are not authenticated. Equal care is exhibited by the church in not approving or in rejecting stories on the lives of the saints which cannot bear the light of modern correct criticism.

This is a brief summary of what the Roman Catholic church teaches and practices, regarding the veneration of the saints. The children even of the lower grades in our Catholic schools would readily give this information. We do not accord to the saints the worship which is due to God alone. But Mr. Mecklin most apodeictically states that the "relic worship restored in Christian form almost all the peculiarities of pagan polytheism." Is the writer so densely ignorant or is he penning this statement with malice aforethought?

Veneration of the saints is very dear to the Christian. It is deeply implanted in human nature and elevated into the sublime atmosphere of religious worship because the honored saints excel by their high position as servants of the Lord, by reason of their beneficent influence during their lifetime and of their powerful intercession at the throne of God. Their merits and their example of exalted Christian virtue and their continued interest in their brethren who are still pilgrims on earth constitute what was called the communion of saints, an article of the Apostles' Creed.

THE FIELD OF CHRISTIAN HAGIOGRAPHY

This entire article of the Catholic faith, as developed in the history of the church, presents, besides underlying principles, a vast field of biography, much vaster than the field of any history of any particular nation and any nation's heroes who are the subjects of biographical and historical research. How vast this field is may be gathered from a cursory glance at the Index to the sixteenth volume of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. No less than twenty-two pages of four columns each in small print exhibit the general heads and manifold subdivisions of this study of the saints. Besides there are found references to longer and thorough articles on beatification, canonization, hagiography, relics, Bollandists, "Acts of Martyrs," martyrs, martyrology, etc.

It is evident that the professor of the University of Pittsburgh had disdained to even reach out for this extensive source of authentic information. Instead of this he works out from his disordered brain a picture of "the saint," puts up a straw man, and then flings his mud of sarcasm and fault-finding at his distorted production and at the Roman Catholic church.

SAINTS IN ALL AGES AND STATIONS OF LIFE

Nothing is so familiar to the Catholic as the fact that the saints venerated by the church have lived in all ages, in all climes, and in all positions and stations of life. There are saints who have practiced exalted sanctity as hermits in the deserts, as coenobites in religious communities, as monks like Benedictines, as mendicants like the Dominicans and Franciscans, as members of new religious orders and congregations, which since the time of the Reformation have adopted the apostolic life and the works of charity and education in a hundred and one forms and ways. But there are also saints who were popes, bishops, priests, others who were emperors, kings, empresses, or queens, men and women in the humble position of farmers, workingmen, widows, and servant maids, who have obtained the high degree of sanctity on which God has set the seal of approval and who are honored by the church and her faithful people as powerful intercessors. All these facts ought to be familiar to anyone who attempts to write on the saint.

A MAZE OF DISTORTION

It is neither easy nor pleasant to follow the writer through his maze of distorted history. In offering a long string of statements, views, interpretations, garbled quotations, covering nineteen pages, the professor inflicts upon the reader who is patient enough to follow him a picture of asceticism, monasticism, church policy, as it is reflected in very odd and ridiculous forms on the convex or concave mirror of Mr. Mecklin's mind. Let the following extracts suffice: He starts with the assertion that the early Christian community was little more than a Jewish sect dominated by two things, viz., the eschatological ideas of the Jews and the opposition to morality of paganism. These Christians practiced only passive virtues. They turned to an invisible order and thus they had no interest in civic affairs. They were indifferent to the state. Property was justified only as a means for the support of life from day to day until the coming of the new order. The family, he opines, was looked upon more or less as an interim ethics, for in the divine consummation there would be neither marriage nor giving in marriage. Hence always the element of *Weltverneinung*, "other-worldliness," self-denial, mortification.

Mr. Mecklin most stoutly affirms that the early Christians had no fighting faith, that intellectual virtues were of little value, that there were no scientific interpretations of the teachings of the church.

We ask ourselves in astonishment whether he has ever read the Acts of the Martyrs with their overwhelming examples of fortitude, and the writings of the early Fathers and Apologists who exhibited an intellectual acumen and evidenced an intellectual superiority both in speech and in writings which would do honor to our present age?

From the persecution and suppression of the early Christians he gathers a theory of morality that has been styled by Nietzsche *Sklaven-Moral*, and the modern professor stoops so low as implicitly to subscribe to the discarded philosophy of the German degenerate. If anything has been defeated in the late war let us hope that the perverse German philosophy, especially Hegel's doctrine on the State as the present deity, and Nietzsche's super-man have met their complete overthrow in our university teaching.

What seems to vex the professor most is the attitude of "other-worldliness." He has not understood the very first principle of Christianity expressed by Our Lord: "If any man will follow me, let him deny himself, take up his cross and follow me." (Mark 8:34; Matt. 10:38; 16:24).

It happened, so the professor asserts, that small groups of early Christians emerging from persecution under Constantine with their ideals could not meet the demands of the rapidly expanding faith. Social activities were entirely neglected by the early saint.

"There was still the sharp distinction between the worldly and the otherworldly, the natural and supernatural." But the church of the Middle Ages adopted secularizing tendencies and she managed that "no saintly ideals flourished that did not receive the sanction and enjoy the sympathy and support of ecclesiastical authority." Here for once the author expresses what is evident to every Catholic and fair-minded student of history, viz., that the striving after Christian sanctity is a work of the individual under the direction of the church. "The otherworldly ideals of Peter Damiani, of St. Bernard, of St. Francis of Assisi, never soared beyond the authority of the pope; but this was only in the secularized church." We must give Mr. Mecklin credit for this acknowledgment of the pope's authority. In this he is unlike Sabbatier, who, in his life of St. Francis, has so reflected the fact on his concave mirror as to make the great saint act against the authority of the pope. But the "secularized church" is another fanciful dream of the would-be historian.

MISTAKEN CONCEPTION OF THE SAINT

The position of the mediaeval saint, so the professor continues, was cast in the spiritual solidarity with the world, and this is to him "an interesting paradox." But this again is a conclusion of a distorted mind which he bolsters up with a queer quotation from the entirely unreliable Froude. James Anthony Froude was quite recently discussed by Father Hull in the *Bombay Examiner* under the title "The Arch Liar." "The patriarchal régime of the Middle Ages," Mr. Mecklin asserts further, "brought the

saint nearer socializing than at any other period of history. His sufferings and intercessions and also his superior mind were looked upon as most valuable assets by other members of the community." Their love of the contemplative life is not to the liking of the professor.

This passage allows us to look at the misconception in the author's mind. He views the saint, as it were, in the making, a man who makes a profession of being a saint. This is not the saint in the eyes of the church. The one honored as a saint is one who has finished his mortal career, who, after his holy life has been carefully examined and his intercession and miracles attested, has been pronounced as worthy of the honors of a saint by the church. It is well known that as a rule fifty years must elapse before the process of beatification is taken up.

Evidently Mr. Mecklin has in mind a monk or religious of the Middle Ages, who lives apart from the world and makes the striving after religious perfection the aim of his life. It is true that many of the saints have obtained their sainthood as members of a religious order. But anyone acquainted with the calendar of saints has ready before his mind any number of men or women who have not been members of a religious order. The confusion arising from setting up his own arbitrary and obscure definition of a saint and considering him as one who is a saint during his lifetime adds to the gloomy confusion of the paper.

It is, no doubt, apparent to the people when men like St. Stephen suffer and die for the faith. Examples of holiness of life, as that of St. Francis of Assisi, were not all hidden, but often excited admiration and veneration for the man during his lifetime. The *vox populi* may often have been the *vox Dei*. But we repeat that the saint in the acceptance of the Catholic church is one who after his death has been declared a saint and worthy of the honor of the saint by the church.

LEGENDS AND LIVES OF THE SAINTS.

Mr. Mecklin's bad humor regarding the Catholic church is in evidence all through the essay; this notwithstanding the fact that he refers with apparent respect to standard Catholic works, like

St. Augustine's *The City of God*; St. Thomas' *Summa*; the Bollandists; Gregory the Great's *Lives of the Saints*; Benedict XIV, etc. But the intelligent reader is forced to doubt whether the professor has really seen and read any of these great publications. At any rate unbiased readers, even Protestants, have obtained different views of the church and her saints from such masterpieces of history and literature.

In particular, certain saints seem to be very displeasing to the professor, who feels wroth at some story or legend that either has no foundation in fact or which he has distorted. Thus regarding the worship of relics, which he says—most falsely—"reproduced in Christian guise all the phenomena of fetishism," he adds in a tone of compassion, quoting the *Summa*, "the custom even received the sanction of the great Aquinas." St. Gregory the Great was by no means the first, or one of the first, to write the lives of the saints, as is known to every student of church history. The *Acta Martyrum* were collected at a much earlier date (see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Acts of Martyrs"). The reference to St. Anselm appears flippant and shows that the writer knows little if anything at all of the works of this great doctor of the church. In the quotation from Lecky on the martyrdom of St. Perpetua, who is especially dear to every Catholic because her feast together with that of St. Felicitas has been made universal for the church by the late Pius X, and whose names are mentioned every day in the sacrifice of Mass, the motive of her suffering is entirely missed. The St. Louis who was forced to "shun all female society including that of his mother" is probably misread for St. Aloysius Gonzaga, whose peculiar and almost exaggerated sense of modesty cannot be appreciated by any shallow unbeliever. St. Gregory VII is vindicated long ago in history especially by the German historian Gfrörer (*Gregory VII and his Times*), who from Protestantism turned to the bosom of the Roman Catholic church; and the clumsy epithet "the Politician Hildebrand" simply shows how far Mr. Mecklin is behind the times. The expression theopathic type, "found in St. Francis," is in bad taste and wanting in proper respect. The opprobrious reference to St. Theresa and to the neurotic states of female saints is highly offensive. The latter

criticism is borrowed from other authors, as the quotation marks indicate, but no names are given. We have a recollection that the strange medical work by Krafft-Ebing uses similar expressions, which are by no means grounded on facts but flow from a degenerate imagination of the writer. A priest begging absolution from a poor female servant whose charitable deed he had misjudged is a highly ridiculous vagary of a dreamer, and the subsequent comment on this questionable morality, in which "the individual becomes a law to himself," strangely illustrates the misconception which appears to dominate the author's mind.

MISSTATEMENT OF PURPOSE OF CANONIZATION

Canonization and its purpose are repeatedly and most grossly misstated; it is looked upon as an unrivaled instrument on the part of the church in eliminating undesirable variations. In this connection the author pours out his vial of abuse on the church for the fact that "Abelard, a spiritual genius and one of the most brilliant intellects of the Middle Ages, is excluded from the catalogue of the saints."

The high esteem entertained for Abelard is really amusing. It shows how little the real character of this man is known. The name of Abelard has been celebrated by modern writers, we believe, for no other reason than that he was a *vir bellator ab adolescentia*—a *knocker* in vulgar parlance—and had some unsavory relations with Heloise as narrated in his *Historia Calamitatum*. It is for such reasons, it seems, that the sympathy of the modern un-Christian world has been extended to this unfortunate man. Abelard on the calendar of saints! Why, it would be more ridiculous than to have Saul among the prophets. It certainly is a pity that Professor Mecklin was not consulted by the church as to the subjects for canonization. He might propose the name of Abelard if he thinks that miracles have been performed by the intercession of this genius. He might "start something," as the saying is, but he must follow the rules and laws of the *Codex Juris Canonici*.¹

¹ On Abelard see Cardinal Newman, *Historical Sketches*, Vol. III.

CRITICISM OF MIRACLES

The superficial criticism of miracles deserves a passing notice. The old misstatement is revamped that "the miracles are mainly significant as illustrating the credulity and superstition of men; they are sprung from the pious needs of an uncritical age; the miracles alleged to have been wrought upon those who sought help played a most important part in the canonization of Joan of Arc by Pius X in 1909." Of course they did, and if Mr. Mecklin has any idea of canonization and the exacting accuracy as to fact and nature of miraculous events in connection with this process, he would at least respect the belief of Catholics and not only would cite in a footnote Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, but would quote, after careful reading, the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. We wonder whether the learned professor has ever heard of the new Canon Law, the *Codex Juris Canonici* which gives all the details of this process in Lib. IV, Pars 2a canons 1999-2141.¹ Regarding the chivalrous Joan of Arc it is to be noted that she was not canonized but *beatified* by Pius X. Only quite recently, March 26, 1919, under Benedict XV the miracles presented for her canonization were approved and as a consequence the canonization of Blessed Joan of Arc is assured in the near future.²

If a modern writer wants to acquaint us with the history of banking in the United States and in his book distorts facts and moreover omits to mention the Federal Reserve Bank, we consider his efforts a complete failure and do not dignify the work with a moment's attention. The application to Mr. Mecklin's essay is obvious.

THE "SOCIAL IDEA" PARAMOUNT

It becomes plain to the observant reader that there must be a sore in the mind from which such Mecklinian offensive and unreasonable statements emanate. Probably we are not mistaken if we gather from the author's scattered expressions that he has a disgust for the conception which he has formed of the saint and

¹ See also *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Supplement, "Canon Law."

² See *America*, May 3, 1919, p. 88.

the attitude of the church toward the saint. As a modern sociologist he is naturally imbued with the ideal of human society as the be-all and end-all of all human aspirations. As was seen in the articles on evolution printed in *Social Justice*,¹ everything must be socialized, the school, the church, the club. The church and religion itself are only some means of social control. Saint-hood is in Mr. Mecklin's mind only the outcome of the social values of the age. The saint in the Middle Ages may have been a social factor, but "the saint is out of place in a democratic age." We do not seem to go astray when we say that the entire outpouring of Mr. Mecklin's inconsiderate, unhistorical, and irreverent attack on the saints and the Roman Catholic church is prompted by a strong feeling against the great aim and end of every individual soul as taught by the church, viz., to know, serve, and love the Creator and thus save his soul. This evidently is displeasing to the professor. He would chafe at the thought that there is another world, a supernatural kingdom for which man should strive. The Christian in baptism has renounced Satan and all his pomps, the world and concupiscence, and has given himself over completely to Christ, the Redeemer of his soul. The Christian's life is indeed *in* the world, but *not of* the world. Temporal goods must be for him a means to love God and obtain happiness which he cannot get in this life. This is the only reasonable and dignified view of man's existence and purpose in life. In man's essential duties is included his obligation to society, i.e., the ruling authority, and his fellowman. Only crass materialism and base atheism, such as are found in the writings of modern evolutionary sociologists, can dare to deny this noble and excellent aim of man's life on earth. The saint realizes this aim thoroughly and clearly and shapes his actions so as to make sure of the final destiny.

THE PROTESTANT SAINT ATTACKED

The Protestant ideal of "the saint" also comes in for a sharp criticism in the introduction of the article and again in the last pages. Orthodox Protestantism, we are told, emasculated the

¹ December, 1918, January and February, 1919, especially the estimate of Professor Charles A. Ellwood, of the University of Missouri, whose works and articles on "Cultural Evolution" appear in the issue of December, 1918, p. 283.

idea of the saint by making it theological—whatever that may mean. The author refers to the striking vitality and charm of the mediaeval as contrasted with the Protestant idea of the saint, due to “the recognition in the former of the human side.”

We may leave it to our Protestant brethren to ward off the attack launched against them by the professor. We have still to hear of a Protestant saint. Consistently with the reformer’s doctrine there is no such thing possible as a Protestant saint. The *Lutheran justification by faith alone* is essentially unmoral and excludes works of heroic virtue. The very means of sanctification are cut off by reducing the seven sacraments to two. Protestant contempt for saints and veneration of saints puts the saint under the ban. “Undoubtedly,” so we read in the *Question Box*, p. 152, “many outside the body of the Catholic church, and even among the pagans, have been remarkable for their natural virtues, and often they had supernatural faith, hope, and charity, which they possessed by virtue of their union with the soul of God’s church. But the holiness of these individuals of the several churches is not due to the sect to which they belong, but to the Catholic church, many of whose teachings and principles their sect still retains.” In the light of this doctrine we are able to feel rather than to express the cynical and frivolous thought contained in the sentence of Mr. Mecklin: “The Monk of Wittenberg finally broke away from the charmed circle of the Holy Catholic church.” It seems as if the professor had not heard of Denifle’s or Grisar’s *Life of Martin Luther*.

SAINTS NOT OUT OF DATE

The contention then of this curious article, “The Passing of the Saint,” is that the saint and the ideal of the saint as still upheld by the Roman Catholic church are woefully out of date, useless, and without socializing influence. And the proof for this scathing condemnation? None whatever, except the writer’s bold and insolent *ipse dixit*. Facts are ignored, biographies set aside, great works not read and consulted, views manufactured, and all this thrown before a gullible public under the auspices of the *American Journal of Sociology*. The oft-criticized infallibility of

the church and the pope is simply like a light of twentieth magnitude compared with this immense self-asserting infallibility of the professor of the University of Pittsburgh.

Which poisoned sources may have infected so injuriously the views of the writer? May not the much-lauded sources of writers like Gibbon, Draper, Andrew White, Paul Monroe, Froude, James, and their class with their historical misrepresentation and narrow bigotry have from early boyhood fed the mind of the Pittsburgh professor with anti-Catholic prejudice? Has he ever turned to the books of the accomplished Cardinal Newman and allowed himself to come under the charm of his style? Would it be too much to ask him to read Discourse V of *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*: "Saintliness the Standard of Christian Principle"?

The Catholic church, spread all over the world, with her three hundred million adherents, honors the Saints with reasonable but enthusiastic devotion. There are nearly twenty millions of Catholics in the United States. Their conviction and practice ought to command the respect of every American who loves liberty of conscience and religion.

THE TITLE ITSELF OFFENSIVE

The very title "The Passing of the Saint" is an insult to the Catholic body. Has the writer ever heard of the famous book entitled *The Holiness of the Church in the Nineteenth Century*, translated from the German of Rev. Constantine Kempf, S.J., by Father Francis Breyman, S.J.? The reading of this remarkable book will convince the unprejudiced that the saint is not passing away. He is a reality in our modern age; saints are found among all classes of people; their works have been of unparalleled social influence of the best kind; their lives were heroic and their power was substantiated by miracles which the church examined most critically and approved with her authority. Nay, strange to say, canonization processes are being worked out at present. Let no professor of the University of Pittsburgh or in the state of Pennsylvania be frightened—in Philadelphia, the great city of the State of Penn, in 1860, died a bishop, R. Rev. John H. Neumann, whose acts of beatification are well under way. This extraor-

dinary man was for some time superior of the Redemptorists in Pittsburgh; he walked the very streets of the city where Professor Mecklin is setting forth his attacks on the Catholic church.

A real American bishop is to be enrolled in the catalogue of saints, not to mention many other men and women whose holy lives have been honored by God in such a way as to accord them the honors of the altars on earth.

MODERN SAINTS AND MARTYRS

The number of martyrs in the nineteenth century is remarkable beyond expectation. We give expression to our full conviction when we say, that, not ignoring the merit and influence of our Lincolns, our Florence Nightingales, our Booker T. Washingtons, who, as Mr. Mecklin says, "seem after all to have caught and interpreted the universal human values of the age," and in spite of Mr. Mecklin's bold assertion that in these men and women, not identified with institutional Christianity, rather than in Anselm, Bernard, or Damiani, we must seek our modern saints, we give expression to our full conviction that the real saints, such as are produced by the Catholic church and honored by her, are the real and greatest and most influential benefactors of mankind. No greater blessing can be given to an age and to a country than a saint. And the beatification and canonization of the saint is more beneficial to the age and the race than the invention of the steam engine and electric power and wireless and any and all of these natural forces and inventions combined. Such saints may not be acceptable to the world in which they live, they may not be highly regarded by a subsequent worldly nation that witnesses their canonization, but like the sunshine, pure air, and the beneficial rain, they influence the age in a degree that immeasurably surpasses any conceivable factor of material progress.

"The Passing of the Saint"—the title is insulting to the church. For, as we have proved, the true church of Christ must produce saints and must manifest the power of extraordinary signs because her Founder has given this promise.

"The Passing of the Saint" is, to the Catholic, equivalent to the "Passing of the Church" and, in saying this, Professor, you

touch the very heart of the believing Catholic. For the church cannot pass away. She is built upon the rock of Peter and the powers of hell shall not prevail against her.

THE CHURCH INDESTRUCTIBLE

Thus to the Catholic the attempt of Professor Mecklin is like the prank of a naughty boy who looks up to the mighty rock of Gibraltar, is displeased with some stain or crack that his colored spectacles report to him, and in his boyish petulancy throws a handful of mud against the rock. Now! There!

Pace, Mr. Mecklin, the rain and the sunshine will soon take away the mud and the rock will stand unshaken in its overwhelming majesty and on the top of the rock there is built the holy city, the Holy Catholic church. It is of her that the Vatican Council declared what is so consoling and inspiring to her children and what makes a strong impression on many who are not yet in the fold: "The church of herself, by reason of her wonderful propagation, her extraordinary holiness, and inexhaustible fertility in all good works—by reason of her Catholic unity and invincible steadfastness, is a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefragable witness to her own divine mission. Hence it is, that like a standard set up unto the nations, she both invites those who have not yet received the faith to come to her and assures her sons that the faith which they profess is fixed upon the firmest foundation."

In bidding farewell to the professor of the University of Pittsburgh we deprecate most emphatically the condescending compassion which he repeatedly offers to the Catholic church for being woefully out of harmony with the modern age. We glory in the possession of an extraordinary light and extend our sentiments of sincere commiseration to the modern professor. His attack has not shaken us in the least. It has been to us, much as we all regret the foul onslaught on the saints, an opportunity to speak on the saints, their veneration and relics, and the Catholic church, the fruitful mother of saints. We feel proud of our saints and we sincerely pity men, and above all Americans, who like Mr. Mecklin rail with prejudice and disrespect against the higher,

purser, and nobler outlook on life, shining forth in the lives of the saints and in the veneration accorded to them by the church.

CARDINAL NEWMAN ON THOSE WALKING IN DARKNESS

Cardinal Newman in his discourse, "Saintliness the Standard" (*Discourses to Mixed Congregations*), pictures as living in underground caverns a set of worldly men who never see the light of day; they live in pits and ravines and there they work, there they take their pleasures, there perhaps they die. He says of the English people—and his words are applicable to the American people of today, perhaps with greater significance:

Also! Alas! those great and noble people, born to aspire, born for reverence, behold them walking to and fro by the torchlight of the cavern, or pursuing the wild fires of the marsh, not understanding themselves, their destinies, their defilements, their needs, because they have not the glorious luminaries of heaven to see, to consult and to admire.

But O, what a change, when the good hand of God brings them by some marvellous providence to the pit's mouth, and then out into the blessed light of day! What a change for them when they first begin to see with the eyes of the soul, with the intuition which grace gives, Jesus, the Sun of Justice, and the heaven of Angels and Archangels in which He dwells, and the Bright Morning Star, which is His Blessed Mother, and the continued flood of light falling and striking against the earth, and transformed, as it falls, into an infinity of hues, which are His Saints; and the boundless sea which is the image of His divine immensity; and then again the calm, placid moon by night, which images His Church, and the silent stars, like good, holy men, travelling on in lonely pilgrimage to their eternal rest.

The reviewer recommends, besides Cardinal Newman, Charles S. Devas, *The Key to the World's Progress*,¹ especially chapter vi.

In conclusion let it be repeated: we can hardly express in words the deep regret and indignation felt by the Catholic body that a professor of a modern seat of learning should with such an air of infallibility pronounce his erroneous views and untrue statements regarding the Roman Catholic church in a free republic where liberty of conscience and religion is a guaranteed right together with civil liberty and liberty of education. We regret

¹ Mr. Devas is the well-known author of *Political Economy*, in the "Stonyhurst Series of Philosophy."

exceedingly that misrepresentations of this kind should be set forth in a journal that commands the respect of the academic world, a journal which is read by the members of that church that has nearly twenty million adherents in the United States, a church that has proved her loyalty and generosity in the late war far in excess of the numerical proportion of her numbers and has heeded most promptly and unselfishly through church societies, parish schools, academies, colleges, and universities any and every appeal for assistance made by the government. This church is above all desirous to preserve and to promote peace and mutual respect among all the citizens of the Union. The true American is convinced that such mutual respect is not only a matter of gentlemanly courtesy but an absolutely essential requisite for the well-being of the nation, and therefore the true American does not understand, but feels grieved and indignant that any people who glory in the name of Americans should misrepresent the Catholic church, her doctrine and history, impugn her motives, and express themselves in a way that is calculated to spread contempt and hatred for the entire body of the Catholic citizens. This church is entitled to respect and must not directly or indirectly be deprived of, or disturbed in the right of, religious and educational freedom. Every liberty-loving, patriotic American will refrain from playing into the hands of those insidious and busy-body propagandists who aim at crushing out of existence the Catholic church and especially her schools that have rendered magnificent service to the State, because in a persistent and malicious conspiracy this church is made out to be "the menace" to the American nation.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN SOCIOLOGY¹

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LACK OF LOGICAL METHOD IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

"As a general proposition," says Professor Small, "social scientists are not interested in the fundamental logic of the relations which they profess to interpret. Their interpretations have consequently been pitifully superficial, fragmentary, and incoherent."² As an illustration of this proposition, consider the following Tables I and II, giving respectively current classifications of social activities (as current interpretations of social structure), and current classifications of stages in social evolution (as current interpretations of social development). Not that all of the writers indicated in the tables are unmindful of the requirements of logic or of scientific method. Some of them are very well aware of these requirements. But those whose thinking is most careful, rigorous, and scientific are apparently, as a rule, numbered among the social "philosophers" rather than among the social "scientists."

DISAGREEMENTS IN CURRENT SOCIAL CLASSIFICATIONS

1. *That the classifications are fragmentary is apparent.*—To the uninitiated layman at the present time the output of the social sciences looks much like a "crazy quilt" of unrelated patches, so thin as to furnish little comfort to the body politic. We need in social science, first of all, a scientifically constructed, logically criticized set of intellectual tools, concepts, or categories with which to work; and then we need a coherent, generally accepted ground pattern on which to construct our design or plan of the new social order that must arise out of the present world-chaos.

2. *There is no generally recognized principle of classification in social science.*—This is but one evidence of the insufficient agreement

¹ A chapter from a forthcoming book, *Social Reconstruction*.

² *Meaning of Social Science*, pp. 146, 147.

TABLE I
CURRENT CLASSIFICATIONS OF ELEMENTARY SOCIAL ACTIVITIES
(Social Structure)

AUTHOR	SMALL	DE GREFF	RATZENHOFFER	STUCKENBERG	WARD	GIDDINGS
POINT OF VIEW	"Interests" (Subjective and Objective)	"Social Phenomena"	"Interests" (Subjective and Objective)	"Functions" (Mixed)	Functions (Individual and Social)	Functions of "Personality"
CLASSES OF ACTIVITIES	1. Health (physiological)	1. Economic	1. Primitive: Racial (reproduction, physiological, sustenance)	1. Fundamental (economic, political)	1. Physical or bodily ontogenetic (sustenance, protection, etc.)	1. Vitality (a) or appreciation (b)
	2. Wealth (economic)	2. Genetic	2. Following rise of consciousness: Egoistic (self-regarding)	2. Constitutional (egoistic, appreciative, affectional, recreative)	Philogenetic (sexual, consanguineal, etc.)	2. Mentality (a) or utilization (b)
	3. Sociability (governmental and social)	3. Artistic	3. Following awakening of feeling of dependence: Transcendental (religion and philosophy)	3. Cultural (aesthetic, ethical, religious, intellectual)	2. Social or "psychic" (moral, aesthetic, intellectual)	3. Morality (a) or accommodation (b) or characterization
	4. Knowledge (communicational and educational)	4. Creedal				4. Sociality (a) or socialization (b)
REFERENCES	5. Beauty (fine art)	5. Moral				
	6. Rightness (moral and religious)	6. Juridic				
	General Sociology, chap. 32.	7. Political				
		Introduction à la sociologie, I, 214	Sociologische Erkenntnis, pp. 54-66	Sociology, I, 207	Pure Sociology, p. 261 (cf. Dealey and Ward, Textbook, p. 78)	(a) Inductive Sociology, pp. 177 and 250 (b) Descriptive and Historical Sociology, p. 127

TABLE I—Continued

AUTHOR POINT OF VIEW	SPENCER				BALDWIN	DEWEY*
	ROSS	Social Functions	Social Institutions	Social "Products"		
CLASSES OF ACTIVITIES	Subjective and Objective	1. Sustaining system	1. Domestic	1. Material appliances	1. Struggle for a living (maintenance?)	I. Primary: 1. Maintenance and sustaining a) Economic 2. Reproductive b) Family 3. Inquiry and publicity a) Observing b) Reporting c) Interpreting 4. Professions a) Medicine b) Law c) Teaching d) Ministry 5. Control a) Government
	1. Natural: Appetitive (hunger, sex, etc.) Hedonic (fear of pain, love of ease, etc.) Egotistic (shame, vanity, etc.) Affective (sympathy, love, anger, etc.) Recreative (play, etc.)	2. Distributing system	2. Ceremonial 3. Political 4. Ecclesiastical 5. Professional 6. Industrial	2. Language 3. Knowledge 4. Customs and laws 5. Aesthetic products	2. Struggle for place (control?)	II. Intermediate: 6. Interaction of intermediate through the primary a) Art
	2. Cultural: Religious Ethical Aesthetic Intellectual	3. Regulating system			3. Struggle for excellence (play?)	III. Secondary: 6. Interaction of intermediate through the primary a) Art
REFERENCES	Objective interests Economic Political Religious Intellectual	<i>Principles of Sociology</i> , Vol. I, Part II	<i>Principles of Sociology</i>	<i>Principles of Sociology</i> , I, 14-15	<i>The Individual and Society</i> , pp. 87-89	"Political Ethics Lectures of 1901," pp. 74-75
	<i>Foundations of Sociology</i> , pp. 109-70					

*The classification by Professor Dewey, being taken from a typewritten report of his unpublished lectures on "Political (or Social) Ethics, for 1901," is probably not as complete or accurate as he would make it now. But it is based on what I believe to be a true genetic logic of the life-process. I am much indebted to Professor Dewey for my own logical point of view.

TABLE II
CURRENT CLASSIFICATIONS OF STAGES IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION
(Social Development)

AUTHOR	SPENCER	BOECHE	HILDEBRAND	ELY		MORGAN	GIDDINGS
POINT OF VIEW	Self-Maintaining Group	Type of Economic Unit	Method of Exchange	Form of Production	Form of Labor Service	Economic and Communicational Technology	Economic and Reflective
CLASSES OR STAGES	1. Family	1. Independent domestic economy	1. Truck economy	1. Hunting and fishing or direct appropriation	1. Slaughter of enemies, woman's labor, and beginning of slavery	1. Savagery: a) Infancy of race, direct appropriation b) Fishing and use of fire c) Invention of bow and arrow	1. Organic economy (sub-human)
	2. Clan			2. Pastoral	2. Slavery and serfdom	2. Barbarism: a) Art of pottery b) Domestication of animals, irrigation, brick and stone structure c) Smelting of iron	2. Instinctive economy (partly sub-human)
	3. Tribe	2. Town economy	2. Money economy	3. Agricultural	3. Free labor governed by customs	3. Civilization: a) Phonetic alphabet and writing to present time	3. Rational economy
	4. Nation (World?)	3. National economy	3. Credit economy	4. Handicraft	4. Individual contract with increasing regulation by statute		A. Ceremonial a) Luck b) Magic c) Sacrificial
REFERENCES				5. Industrial universal competition as an ideal a) Concentration b) Concentration c) Integration	5. Group contract and regulation by statute		B. Business a) Slave labor b) Trade c) Capitalistic
	<i>Principles of Sociology</i> , Vol. I, pp. 481-88, 569-618	<i>Industrial Evolution</i> , p. 89	<i>Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie</i> (1864), Vol. II, p. I	<i>Evolution of Industrial Society</i> , chap. iii, especially p. 71		<i>Ancient Society</i> , chap. i, pp. 12-13	"The Economic Ages," <i>Pol. Sci. Quart.</i> , Vol. XVI, p. 193

TABLE II—Continued

AUTHOR	COMTE		KANT	RIBOT	CAIRD	DEWEY	MCKENZIE
POINT OF VIEW	Dominant Type of Organization	Method of Reflective Explanation	Method of Reflection	Method of Reflection	Reflective and Religious Consciousness	Method of Reflective Control	Social Control
CLASSES OR STAGES	1. Military	1. Theological	1. Dogmatism	1. Practical	1. Objective: Consciousness of object (gods as animated objects of nature) 2. Subjective: Consciousness of self (gods as spirits) 3. Absolute: Consciousness of object and self in harmonious relations—unity of personality Moral harmony with one God	1. Custom 2. Discussion 3. Authority 4. Science	1. Subjugation 2. Liberation 3. Organization 4. Transition ? (today)
	2. Transition	2. Metaphysical	2. Skepticism	2. Speculative			
	3. Industrial (Voluntary* co-operation)	3. Positive	3. Criticism	3. Scientific			
REFERENCES	Positive <i>Philosophy</i> (Martineau's Translation), II, chaps. vii-ix		Cf. Watson, <i>Philosophy of Kant</i> (selected translations), pp. 1-19	<i>Evolution of General Ideas</i> , p. 220	<i>Evolution of Religion</i> , pp. 189-95, especially pp. 187 and 188	<i>Philosophical Review</i> , IX, 165, See <i>Essays in Experimental Logic</i> , pp. 183-219	<i>Introduction to Social Philosophy</i> , pp. 69-88

* See also Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 576-96.

on terms and concepts. To the laymen, it must be confessed, the working equipment of sociology up to date often looks more like a museum full of curios than a workshop full of tools; and such is necessarily largely the fact: for, as a new science, sociology has been engaged extensively in raking together things that might prove useful in constructing a better social order, rather than accurately adapting the materials assembled. The time has come when this preliminary assembling of data must give more place to constructive social interpretation.

AGREEMENTS IN CURRENT SOCIAL CLASSIFICATION

To the thoughtful student of society, however, there are significant agreements in current classifications of social science; and the present-day effort of sociology to get down to fundamentals of interpretation appears to be, as Professor James said of metaphysics, an unusually obstinate effort to think clearly. (1) *The division of labor in sociology has now reached the point where the resulting patchwork, in spite of glaring gaps, promises fairly well to cover its subject, the whole body of society.* (2) It is also instructive to observe that *leading students of the subject are beginning to use in their classifications more consciously the historic or genetic method, and are beginning to arrive at substantial agreement as to the earlier and later phases of social activities and social development.* We leave it to the reader himself to confirm at his leisure these observations by a survey of the tables.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC METHOD MOST IMPORTANT FOR SOCIOLOGY

1. *Sociology must view society as a whole.*—This follows from the logical fact that to interpret any field of science means to introduce unity, consistency, into it. To make any subject intelligible is to present it as a system of relations, so that it is evident how the parts co-operate in maintaining the identity of the system through a series of changes. This is what sociology has to do for society. It is an urgent piece of work, not only because the world is in need of a more stable social order, but also because the special social sciences do not interpret society with sufficient comprehensive-

ness to serve as an adequate guide for the general social reconstruction now required. This point is today so well recognized among thoughtful people that it is unnecessary here to emphasize it.

There is a corollary of the point, however, which is not so well recognized, viz., that sociology has become a prerequisite of practical ethics as furnishing the explanation of human relationships on which valid and effective, "*wholesome*," moral conduct must be based.¹ With the ever-expanding area and increasing complexity of societies conscious of their growing unity, sociology has been developed to furnish the understanding of social organization and evolution indispensable to co-operation, to existence itself, under modern conditions. Logically, sociology is the latest, most complex, most concrete science concerning our most important general relationships to the world of people. Logically, sociology, because it does take account of *all* our important common relationships, is the last word of science on the fundamental principles of moral conduct. Its statements of general social relationships furnish the norms, the principles, by which detailed ethical instructions must be guided, and therefore ultimately with which all practical instructions must harmonize. In short, in defining the unity of society, sociology defines the supreme practical criterion of conduct.² General sociology is thus the logic of society, defining how the various social functions operate in developing the growing social union. (At present several of the functions, for example, notably recreation and art, are inadequately discussed.)

2. *In defining the social union, sociology classifies social phenomena from two points of view: that of organization or structure, and that of development or evolution.*—The one method gives the constitution of society; the other gives the history of society. The one presents the system of social elements at any given time, showing how their co-operation tends both to maintain the existing system and to produce the new system, into which the existing is always developing. The other, social evolution, presents the series

¹ Cf. Small, "The Significance of Sociology for Ethics," *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Vol. IV.

² Peace, as a condition of union, rather than war, as a condition of disunion, is the norm.

of social systems through which society has developed, and indicates the type toward which it is tending at the present time. Thus, by indicating the direction that social development has been taking and the method by which one type of social order is transformed into another, sociology enables us to project a rational ideal of society and to work systematically for its attainment. The aim of sociology is to enable us to make the needful social readjustments so rapidly and accurately that no serious disorder of social functions or disturbance of social development will take place.

3. *The scientific method of sociology is historical or genetic.*—In common with all other sciences, sociology endeavors to explain a fact by showing "the exact and exclusive conditions of its origin. By this means it takes it out of its opaque isolation and gives it meaning by presenting it as a distinct and yet related part of a larger historic continuum. . . . The discovery of the process becomes at once an instrument for the interpretation of other facts which are explainable by reference to the process operating under somewhat different conditions."¹ The ultimate aim of this method in sociology is to define the terms and conditions of right conduct in the present situation. But some people have objected that this method, successfully used in the physical sciences, cannot be successful in the social sciences for two reasons: first, because to use the method in interpreting the phenomena of human volitions, habits, and vocations is to mistake society for a mechanism, falsely to regard human nature as automatic; and, secondly, because (to state the matter positively) the power of initiative which gives human conduct its responsible, moral character, makes it essentially unpredictable. Hence what functioned as right conduct in the past cannot throw any light on what is right conduct in the present, and we must therefore rely upon intuition or empirical judgment to guide us. This view mistakes both the facts of human nature and the method of modern science. Certainly human conduct is extensively predictable; its predictableness is what enables us to keep appointments, to carry out business contracts; in short, to co-operate, to live. Moreover, there are certain facts of human behavior that are quite accurately predictable, even in our present stage of social science, such as the number of deaths, of marriages, of births, of

¹ Dewey, *Philosophical Review*, IX, 124.

fires, and of letters in any considerable population over any considerable period of time. As nothing occurs twice exactly alike, as time makes a difference, as development works real, continuous change in the universe, even physical science does not assume to make absolute and exhaustively complete prediction of conditions. Such an effort would imply a cessation of all development, of all growth, of all life, and then an instantaneous explanation of the whole universe, whatever that might mean. It would deny our present understanding of the nature of the universe. Scientific method logically implies that the universe is growing. The really new is the unpredicted. What science does assume to do is to predict conditions *so far as is necessary for our present needs of adjustment*. A formulation of observed habits of nature—of regular antecedents and consequents—which we call a law, whether “physical” or “civil,” does not give us a statement of total relationships but only of certain abstract relationships that we call cause and effect, that we may use in controlling present conditions in the fulfilment of our interests, but that always ignores other possible relationships until future needs require their definition. Empiricism or intuition gives us no explicit criterion of right conduct other than the immediate will or impulse of the individual. Such doctrines have the grain of important truth that the undefined or previously defined relationships, more numerous than those immediately in consciousness, are always at work in us, helping to determine our conduct by relatively unconscious adjustments of habit in socially desirable ways. But without recognition of the importance of the scientific method in morals, furnishing rules or generalized statements of the conditions of right conduct that can be experimentally tested and publicly agreed upon, everything is left to the individual’s private and unanalyzed impulse, and we fall back into the disasters of autocracy and force employed by those who are either unwilling or unable to have their methods publicly understood. Thus von Tannenberg said: “The German people is always right, because it is the German people, and because it numbers 87,000,000. . . . Since we have the force, we have not to seek reasons.”¹

¹ *Grossdeutschland*, edition of 1911, pp. 230-31, quoted in *Out of Their Own Mouth*, p. 79 (published by Appleton).

The historical method of science, as used in sociology, must be largely a study of the past as revealing the method of social evolution in such a way as to enable us to use it in controlling our future development. "The significance of conscious or spiritual values cannot be made out by direct inspection, nor yet by direct physical dissection and recombination. . . . History gives these facts in process of becoming or generation; the earlier terms of the series provide us with the simplification which is the counterpart of isolation in physical experiment; each successive later term answers the purpose of synthetic recombination under increasingly complex conditions." Thus "right" conduct, that which attains the end of social union, is just as truly determinable by the scientific method of historic or genetic study as is mechanical invention or any other kind of human adaptation.¹ The whole trend of modern philosophy is in this direction. Says Professor Dewey:

A complete historical account of the development of any ethical idea or practice would not only enable us to interpret both its cruder and more mature forms, but, what is even more important, would give us insight into the operations and conditions which make for morality, and thus afford us intellectual tools for attacking other moral facts. . . . In analogy with the results flowing in physical sciences from intellectual control, we have every reason to suppose that the successful execution of this mode of approach would yield also fruit in practical control: that is, knowledge of means by which individual and

¹ For an excellent discussion of the philosophical implications here involved see *Philosophical Review*, XXVII, No. 6, articles on "Mechanism vs. Vitalism," especially those of Professors Marvin, Warren, and Hoernle.

My own point of view is that both of these categories are partial and complementary statements of the operation of experience, which is more adequately expressed by the category of teleology. Mechanism stands for the side of order, habit, the possibility of sufficient predictableness in our experience for the purposes of practical control. Vitalism, on the other hand, stands essentially for the side of variation, change, the possibility of progress and growth. Teleology stands for both, for orderly progress. If there is anything really new under the sun, if progress, growth, are real, if human efforts count for any real additions to the values of the universe, as modern science assumes, then it is neither possible nor needful to predict the total consequences of any line of activity, but only such general forms of the consequences as we need to know for controlling activity in the fulfilment of life as an increasingly valuable quality of experience. Variation operates within limits set by habits at any particular time; and mechanism is simply the system of habits, the constitutional organization and tendency of activity that serves as a guide, not as a suppression of growth. All distinctions, including mechanism, are made for the sake of some end.

corporate conduct might be modified in desirable directions. If we get knowledge of a process of generation, we get knowledge of how to proceed in getting a desired result.¹

In other words we need to know the method of transition, whether we desire to proceed from one type of social activity to another or from one type of civilization to another. In any case, whether in dealing with a situation in its structural aspects as an organized system of relationships or in its evolutionary aspects as developing out of one type of system and into another, the essential point of interpretation is as to the nature of the members in the system or of the types in the series, and this can be determined only by such a classification as will show their functional or genetic relationship to each other.

4. *In defining the social standard as a harmoniously growing social union, sociology is logically compelled to make a double classification of the conditions of union: on the one hand, of the psychical or subjective conditions; and, on the other, of the social or objective conditions.*—The one is an analysis of the character of the individual, of the system of personal functions or interests which make up the generic individual. The other is an analysis of the character of the social environment, of the system of social functions or vocations which constitute the objective social union. In any valid account of the social constitution as the standard of social relationships neither one of these factors of the constitution can be ignored or slighted, as certain recent sociological writers have seemed to attempt to do.² It is now coming to be recognized by competent experts generally that both individual character, as psychologically interpreted, and social environment, as sociologically interpreted, must be taken into account and definitely related to each other in any determination of conduct.³

¹ Dewey, *Philosophical Review*, IX, 124.

² Cf. Bernard, *The Transition to an Objective Standard of Social Control*. Of course, science always treats its subject-matter, even in the case of psychological analysis of the elements of character, as objective; but as the individual is an imitator of that which is new in moral development, it is not possible to deduce psychological analysis completely to objective terms.

³ Cf. Dewey, "Logical Conditions of a Scientific Treatment of Morality." It is interesting to note in this connection the beginning of character analysis successfully used by our war authorities for placing soldiers in their positions. *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Vol. III, esp. pp. 138, 139.

The problem of the social standard is thus the problem of the relation of the individual to society in its most general form. The assumptions and practices of autocracy and bolshevism, capitalism and anarchism, today are crying demands for at least a better statement and if possible a practical solution of this problem, adapted to the needs of the times. The problem has usually been stated in the confused and insoluble form: Is the individual subordinate to the state or the state subordinate to the individual? The autocrat answers, The individual is subordinate to the state, because he asserts himself (or his class) to be the state, and the other fellow (of the mass) to be the individual. The anarchist answers, The state is subordinate to the individual, and for the same reason: he regards himself as the individual, and the autocrat, or his class, as the state. These two attitudes simply represent the natural reactions of self-preservation in the relationship of despotism, on the one hand, and slavery, on the other, that has become unstable and impossible under modern conditions of general enlightenment. Naturally the anarchist wishes to abolish all states *of that alien imposed kind*, and, failing to realize that there is any other kind of state than that which is essentially unorganic, irrational, and consequently coercive, he would abolish all states whatever, hoping to retain necessary orderly co-operation through the sheer enlightenment and benevolence of "unspoiled" human nature.

The present supreme problem of sociology is to make the world see the meaning of democracy as a social order in which neither the individual nor society is subordinate to the other *in general*, as the class theory of social relationship tries to maintain, but that each is subordinate to the other at different times *under particular conditions*; and it is the chief business of sociology to make clear the nature of those conditions. Any successful effort to do so must include, on the one hand, a classification that will give the system of capacities and interests of the individual, and, on the other, a classification of the vocations and institutional activities that will help to reveal the requirements of the particular social situation in which the individual finds himself. In other words, in a democracy, the relation of the individual to society is organic, the par-

ticular individual being the organ or agent through which all individuals, co-operating as a union, community, or society, are served. In brief, the conditions under which the individual is superior to society are those in which he is an efficient servant of society, an inventor and organizer of improvements useful to society. When the individual is subordinate to society it is then his privilege and business to help carry out and make available generally the useful inventions of others. All individuals actually play both rôles to some extent, and it is the faith of democracy, of all who see and cherish the democratic idea, that an organic union shall be established, in which every individual in serving society shall at the same time be serving himself, and in serving himself shall be serving society as well. *The distinction of superiority and subordination must be recognized as not a distinction of special favor but a distinction of special function.* In this sense, then, *the problem of the relationship of the individual to society in our time is pre-eminently that of changing class relationships into vocational relationships.* We may properly speak of vocational classes; but the vocational distinction is fundamental.

When we begin to consider the social problem as that of the harmonious, united co-operation of vocational activities, it at once becomes evident that we must have some means, on the one hand, of accurately identifying and estimating the powers of the individual to take a part in the world's work, and, on the other, of accurately judging the nature and kind of work to be done. The one requires a classification of the psychical factors of individual character, the other a classification of the social factors of community organization. The further task of sociology is to show how these two sets of factors co-operate to achieve the social union and growth that we call civilization, the co-operative commonwealth, the Kingdom of God, or by whatever term we designate the social standard or ideal; democracy is the term now in vogue.

In every moral judgment we become explicitly conscious of our organic relationship to the community, large or small, in which we live. That relationship in fact is the subject of the moral judgment. When we judge an act to be morally good or bad, we thereby at the same time judge the goodness or the badness both of the actor's

character and of the circumstances under which he acted. In law, for example, where the moral nature of the act is in question, both individual character and social conditions are taken into account in reaching a decision. It therefore becomes highly important for us to define accurately what we mean by character and by social relations, and just how they are related to each other. It is not sufficient to say vaguely that character consists of the system of the individual's habits and interests. We must define what the habits and interests are and how they operate to produce the individual's characteristic acts. In order to do this effectively we must have some general means of analyzing character that will at the same time serve as a standard by which to judge it. We must ask in general, "Just what are the various distinguishable psychical attitudes and tendencies? How do they hang together? How does one call forth or preclude another? We need an inventory of the different characteristic dispositions; an account of how each is connected, both in the way of stimulation and inhibition, with every other."¹ Similarly, it is not sufficient to say that the social situation is simply the system of institutions and vocations in which the individual happens to find himself, pointing out their conventional and familiar features. We need to know more definitely what the functional relationships of the institutions and vocations are to each other, how they "hang together," how they stimulate, check, serve one another, as a system. It is just because individuals do have characters that we can, even now, roughly predict their acts under given conditions. Acts are the outcome of the interaction of these two factors, and we need to know more about them in order to achieve self-government. We well know that social vocations call out and modify the individual's interests and habits and that these, in turn, develop and modify the vocations. But how does this organic circuit reconstruct the social constitution? What is the system? We do not know sufficiently to control the process, and so the ship of state and of world-affairs is without adequate chart and compass. If we had had, prior to the recent world-war, clearly and amply stated such an analysis of the forces of social organization as would have enabled us to see, on the one hand, the

¹ Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

social significance of the "imperialistic" and "anarchistic" types of character, for example, and, on the other, the relationship of the existing social institutions and practices to each other, it is reasonable to infer that we could have avoided such an extensive breakdown of civilization as we have recently experienced. "We require, prior to a particular moral crisis, a statement in universal terms of the mechanism of the attitudes and dispositions which determine judgment about action; while, on the other hand, we need a similar prior analysis and classification of the situations which call forth such judgment."¹

It is not merely prior to a moral crisis that we need such a double classification of the chief aspects of our experience. We need it as a means of facilitating all judgments dealing specifically with the adjustment of persons to their social situation, whether it be an economic judgment, concerning the hiring and directing of employees; or an educational judgment, concerning the instruction of a child; or a ministerial judgment, concerning the development of a good citizenship; or a governmental judgment, concerning the treatment of a prisoner, the making of a law, or the administration of international and interracial intercourse—in all such practical affairs we are in serious need of an analytical standard for the understanding, testing, and adjusting of the individual and his environment.² This is sociology's or social philosophy's "characteristic problem: the genesis and functioning in experience of various typical interests and occupations with reference to one another."³

5. *Sociology must make clear and explicit use of the leading concepts developed by the logically and historically prior sciences, especially the main concepts of logic, biology, and psychology, viz., unity, life, and consciousness.*—This simply means that, in attacking the social problem, sociology, as the very foundation and machinery for its whole constructive work, must come to some clear understand-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

² For an excellent statement from the point of view of the needs of pedagogy see *Teachers' Manuals*, No. 25 (Kellog & Co.), containing "My Pedagogical Creed," by Professor Dewey, and "Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy," by Professor Small.

³ *Essays in Experimental Logic*, p. 102.

ing and agreement as to what we logically must mean by the maintaining of unity and consistency in experience, how a living thing maintains itself, and how consciousness furthers this life-process. A clear understanding of these fundamentals is the necessary ground for the effective use of the large outfit of other concept tools required in sociology, among them being those of standard, organization, achievement, success, co-operation, organism, environment, normality, abnormality, conflict, peace, development, progress, end, aim, perfection, good, evil, freedom, responsibility, cause, effect, interest, justice, economy, order, friendship, beauty, and hundreds of other tremendously significant terms that we often use so carelessly and so foolishly. For the lack of an adequate grounding in logic, biology, and psychology, sociology and all the special social sciences are more or less futilely floundering. "Decision, for instance, about what constitutes the ethical standard—whether conduciveness to 'happiness' or approximation to 'perfection' of being—must be relatively futile, until there is some method of determining by reference to the logical necessity of the case what anything must be and mean in order to be a standard at all."¹

I take the position that the standard is the union, which means fundamentally the social union, the organic co-operation of the social functions in the maintainance and enrichment of personality as manifested in the individual; and that any system or condition of affairs failing to achieve that end is not only in need of reconstruction but is inevitably in actual process of reconstruction by intelligence with that end more or less distinctly in consciousness. Thinking, indeed consciousness itself, occurs only when the unity of practical conduct becomes impaired sufficiently to impede the operation of our functions. This is the condition in which old habits are no longer sufficient to maintain the union and new ones must be developed to that end. Consciousness, especially in its more reflective phase, is the function whose business is to keep restoring the unity of co-operation in the system of functions, as it becomes from time to time disordered. But consciousness is more than a mere instrument of adjustment; it is

¹ Dewey, "Logical Conditions of a Scientific Treatment of Morality," p. 130.

also an accumulator of values. Unconscious, automatic action is not characteristically human action, but the reverse. The characteristically human is the highly conscious. By harmonizing conflicts in the interests of control, intelligence does not annihilate itself; on the contrary, it strengthens and enriches itself. Every act of the judgment enriches the content of the concepts employed in it, and thereby deepens consciousness. This growth of consciousness through its own operations in securing social unity is the essential factor in the development of civilization. Consciousness is possible only in a thing which grows, and is not only a promoter of growth but also a repository for the values developed in growth—having in each complete act of adjustment its own phases of increasing value.

To anticipate a little, by way of illustration, what we shall endeavor to develop more explicitly in the next chapter, intelligence or consciousness as reflective in its work of restoring the unity of experience passes through four successive phases, whenever the impairment of the union is extensive enough to require thorough reorganization. The first is the practical phase, in which we make comparatively slight and immediate “physical” adjustments, whose values appear to us as economic goods. If these are adequate to restore the union of our functions our problem is solved, reflection subsides, and overt activity proceeds again. Many of our reflective acts are of this type, involving comparatively slight physical modifications of the environment in the more immediate satisfaction of our more “bodily” wants. But if the disorganization is not thus adjusted, then reflection passes into the scientific phase, in which we make more extensive, mediate, “mental” adjustments, constructing theories, hypotheses, principles, formulas, with which to secure control of the situation in reinstating union. In this phase of reflection which we call science, to be sure, the immediate, more conscious object is not the union; it is truth. But the world at large prizes truth, not merely as an end, but because by assisting to secure union it brings freedom, the practical value of the union. When, however, disunion has proceeded so far as plainly to involve personal relationships, then we become conscious that the merely scientific phase of the judgment is not sufficient, and reflection

passes into the ethical phase. In this we become aware that the end is, after all, the social union, whose value is friendship; and we make "moral" adjustments to relate ourselves consciously in this wider union. If this adjustment, once more, is comparatively simple and easy, then the judging form of experience may lapse again easily into overt action of an unreflective type; but if in the moral phase large difficulties have been overcome (it may be all up through the practical and the scientific phases as well), then our emotions have been aroused, we become conscious of the achieved union as a value of harmony, our reflection passes into the aesthetic phase, and our adjustment is of the "artistic" type—a complete union of theory and practice in which conduct is nicely adapted to conditions and harmony becomes beauty. The elementary stages or types of judgment, then, are the practical, the scientific, the moral, and the aesthetic—stated in the ascending order of their depth of consciousness and their richness and value of content.

The ground pattern of the constitution of the union is the biological system of functions, by which any living thing maintains its identity, its unity, and which we can discern in ourselves as a definitely related series of phases of consciousness operating to transform an old, disintegrating union of decreasing value into a new and larger union of increasing value.

6. *The final step in scientific sociological method is the preparation of general, practical programs of action, whereby the principles of social organization and progress can be achieved by the experimental method in community life.* The details of such general programs must be left to legislation, administration, and the other innumerable modern agencies of systematic social reconstruction.

EDITORIAL

MR. GEORGE E. ROBERTS AND DEMOCRACY

In the *American Review of Reviews* for July, 1919, Mr. George E. Roberts uses the career of Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip to carry a conclusion which is implied but not directly stated. It amounts to this: ". . . in the case of Frank Vanderlip we have one boy rising from the ranks of the common people, by his own efforts, without adventitious circumstances, to a position of leadership and great power." *Therefore our present capitalistic system is as democratic as any system that could be imagined in a rational world.*

We assume that everything which Mr. Roberts states as a fact about Mr. Vanderlip is true. On the basis not only of these facts, but of Mr. Vanderlip's previous reputation, we cordially accept the inference that Mr. Vanderlip deserves a place in the highest ranks of desirable citizens. Contrary to the implications of Mr. Roberts' eulogy, we are fortunately not confined to the alternatives of accepting capitalism as a perfect system or of condemning capitalists as enemies of society. Put in this form, the conclusion which Mr. Roberts evidently wishes his readers to draw from his statements is as fallacious as the other version. Because, under our capitalistic system, men may climb "from the ranks of the common people" to positions of "leadership and great power," and because such men may deserve the respect of all right-thinking people, it by no means follows that the system of social arrangements in which these successes are gained is a system of such surpassing merit that it should be made perpetual.

Reasoning parallel to that of Mr. Roberts would reach the conclusion that Romanism is a good system. Even the most convinced Protestants, if they are historically minded, recognize that the Church of Rome has done and is doing incalculable good. Times without number men have risen within that system from low—yes, from nearly the lowest—stations to "places of leadership and great power." This does not convince Protestants, and indeed this standing by itself would not convince intelligent Catholics, that the papal system is a good system.

One of the reasons why gentlemen of Mr. Roberts' type do not detect the fallacious character of the arguments of which the article in question is a sample, is that they have not sufficiently analyzed such concepts

as "adventitious" and "by his own efforts." In this connection it is needless to probe deeper than the fact that every human situation whatsoever is a resultant not merely of the workings of inexorable physical causation but of more or less erratic and involved human volition. In so far as this factor of human causation is concerned in determining the antecedents and surroundings within which individuals function, the human lot is everywhere and always to that extent adventitious. It is an adventitious circumstance that hundreds of thousands of Americans are willing to pay good money to see well-played games of baseball. It is an adventitious circumstance that hundreds of Americans have been interested in exploiting the pecuniary possibilities of this fact. During the past thirty years thousands of men, not "by their own efforts," but by their own efforts multiplied by many adventitious circumstances of which those cited are the most obvious, instead of pursuing the less congenial and less lucrative occupations of truck-drivers or piano-movers, have followed the more congenial and more lucrative calling of professional baseball-players. No reflection upon professional baseball players is involved in this analysis; no denial that the players bring to the adventitious circumstances an indispensable contribution. The analysis shows first that the idea of a professional ball-player by grace of his individual effort alone is an illusion, and, further, that the existence of professional ball-players neither proves nor disproves that commercialized baseball is a good social arrangement.

Every social order is a co-ordination of circumstances into which the adventitious element enters with countless forms and forces. This is not equivalent to saying that the world is essentially adventitious. It means simply that the kind of world a given person is born into is not of his devising, nor is the kind of world which his generation makes for itself, in more than a minor fraction of *its*, still less of *his*, devising. Whether for better or for worse, the lot of each individual, even the most original and forceful, is so largely determined by his predecessors and contemporaries that his career must consist largely of accommodation to factors not within his own control. All these together do much more than his own individual performance to determine results.

Mr. Roberts refers, as though it were a matter of course, to an adventitious circumstance of enormous importance in Mr. Vanderlip's life. It is an adventitious circumstance of super-pregnancy that Americans have created corporations at all. This circumstance is so highly adventitious that in its present form it was practically non-existent in the world previous to 1800, and it did not bulk large enough in America

to attract much attention till after our Civil War. It is a permutation of adventitious factors that Americans in recent years have consented to such involutions of corporations as in Mr. Roberts' mind evidently appear to be virtually parts of the foreordained order of nature: "The National City Company is a bond-selling organization closely affiliated with the National City Bank, *the stockholders being the same and with the stock held in the same proportions*" [italics ours]. The allusion throws the stronger light upon Mr. Roberts' conception of what is and is not "adventitious," by following hard upon a paragraph in which he mentions casually "the American International Corporation, with an authorized capital of \$50,000,000. . . . Mr. Vanderlip was the founder of this organization and is Chairman of the Board." Mr. Roberts did not think it pertinent to mention how many other estimable gentlemen are making their way in life "by their own efforts" through such purely non-adventitious circumstances as permit such "positions of leadership and great power" to exist as do exist in the case of corporations which interlock either legally or by virtue of gentlemen's agreements.

For centuries the bureaucrats of St. Petersburg and Moscow suppressed every movement to find out whether, without the system which the world has called Czarism, there could be social order in Russia. For centuries the bureaucrats of Prussia succeeded in procuring acquiescence of the nation in the superstition that without the system which the world has called Hohenzollernism there could be no social order in Germany. We predict that the results are bound to be equally calamitous if American bureaucrats of finance succeed very long in preventing their fellow-citizens from finding out that a better social order is possible in the United States than the system which the world calls capitalism.

Since 1793 every left-over autocracy in Europe has met every suggestion of a step toward political liberalism with the scare-cry that "That means the Terror!" For the autocrats there was nothing between the extremes autocracy and anarchy. One may venture the judgment that there is no single factor more dangerous in America today than the type of men who are willing to fight for the theory that there is no middle ground between capitalism and communism. In fact, the system known as capitalism—we will not obscure the present point by trying to define the term—is a very recent experiment in the world's history, and there is the same incentive for improvement of it as of anything else created by human legislation.

The irrepressible conflict now forcing itself upon all industrial societies is merely the latest variation of the immemorial social process

of bringing conventional institutions into comparison with possible institutions of people. To raise the question of the moral character of such men as Mr. Vanderlip is merely to create a diversion which beclouds the issue. The thing that really matters is not whether men like Mr. Vanderlip are good men. It is whether the system they represent is a good system. The real issue is not between capital and no capital. It is a system which tends to lodge the control of capital in the hands of a diminishing few and a system which tends to extend the control of capital to an increasing many. The issue is not between private property and no private property. It is between private property proper and a system which credits as private property wealth and power largely of public creation and public preservation and rightfully belonging under public rather than private control. It is between those kinds of wealth which are created and held by private persons with the least adventitious aid, and are therefore as near as possible to "inalienable rights," and those kinds of wealth which are possible only through the workings of adventitious legal machinery, and have yet to prove to what extent they may be justly subject to private right at all.

The strategic center of the present social problem is not the problem of personal liberty. It is the problem of a social order in which the natural liberties of real persons have been embarrassed by the fabricated liberties of artificial persons. It is the problem of the extent to which license given by law to fictitious, impersonal super-persons has created an adventitious situation in unavoidable conflict with the general interests of actual persons. It is not the problem of corporations versus no corporations. It is the problem of corporations defectively controlled by the public which creates them versus corporations so controlled that the benefits of their publicly conferred powers will accrue primarily and chiefly to the public, and only secondarily and subordinately to the proxies of the public who exercise those powers.

Whatever the social system, it never has been and never can be literal autocracy. It can continue to be a system at all only by furnishing conditions in which enough of the types of men necessary to run the system can make their way to the necessary places of "leadership and power." By so doing, however, no system necessarily covers the needs of the whole group whose interests must eventually decide whether the system is good.

Doing so much does not make democracy. Whatever finally satisfies our ideas of democracy, it will certainly be, not what is possible for the exceptional few, but what is actual for the typical many.

STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

Letters were sent by the editors to universities and colleges offering graduate work in sociology asking for the names of students who are candidates for the A.M. or Ph.D. degree and whose Masters' theses or Doctors' dissertations fall within the field of sociology. The dates given indicate the probable year in which the degree will be conferred. The italics indicate the institution where the theses or dissertations are in progress.

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

- Robert E. Abram, B.S. Missouri; A.M. Missouri. "A Composite Survey of Columbia, Missouri." 1920. *Missouri*.
- Gertrude B. Austin, B.S. Grinnell. "Leadership in the Woman Suffrage Movement in New York City." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Georgia Louise Baxter, A.B. Denver; A.M. California. "Study of Desertion and Non-Support." 1919. *Bryn Mawr*.
- Herman H. Beneke, A.B. Miami; A.M. Chicago. "The Concept of Graft." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Joshua Bernhardt, A.B. Rochester. "Government Control of Sugar during the War." 1920. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Clarence D. Blachly, A.B. Grinnell. "A Survey of Social-Service Courses of Study of Protestant Churches." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Walter Blaine Bodenhafer, A.B. Indiana; L.L.B. Indiana; A.M. Kansas. "Rôle of Group Concept in Ward and Modern Sociology." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Agnes Mary Byrnes, A.B. Northwestern; A.M. Columbia. "Industrial Home-Work in Pennsylvania." 1919. *Bryn Mawr*.
- Ginevra Capocelli, A.B. Naples; A.M. Columbia. "The Influence of the War on Italy." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Archibald B. Clark, A.B. Reed. "The Popular Vote as an Index of Social Solidarity." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Dew Dailey, A.B. Cornell; A.M. Columbia. "The Control of Migration." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Mary O. Cowper, A.B. Drury; A.M. Kansas. "The History of Woman Suffrage in Kansas." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Chas. W. Crane, A.B. McGill; B.D. McGill. "A Social Survey of a Chicago Community." 1920. *Chicago*.

- Frieda Opal Daniel, A.B. Drake. "A Social Survey of an Industrial Area, Chicago." 1921. *Chicago*.
- Stanley Powell Davies, A.B. Bucknell. "Racial Assimilation in a Community in the Anthracite Coal Region." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Clarence D. Dittmer, Ph.B. Hampden; A.M. Wisconsin. "A Socio-Economic Survey of Living Conditions in North China." 1920. *Wisconsin*.
- Z. T. Egardner, A.B. Basel; A.M. Cincinnati. "Problems of Socialization, Democratization, and Americanization in an Urban Community." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Frieda Fligelman, A.B. Wisconsin. "The Principle of Participation—A Critique of 'Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures.'" 1920. *Columbia*.
- Earl S. Fullbrook, A.B. Morningside; A.M. Iowa. "The History and Methods of the American Red Cross." 1920. *Iowa*.
- William E. Garnett, A.B. Cornell; A.M. Peabody College. "Rural Social Survey of Albemarle County, Virginia." 1919. *Wisconsin*.
- Jacob A. Goldberg, A.B. City College of New York. "Social Treatment of the Insane." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Edith Scott Gray, A.B. Oberlin; A.M. Chicago. "Systems of Workingmen's Compensation in Practice." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Sven Gustav Hägglund, A.B. Augustana College; A.M. Brown. "Social Factors in the New Testament." 1919. *Brown*.
- George E. Hartmann, A.B. Cincinnati. "Race Prejudice as a Factor in the Determination of Racial Consciousness in the Negro." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Joyce O. Hertzler, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College. "The Jewish Prophets and Apocalyptists as Forerunners of the Utopians." 1920. *Wisconsin*.
- Roy Hinman Holmes, A.B. Hillsdale; A.M. Michigan. "Effect of Modern Communication on Rural Communities." 1920. *Michigan*.
- Jakub Horák, Ph.B. Chicago. "A Study of Czecho-Slovak Community Organization in Chicago." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Yu Tinor Hugh, A.B. Maine; A.M. Clark. "Social Evolution and Social Control in China." 1920. *Clark*.
- Uichi Iwasaki, LL.B. Kansas; A.M. Columbia. "Phases of Social Organization in Japan, 1911-1919." 1920. *Columbia*.
- C. C. Jansen, A.B. Taylor College; A.M. Kansas. "The Americanization of German Russian Mennonites in Central Kansas." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Howard E. Jensen, A.B., A.M., Kansas; D.B. Chicago. "The Origins and Functions of Religious Journalism." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Glenn R. Johnson, A.B. Reed. "The American Newspaper as an Indicator of Social Forces." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Frederick Jones, A.B. Richmond College; A.M. Columbia. "Measure of Forms of Political Progress." 1920. *Columbia*.

- Kisaburo Kawabe, LL.B. Waseda; A.M. Wisconsin. "The Influence of Japanese Newspapers on the Political and Economical Development of Present-Day Japan." 1919. *Chicago*.
- C. S. Laidman, A.B. Manitoba; "A Study of the Institutional Church in Chicago." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Porter R. Lee, A.B. Cornell. "Public Outdoor Relief in the United States." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Benjamin Malzberg, B.S. City College. "Causes of Crime." 1919. *Columbia*.
- May Baker Marsh, A.B. Michigan, A.M. Michigan. "Folkways in Art." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Joseph Mayer, A.M. Harvard. "Public Opinion and the Control of the Social Evil." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Roderick D. McKenzie, A.B. Manitoba; A.M. Chicago. "The Social Study of the Neighborhood." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Stuart A. Queen, A.B. Pomona; A.M. Chicago. "The Passing of the Country Jail." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Clarence E. Rainwater, A.B., A.M., Drake. "The Neighborhood Center." 1920. *Chicago*.
- S. C. Ratcliffe, A.B. Mount Allison; A.M. Alberta. "The Influence of the War on American Social Conscience." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Edward Byron Reuter, A.B. Missouri; A.M. Missouri. "The Mulatto in the United States: A Sociological and Psychological Study." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Frank Alexander Ross, Ph.B. Yale; A.M. Columbia. "A Study of the Application of Statistical Methods to Sociological Problems." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Donald W. Sawtelle, B.S. Maine; A.M. Wisconsin. "A Rural Survey of Dane County, Wisconsin." 1920. *Wisconsin*.
- Haynie H. Seay, A.B. Richmond; A.M. Columbia. "Women and Child Labor Conditions in Virginia." 1920. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Herbert Newhard Shenton, A.B. Dickinson; A.M. Columbia. "Collective Decision." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Jacob Singer, A.B. Cincinnati; A.M. Cincinnati. "Taboo in the Old Testament." 1920. *Nebraska*.
- William C. Smith, A.B. Grand Island; A.M. Chicago. "A Study of the Aonago Tribe of India." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Russell Gordon Smith, A.B. Richmond; A.M. Columbia. "A Sociological Study of Opinion in the U.S." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Joseph Lyons Snider, A.B. Amherst; A.M. Harvard. "Feeble-Mindedness in Massachusetts." 1920. *Harvard*.
- Raleigh W. Stone, S.B. Valparaiso; S.M. Valparaiso. "The Origin of the Survey Movement." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Sumis Uesugi, A.M. Chicago. "The Family in Japan." 1919. *Chicago*.

- Albert Perlea VanSusen, A.B. Rochester; A.M. Chicago. "The Socialization of the Church." 1919. *Clark*.
- Donald R. Taft, A.B. Clark. "The Rôle of Sympathy in Labor Organization." 1920. *Columbia*.
- J. Franklin Thomas, A.B. Beloit. "Theories Concerning the Influence of Physical Environment upon Society." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Donna Fay Thompson, A.B. Indiana; A.M. Indiana. "The Birth-Rate in College Graduates' Families." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Frederic M. Thrasher, A.B. De Pauw; A.M. Chicago. "The Boy Scout Movement as a Socializing Agency." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Amy Eaton Watson, A.B. Brown; A.M. Pennsylvania. "Illegitimacy—Its Causes and Cure." 1919. *Bryn Mawr*.
- Edith Elmer Wood, A.B. Smith; A.M. Columbia. "The Housing of the Unskilled Wage-Earner." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Comer M. Woodward, A.B. Emory; A.M., D.B., Chicago. "A Case Study of Successful Rural Churches." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Thomas Jackson Woofter, A.B. Georgia. "Negro Farm Life in Georgia." 1920. *Columbia*.
- A. C. Zumbunnen, A.B. Central; A.M. Missouri. "The Community Church, A New Expression of the Movement for Denominational Unity." 1919. *Chicago*.

LIST OF MASTERS' THESES IN PROGRESS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES
AND COLLEGES

- Alberta Beck Anderson, A.B. Nebraska. "The Mother's Pension Movement in Nebraska." 1919. *Nebraska*.
- Iwao. F. Ayusawa, B.S. Haverford. "A Comparative Study of the Organization and Administration of Public Health in American Cities." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Marion Bancker, A.B. Smith. "Social Relations in Organized Boarding Homes for Girls." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Arthur J. Brunner, A.B. Northwestern College. "Rural Child Labor." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Mary Louise Brown, A.B. Smith. "The Effects of the War upon Women's Work." 1919. *Missouri*.
- Elizabeth Butler, A.B. Vassar. "The Relation of the War to the Cost of Living as it Affects the Low Wage Working-Girl." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Anna Margheretta Cameron, A.B. Nebraska. "Borderlinity in Lincoln: a Study of 200 Cases of Retardation." 1919. *Nebraska*.
- Spenser W. Castle, A.B. Beloit. "A Newspaper Phase of Sociology." 1920. *Chicago*.
- J. S. Rex Cole, Ph.B. Chicago. "A Study of Russian Immigration in Chicago." 1919. *Chicago*.

- Mearl P. Culver, A.B. Albion. "A Survey of a Long Island Town." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Jerome Davis, A.B. Oberlin. "The Soviet Governments in Russia." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Virginia Dixon, A.B. Montana. "Instances of Unstable Collective Coercion in Modern Times." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Charlotte C. Donnell, A.B. Wellesley. "Ideological Factors in the Abolition of Slavery in the U.S." 1919. *Iowa*.
- Elizabeth T. Downing, A.B. Trinity. "After-Care Methods in Dealing with Children in Catholic Institutions." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Frances Dublin, A.B. Hunter. "County Health Organization." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Helen Fisher, A.B. Illinois. "Effect of the War on the Protective Standards of Women in Industry." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Anne B. Fowler, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan. "How Women in Industry Supplement Low Wages." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Frances M. Fraser, A.B. Vassar. "Contributions of the Atlantic Monthly to Public Opinion." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Irma French, A.B. Washington. "Remobilization of Soldiers in Industry." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Mary B. Garvin, A.B. Illinois. "Fifty years of Progress Toward Church Unity in the U.S." 1919. *Illinois*.
- Sophia Gleim, A.B. Ohio Northern. "The Visiting Teacher." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Loraine Richardson Green, Ph.B. Chicago. "Development of Race Consciousness in the American Negro." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Francis Marie Hauss, A.B. Indiana. "The Social Efficiency of Chicago Dispensaries." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Clara L. Hays, S.B. Oklahoma Agricultural. "Edward Carpenter's Conception of Democracy." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Andrew Heavey, A.B. National of Ireland. "The Social Organization of a Parish." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Abraham Henry, A.B. Morgan College. "Negro Methodism." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Clara Hilderman, A.B. Colorado. "A Club of Adolescent Girls." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Daniel C. Holtom, A.B. Kalamazoo. "Social Theory and Practice in Early Christianity." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Nelson Page Horn, A.B. Missouri; B.D. Garrett Biblical Institute. "The Survey as a Method of Studying Rural Social Life." 1919. *Northwestern*.
- Louis Hurwich, A.B. Columbia. "The Jewish Schools in Chicago in Relation to Americanization." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Sara J. Jacobs. A.B. Colorado. "Budget of the Department of Public Charities in New York City since 1902." 1919. *Columbia*.

- Clarence R. Johnson, A.B. Brown. "Work among War Prisoners in France." 1919. *Brown*.
- Ruth Anne Koester, A.B. Washburn. "Sociological Study of a Domestic Relations Court." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Frank Nob Kondo, A.B. Southern California. "The Development of the Eugenics Movement." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Shiko Kusama, Ph. B. Chicago. "Public Opinion and the Japanese Press in the United States." 1920. *Chicago*.
- August F. Larson, A.B. Eureka. "A Housing Survey of Columbia, Missouri." 1919. *Missouri*.
- Jean R. Lennox, A.B. Missouri. "A Study of the Home Service Work of the American Red Cross." 1919. *Missouri*.
- Frieda Martens, A.B. Southern California. "The Nature of Patriotism." 1919. *Southern California*.
- Edith W. Mendenhall, A.B. Swarthmore. "Survivals among Italian Immigrants." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Frankie G. Merson, A.B. Bates. "Recent Tendencies in the Labor Movement in England and America." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Cora Mitchell, A.B. Morningside. "Infant-Welfare Agencies in Chicago." 1920. *Northwestern*.
- Urdell Montgomery, A.B. Hastings. "The Indian Outcast." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Charles W. Nelson, A.B. Temple. "The Social Activities of Negroes in Chelsea District." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Harry H. Reimund, A.B. Nebraska. "Non-Attendance in Rural Communities in Nebraska; Its Cause and Cure." 1920. *Nebraska*.
- George Rossouw, A.B. Cape of Good Hope. "A Social Analysis of the Dutch-speaking Family in South Africa." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Lynn H. Rupert, A.B. Baker; B.D. Drew. "The American Protestant Pulpit." 1920. *Columbia*.
- Jacob R. Schütz, A.B. Chicago. "A Study of a Group of Boys with Reference to Interest." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Gregg M. Sinclair, A.B. Minnesota. "Siblings and Eminence." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Pardaman Singh, A.B. Utah. "Sikh Brotherhood." 1919. *Kansas*.
- Gilbert H. Smith, A.B. Trinity. "Denominational Activities at State Universities." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Alice L. Struthers, A.B. Southern California. "The Nature of Americanism." 1919. *Southern California*.
- Theresa Sweetser, A.B. Trinity College. "A Study of Catholic Charities in Minneapolis and St. Paul." 1919. *Minnesota*.
- Yuk Sam Tom, Ph.B. Chicago. "A Study of the Social Settlement Movement in Chicago." 1919. *Chicago*.

- Marcia E. Turner, S.B. Kansas State Agricultural. "The Community Kitchen in Its Relation to the Home." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Anita Waldhorst, A.B. Alabama. "The Yorkville Girls' Club as a Social Index." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Claude W. Warren, Ph. B. Chicago. "The Appeal of Early Christianity to the Poor." 1919. *Chicago*.
- Mary A. Watson, A.B. Vassar. "The Home Service Work of the American Red Cross." 1919. *Columbia*.
- Walter T. Watson, A.B. Southern California. "The Recreation Problem at Fort MacArthur." 1919. *Southern California*.
- Marie B. Westerfield, A.B. Kansas City. "A Study of the Repeater." 1919. *Kansas*.
- Erle Fiske Young, Ph.B. Chicago. "Organized Relief in the Homes of Enlisted Men." 1920. *Chicago*.
- Josephine Lucille Zrust, A.B. Nebraska. "Housing Conditions among Working Girls, with Especial Reference to Lincoln." 1919. *Nebraska*.

NEWS AND NOTES

INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE

The officers of the Institut International de Sociologie for the year 1919, as announced in the *Revue internationale de sociologie*, are as follows: President, Sr. Luigi Luzzatti, deputy, minister of state, formerly president of the Italian council of ministers, professor at the University of Rome; Vice-Presidents (in alphabetical order): Sr. Rafael Altamira, senator, professor of history at the University of Madrid; M. Alexandre Ribot, senator, formerly president of the council of ministers, president of the Sociological Society of Paris; Dr. Edward A. Ross, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, formerly president of the American Sociological Society; General Secretary, M. René Worms, editor of the *Revue internationale de sociologie*; Treasurer, M. P. L. Manouvrier, professor of physiological anthropology at the School of Anthropology; Critic, M. Charles Gide, professor of comparative social economy of the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The next Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society will not be held in Lexington, Kentucky, as previously announced, but in Chicago, Illinois, December 29-31, 1919, with headquarters at the La Salle Hotel. The American Economic Association and other allied societies will meet in Chicago at the same time.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORKERS

The Forty-sixth Annual Meeting of Social Workers at Atlantic City, June 1-8, possessed certain outstanding characteristics: the unusually large attendance; the participation, upon the program, of visiting experts in child welfare from foreign countries; the effectiveness of the well-planned general sessions; the increasing interest in the developing fields of the local community, mental hygiene, the organization of social forces, and the uniting of native and foreign born; and the emergence of two groups within the conference, one which adheres to its

traditional policy as a forum of discussion and exchange of experience, and one which proposes the formulation of programs of social action.

The growing interest and participation of our colleges and universities in the field of social work were evinced in the place on the program allotted to their representatives. The two addresses, both given at general sessions, "The Wartime Gains of the American Family," by Professor James H. Tufts, of the University of Chicago, and "The Treatment of Immigrant Heritages," by Professor Herbert A. Miller, of Oberlin College, contributed original and fundamental standpoints to an understanding and solution of our problems of the family and of the immigrant as related to the after-effects of the war. Papers by Professor Dwight Sanderson, of Cornell University, on "Rural Social Work," by Professor E. C. Branson, of the University of North Carolina, on "The North Carolina Scheme of Rural Development," and by Professor E. L. Morgan, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, on "Mobilizing the Rural Community for Results," helped to draw the attention of social workers to the aspects of the rural problem which differentiate it from the urban situation. Other papers were given by Professor Ellsworth Faris, of Iowa State University, on "The State Program of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station"; by Professor Edward S. Ames, of the University of Chicago, on "The Moral Education of the Training-School Inmate"; by Professor F. S. Chapin, of Smith College, on "Relations of Sociology and Social Case Work"; by Professor James Ford, of Harvard University, on "Can Education and Recreation Be Combined in Self-governing and Self-supporting Community Houses?" and by Professor Manuel C. Elmer, of the University of Kansas, on "How to Organize the Small Town for Community Work."

NORWEGIAN NOBEL INSTITUTE

The Norwegian Nobel Institute at Christiania announces that it has resolved to set up for international competition the following subject: "An Account of the History of the Free Trade Movement in the Nineteenth Century and its Bearing on the International Peace Movement."

The essays can be written in English, French, or German, or in one of the Scandinavian languages. The author of the eventual Prize essay will be remunerated with kr. 5,000.00—five thousand Norwegian crowns. His work will then become the property of the Norwegian Nobel Institute. The essays bearing an epigraph and accompanied

with a sealed envelope containing the name of the author must be sent in to the Norwegian Nobel Institute, 19 Drammensvei, Christiania, before July 1, 1922.

TEXAS INFORMATION BUREAU

At the instance of the Texas Colleges Association, the educational institutions and other cultural organizations of the state have formed the Texas Information Bureau. Its purpose is "to receive and gather information as to lecturers, publicists, demonstrators, musicians, or exponents of literature, political science, economics, art, music, drama, or anything of cultural or accepted value, to the end that all members of the Bureau may have their earliest information of available attractions, their claims for value, and tentative expense." The Bureau is organized on a service and not a profit basis, and will be a clearing-house for the dissemination of cultural and social knowledge in the communities throughout the state. The officers of the Bureau are: Chairman, Professor W. D. Hornaday, of the University of Texas; Vice-Chairman, Dr. S. L. Hornbeak, of Trinity University; and Executive Secretary, Elmer Scott, of the Civic Federation of Dallas.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Harold Stephen Bucklin, Ph.D., has been made assistant professor in social science.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dr. Ellsworth Faris, acting director and research professor in sociology of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station and professor of psychology in the State University of Iowa, has accepted an appointment to a professorship in sociology in the University of Chicago. Dr. Faris will develop the work in social and racial psychology in the department of sociology.

Professor E. C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, is offering two courses in sociology in the first term of the Summer Quarter, after which he will give a two weeks' course of lectures at the State Teachers College of Colorado.

Dr. Edith Abbott has returned to the University after completing an investigation in England for the Carnegie corporation.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Dr. William H. Parker, assistant professor of social science, who has been absent on leave for war service, will resume his work in the department in the autumn.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Professor W. F. Ogburn, head of the department of sociology in the University of Washington, has resigned to accept a professorship in sociology at Columbia University. During the war Professor Ogburn served as statistician for the National War Labor Board at Washington.

GOUCHER COLLEGE

Dr. E. B. Reuter and Mr. Stuart A. Queen, of the University of Illinois, and Dr. R. W. Stone, of the University of Chicago, have accepted appointments as assistant professors in the department of social science.

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

Dr. John M. Thomas has resumed the presidency after having had charge of a social center at Camp Merritt for six months.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Dr. Ross L. Finney has been appointed professor of educational sociology. He will be connected with the College of Education and the department of sociology.

Dr. Manuel C. Elmer, associate professor of sociology at the University of Kansas, has resigned to accept a position as associate professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota.

TOLEDO UNIVERSITY

Dr. Charles J. Bushnell has been elected professor of social science at this municipal university. Since 1901, when he received the Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago, Dr. Bushnell has held professorships of social science and administrative positions in several colleges and universities, including Grinnell College, Lawrence College, the State Agricultural College of Oklahoma, and Pacific University, where

he was for four years president. Besides academic teaching and administration, Dr. Bushnell has been active in civic improvement work. For five summers he was organizer and supervisor of public play in several cities, including Cleveland, Washington, D.C., and Indianapolis; was for one season in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and two seasons on the Chautauqua lecture platform—last summer under the direction of the federal government.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Professor Frank W. Blackmar, head of the department of sociology of the University of Kansas, will offer a course in "Fundamentals of Sociology" and another in "Eugenics" in the summer school.

REVIEWS

Democracy in Reconstruction. Edited by FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND (formerly Chairman of President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency) and JOSEPH SCHAFER (Professor of History in the University of Oregon and Vice-Chairman of the National Board for Historical Service). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919. \$2.50.

Within this volume of about 500 pages have been assembled twenty-three essays by about twenty writers, each man a specialist in his field. The range is extensive: Ideals of Democracy; Institutions of Democracy; After-War Social Problems; After-War Labor Problems; After-War Transportation Problems; and After-War Political Problems. Some of the papers are delightfully concrete; such as "Motorized Highways, the Basis of a National Transport System"; and "Ocean Commerce in War and Reconstruction." The compact yet very informative historical approaches to current problems in many of the chapters seem especially worthy of commendation.

To the man who cannot read exhaustively the literature of these current problems this book can be cordially recommended. Its topics correlate well with topics discussed in the best contemporary journals; and the essays are nearly all done in a lively and readable style.

Looked at from the standpoint of the needs of our time, the present reviewer experiences a sense of disappointment with the book in two respects—disappointment, that is, of expectations raised by the high standing of the editors and contributors and by the obviously ambitious purposes of the book itself.

It is one thing to analyze very clearly the historical conditions which lead up to current problems and then clearly to state these problems themselves; and quite another to come to close grips with them and with warriorlike earnestness attempt their solution. Have our leading thinkers become so habituated to the judicial attitude required in classrooms and in the chairs of commissions that they dare *never* let themselves become passionately partisan even as regards big ideas? Are we Americans not leaving intense and biting utterance too much to men of little minds and mean spirits?

So many of these essays seem cautiously inconclusive. Many of us could wish that the writer, succeeding his cool, sparring analysis, would have taken off his coat and fought a few rounds in Rooseveltian fashion for the cause—or at least *a* cause. Surely most of the writers of these essays were *able* to do this; and certainly they could have done so with sufficient recorded reservations to prevent any impairment of their general reputations for scientific dispassionateness.

Possibly the reviewer's second criticism will seem a bit inconsistent with the above; but it really is not. Scattered through several of the essays are a number of generalizations that have become current coin in the service of social propaganda, but which are certainly of doubtful mintage. Our six million adult illiterates—can we not sanely analyze their real social significance instead of using them as the ever handy stick with which to beat any kind of dog? "Now political or industrial democracy resting on a bare average of a sixth grade education is unthinkable or at best a forlorn hope of stagnant mediocrity." Much error and perhaps some truth are involved in this easy generalization. It certainly pays little tribute to many noteworthy historic facts—Athens, republican Rome, the guild cities, early Massachusetts.

"Sixty per cent of all the wealth of the United States is owned by two percent of our people." Is it not time to give this alleged fact further evaluative or interpretative analysis? As a people are we poor? Poorer than our forefathers were in 1870, 1770, 1670, 1470, 1270? Or than the people of Italy, India, or Japan today? Why can a penniless but healthy adult going to Montana today be assured of a comfortable livelihood, whereas one hundred years ago his existence would have been most precarious? Eighty per cent of our immigrants are a living refutation of the conclusion that "in America extravagance has been epidemic and that the price of our folly is dependency." It is not that the writers' conclusions are wrong; they may be right, but in most cases they are not presented in the light of comparable standards—they are fractions, of which only numerators are given. What every citizen wants first of all to know is, Are we going forward, or backward?

Perhaps the editors can be persuaded to give us a second book frankly devoted to advocacy of particular solutions of some of the problems they have raised—designed, as much as anything else, to show methods by which they should be attacked scientifically and with resoluteness of spirit.

DAVID SNEDDEN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Little Town. By PAUL HARLAN DOUGLAS. New York, Macmillan Co., 1919. Pp. ix+258. \$1.50.

This little book, written by the Secretary of the American Missionary Association, is another contribution to the literature of rural life arising out of the growing consciousness that the small town presents special problems which cannot be understood by merging its study into that of the open country nor of the city. The author takes as his subject-matter the more than twelve million inhabitants of the United States living in communities varying in size from the little hamlet growing up around the crossroads store to the sample city of five thousand or more.

The first four chapters are devoted to the discussion of the little town's importance, and its relationships and characteristics. The remainder of the book discusses its possibilities, structural fundamentals, institutions, ideals, tools, and program.

The value of the book lies in the author's interpretation of somewhat limited source material rather than in the presentation of the results of original investigation. This text has the weakness common to most of the literature produced on the subject in that it lacks the broad foundation of scientific data necessary for valid conclusions. The conclusions presented, however, are clear and, while not always convincing, will doubtless stimulate further investigation to determine their accuracy.

Two or three illustrations of conclusions that may be open to question may be given. In discussing the fundamental urban superiorities the author says of farmers (p. 13), "Severally they may be far richer than the average townsman, but their mental attitude is that of inferiority." This quotation is made not to refute but to raise the question as to whether the author has not made too broad a generalization. Is it not possible that the farmer is willing to concede the superiority of the city man in the specialties of the urban resident, but is not the spirit of democracy so strong in rural life that the last thing the farmer would admit is that any group of people as a group is superior to another? The "city dude" has been as much an object of derision to the country man as the "hayseed" has been to the urban resident.

In another place (p. 28), the author states the law that "the distribution of little towns varies as agricultural prosperity"; that is, where agriculture is the most prosperous, there the little towns are the most numerous. Does not this law need further investigation before final acceptance? Is it not true that there are forces operating in American

life today, such as road improvement and improvement in means of transportation, which are working directly against this principle? Is there not a definite tendency toward centralization of rural interests in constantly fewer centers? Granted that the number of incorporations of new towns was marked during the past decade, is it not true that the percentage of new incorporations was not as great as during the preceding decade? And was the number of new incorporations, aside from suburban sections and areas of special agriculture such as irrigation developments, as great in proportion in the areas of prosperous general agriculture as in less favored or in recently developing agricultural sections? The data now available have not yet been sufficiently studied to give a final answer to these questions.

A third generalization that probably will not apply to all small communities described is that the small college or school town exemplifies the little town at its best (p. 42). It has been the reviewer's opportunity to visit quite a number of small college towns and the impression is very vivid that in a number of them at least the otherworldliness of the small college has resulted in an almost absolute lack of influence on the personal appearance of the village in which it is located. Is it not possible that it is the exception rather than the rule, due to the educational ideals of the institution, for it to have any direct program for the development either of the community in which it is located or of any other community from which it draws its students? It expects, of course, to benefit all communities to which its graduates go. But that benefit is to come as a result of the increased mental and spiritual powers of the graduate rather than of any definite program of civic improvement worked out by the institution. It is believed that the awakening social consciousness which has put into the curriculum of our small colleges more or less definite training for civic leadership is bringing a better day; but it may be seriously questioned whether the Athens of America are above the average in civic progress.

Aside from the few statements such as those noted above which indicate a need for further investigation, the text is an excellent presentation not only of the characteristics of the small town but also of the program for its improvement. The author states clearly his main contention that "The Natural Community includes the town centre with the surrounding area which uses it as a trade and institutional centre" (p. 200). He sees the adjustment of the relationships of the small town to its agricultural environment, and the making of the small town the headquarters for the rural community is the solution to many

serious rural problems. He is also correct in his conclusion that the cityward vision of the average small town is lessening its usefulness in its natural environment; and that the largest hope for rural progress lies in the development of the small town as a part of its agricultural environment instead of a separate small city entity.

In its wealth of suggestion as to little town conditions and in its fulness of presentation of methods of improvement the text is a valuable addition to the literature of rural life.

PAUL L. VOGT

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Rural Reconstruction in Ireland: a Record of Co-operative Organization. By LIONEL SMITH-GORDON, M.A. (Oxon.), and LAURENCE C. STAPLES, A.M.; with Preface by GEORGE W. RUSSELL ("A.E."). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. 301. \$3.00.

As George W. Russell ("A.E."—editor of the *Irish Homestead*), himself one of the leaders of Irish agriculture, says in the first sentence of his appreciative preface: "This volume contains the most complete and accurate history of a movement which has come to be of the highest importance to Ireland." The relation of this economic movement to rural social progress in Ireland is the authors' theme, and is well interpreted by "A.E." as he continues: "It has in it the promise of a more real unity among Irish people than has before seemed possible. The unity of a people may be brought about by acceptance of common religious, cultural, or political ideals, but it is doubtful whether that unity can be made real by any of these unless at the same time there is an identity of economic interest among the majority of the citizens." This thesis has increased sociological interest because it is also being voiced by many trade-union leaders.

Every American interested in rural organization will find this book an invaluable history of Irish rural reconstruction during the past generation. The account is the more valuable because it not only frankly points out the failures and shortcomings of the movement and incisively analyzes their causes, but it is not content to evaluate the movement in mere terms of profits or volume of business, although these are its primary objectives. The authors see the co-operative movement as the most important force for socialization because it makes the most immediate and practical appeal to men of all parties and sects and establishes a business system which develops the community attitude. "The present individualist system which takes care of the

business interests of the farmer is a dividing and disintegrating force. It tends to destroy the natural associative character and to set each man against his neighbor. . . . But as a member of a society with interests in common with others, the individual consciously and unconsciously develops the social virtues. . . . The society is in miniature a community, and the community is but a part of the larger social group." "The dividing facts of life are being relegated to their true position by the realization of the community of interest in the economic sphere."

The history of co-operative agricultural organization in Ireland, as described by the authors, very clearly shows the fundamental differences between co-operative producers' and co-operative consumers' enterprises, and of the failure of the former to secure the full benefit of their associations through lack of co-operation in marketing their products. They hold that if the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society could command the loyal support of the co-operative societies of the Irish producers on the one hand, and of the great English and Scotch co-operative associations of consumers, on the other, the wholesale society might be of benefit to both in a truly co-operative system.

The economic and social conditions, land legislation in Ireland, the history, ideals, and principles of the Irish co-operative movement, the structure, methods, and finances of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, and its differences with the Department of Agriculture and technical instruction of the government, are fully discussed. Detailed accounts are given of the co-operative creameries, various forms of co-operative agricultural societies, credit societies, and home industries. The fullest available statistics of the whole movement are given in the appendixes. The relation of industrial (or consumers') co-operation to the agricultural movement is carefully analyzed.

But it is the authors' clear evaluation of the economic results of co-operation as related to its social and educational influence which will most interest the sociologist. The authors are keenly aware of the failures and difficulties of the co-operative movement; yet, withal, they see in it the economic method of socialization through which agriculture can meet the conditions of the modern business world and develop a more satisfying life for those on the land; a method which avoids the evils both of individualistic capitalism and of state socialism, while it encourages individual and collective initiative and promotes social integration.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

The Present Conflict of Ideals. A Study of the Philosophical Background of the World-War. By RALPH BARTON PERRY. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. xiii+549. \$4.50.

In his thirty-five chapters, a series of lectures, the author ranges far. The book searches for practical aspects of the more abstract discussion in "Present Philosophical Tendencies," following the topical order there used—naturalism, idealism, pragmatism, and realism. Professor Perry summarizes his standpoint in these words:

Realism is individualistic, democratic and humanitarian in its ethics. It is theistic and melioristic in its religion. Realism is essentially a philosophy which refuses to deceive or console itself by comfortable illusions. It prefers to keep its eyes open. But it is neither cynical nor embittered. It distinguishes the good from the evil, and seeks to promote it, not with a sense of assured triumph, but rather with the confidence that springs from resolution.

Perhaps the lectures may justly be described as an elaborate commentary and criticism of theories and practice made in Germany: like Dewey and Santayana in recent volumes, Dr. Perry traces the implications of its Kantian ethics, its Hegelian absolutism, its dogmatic socialism, its sentimental aestheticism, its political realism, and its cult of science and efficiency. Chapters on the philosophy of nationality and on national traits of Germany, France, and England are included.

New realism is congenial to sober and factual analysis of social problems. The lucid essays of Perry and Bertrand Russell should be supplemented by them and other realists with intensive and careful studies, in which the analytical skill and sense for fact of the realists may have free outlet.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism. By J. W. SCOTT. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1919.

"It has been the fate of both of the two perhaps most antagonistic philosophies of the moment to be made to provide support for syndicalist ideas—namely, the evolutionism headed by Bergson and the realism founded on Mr. Bertrand Russell." Mr. Scott is able to support this thesis by not taking Bergson and Russell very seriously and by taking Sorel very seriously indeed. Syndicalism (à la Sorel)

is class struggle for the sake of struggle—for victory—not for a bankrupt doctrinaire state socialism. That struggle is taken by the syndicalist (e.g., Sorel) as the epitome of life's reality. Bergson is the philosopher of life and evolution lived rather than thought about (les données immédiates); Russell is similarly realistic in mathematics, in metaphysics, in politics—where he speaks always of “activity, vigour, initiative, energy,” of the soul as “something repressed which must be let explode.”

In this fashion the author makes out his case. “The syndicalists (viz., Sorel) love incalculableness. That is a feature of the given will. And Bergson's involuntary benediction upon the given, his anti-intellectualism, is precisely fitted to encourage them.” “The instrument is the strike, the goal is the autonomy, not of the community, but of an industry; and an industry's good is something less than the community's, something narrower and nearer. Now this is the movement which Mr. Russell's realism—his fondness for the given—has taken on midflight and helped on its way.”

The following are not mentioned in the book: (1) the war; (2) proletarian unrest during the war and armistice; (3) Russia (the word “Bolsheviki” nowhere appears); (4) the I. W. W. “preamble” is mentioned, but not the part it played in the indictment and conviction of the I. W. W. officers and leaders; (5) the C. G. T. is mentioned, but not its recent development away from revolutionism; (6) Jaurés is mentioned, but not his assassination. The last two chapters are a discussion of Russell's *Principles of Social Reconstruction (Why Men Fight)*, written in 1915. This proves that the book was not completed before the war. Russell's three other war-time books are not mentioned.

C. E. AYRES

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Great Peace. By H. H. POWERS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 329. \$2.25.

This is a war book written in anticipation of peace and to propose solutions of both the international question and the specific problems of each national group. It is not a treatise on permanent world-peace, for of that little hope is held. Rather is it a discussion of ways whereby the world may be carved up so as to lessen group conflict. Part I deals with nationality. A vigorous, militarized nationalism is upheld with some cogency and much speciousness of reasoning. The principle

of the self-determination of peoples is rejected for the right of the victorious allies—the only nations morally fit to be trustees of the earth—to reconstruct the world for the safeguarding of all. Part II offers a plan for each national group. The territorial and other problems of each are stated and adjustments suggested. The merit of the book consists in this latter presentation. The work abounds in half-truths, false and superficial ideas, slurs on democracy, and discussion no longer apropos to the world-situation.

NEWELL L. SIMS

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

The Psychology of Courage. By HERBERT GARDINER LORD.
Boston: John W. Luce & Co., 1918. Pp. viii+153. \$1.50.

"The book could not have been written but for William McDougall's admirable *Social Psychology*, in which, adopting Shand's concept of sentiments, he has thrown a flood of light on the structure of human mind as it is built by society and which in its turn forms society."

The main topics discussed are the inborn mechanisms of man, the nature of courage, its various forms, lower and higher, the ultimate formulations of courage, training of soldiers for courage, and the restoration of courage when lost.

Although accepting McDougall's views in the main, the author extends McDougall's list of innate mechanisms by adding the instincts of companionship and rationality. Here his indebtedness to Woodworth's *Dynamic Psychology* is evident.

This book is of real value. It is simple, clear, sane, and direct. There is adequate psychological analysis and philosophic breadth.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Psychology and the Day's Work. A study in the Application of Psychology to Daily Life. By EDGAR JAMES SWIFT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. \$2.00.

This book applies the principles of psychology to some of the phases of personal efficiency. It does not aim to give a well-balanced or complete analysis of personal efficiency but treats the theme in a miscellaneous and unorganized way. The psychology of mental efficiency, of learning, of memory, of testimony, of varying selves, of digestion—these are some of the chapter headings. The thesis that underlies the discussion is this: Since sooner or later the individual must adapt

himself to his external conditions or succumb, he should consciously set out to control his environment and to organize effective mental habits. Personal efficiency is considered entirely from the standpoint of individual success and power. Sociality, which is an important phase of personality and hence of personal efficiency, is overlooked. The author has drawn a countless number of well-chosen facts and illustrations from a vast range of reading. One could wish for a more original and a less academic treatment of the various subjects. The book is scholarly, and from the standpoint of individual psychology it is sound.

E. S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Morals and Morale. By LUTHER H. GULICK, M.D. New York: Association Press, 1919. Pp. v+192. \$1.00.

The writer is interested in describing the principles and methods of controlling vice among United States military forces in recent years and the rôle of the Red Triangle in Europe.

The appendix contains special articles, reports, letters, and bulletins bearing on his subject, with special reference to the policy and technique of the Y.M.C.A. in France.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York, 1777 to 1850. By ELSIE GARLAND HOBSON. Chicago: Department of Education, University of Chicago. Pp. 267.

This monograph is one of a series of Supplementary Educational Monographs published in connection with the *School Review* and the *Elementary School Journal*. The purpose of the series is the publication of source materials for the study of the history of education. When the series is complete it will provide a mine of information from which facts may be gleaned for a more comprehensive and accurate account of the evolution of our schools than now exists.

Probably no other state shows better than New York the complex conditions out of which we have tried to develop a system of American education. The varied population elements, the differing needs and problems of rural and industrial communities, and the difficulties of educational control under a decentralized government are all conspicuously present. The nature of the task undertaken by Miss Hobson will

be evident from the fact that between 1777 and 1851 nearly one thousand acts dealing with education were passed by the legislature of New York. Of these nearly eight hundred were concentrated in the thirty-year period, 1820 to 1850. Among the important ones are the act creating the University (Board of Regents) in 1784; the act of 1795 appropriating 20,000 pounds annually for a period of five years for the support of common schools; the act of 1812 providing a permanent common-school fund and a State Superintendent of Common Schools; the act of 1844 establishing a normal school, and the free-school act of 1849.

The defects of the monograph seem to be due to the attempt to analyze this whole body of legislation in 179 pages of text. It is difficult for the reader to get from the welter of detail a clear idea of the progress made during this period toward the establishment of a system of education. A much more complete summary than that provided in chapter VIII would have been helpful. Aside from this somewhat confusing and burdensome detail the monograph is well written and should serve a useful purpose in developing a comprehensive history of American education.

WALTER R. SMITH

KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

Recreation for Teachers. By HENRY S. CURTIS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. xvi+228. \$1.60.

This, like other volumes on recreation by the same author, is not an exposition of recreation theory. It has a value, however, not confined to the group indicated in the title, but for all students of the recreation movement.

After discussing the peculiar needs for recreation that inhere in the teaching profession, the bulk of the volume is devoted to a criticism of the present use that public-school teachers make of their leisure time, and to a constructive presentation of the more desirable forms of play, adapted to the needs of teachers and to the leisure time which they have available. The author maintains his reputation for a wide and intimate acquaintance with the practical details involved in the various possible forms of recreation. Detailed practical description is given for the use of time after school, evenings, week-ends, short and long vacations. There are some excellent suggestions for the reconstruction of the anomalous and time-wasting teacher's institute, as well as for profitable summer occupation for young women teachers.

The argument that teachers should have reduced rates on the railroads is not conclusive. Such substitution of perquisites for adequate salary for any occupational group is not liable to promote its ultimate best interests, or its standing in the community.

For the general student of the practical conduct of play, it is interesting to note that the principal conclusions that may be derived from this concrete study of one particular group bear out those reached with reference to the whole field of recreation, namely: that the possession of leisure by any group carries with it very little value unless that leisure is properly utilized; that actual play in America at present has much too little of sports and other active forms; that play of the right sort will not, under present conditions, arise spontaneously, but that it requires a definite, thought-out plan; that there must be some person with skill and vision to give his time to the business of leadership and organization.

While there is much in this volume that is valuable for other groups than teachers, it is desirable that there should be studies of a similar nature for other occupational and age groups. The time has come in the recreation movement for a much more specialized attention to the needs of different sections of the population.

CECIL C. NORTH

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Crime and Criminals. The Jurisprudence of Crime, Medical, Biological and Psychological. By CHARLES MERCIER. With an Introduction by SIR BRYAN DONKIN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919. Pp. xvii+290. \$2.50.

Past theories of crime and criminals—in so far as they are not based on an assumption of free-will—have frequently run to one of two extremes. Either they have tried to state everything in terms of the make-up of the offender himself or they have ascribed all to environment. Thus we have on the one hand Lombroso's theory of the "born criminal" and Dr. Hickson's statement that "delinquency and defectiveness are practically synonymous." Over against these is the implication of Bonger that "society and not the criminal is responsible." Mercier sees the impossibility of solving the problem as stated, viz.: Is heredity *or* environment accountable for crime? He is seeking for a restatement of the problem and for a hypothesis which will include *both* of these apparently conflicting ideas. He is trying to put the whole matter on a new basis. He is endeavoring to relate the

"inner and the outer" aspects of conduct, "heredity and stress," "proclivity and temptation," "temperament and opportunity."

"Crime—and in crime I now include offenses of all minds—is due to temptation or opportunity, the environment factor or stress, acting upon the predisposition of the offender, the inherent or constitutional factor. The more potent the one factor, the less of the other will be needed to bring about the result. A very powerful and alluring temptation will break down the virtue of even a very moral person, who would not succumb to any ordinary temptation. A thoroughly immoral person, inured to crime, will require scarcely any temptation—no more, in fact, than amounts to opportunity—to induce him to commit crime; but without some remnant, some vestige, of criminal proclivity the first would not succumb to the temptation, however powerful it might be; and without opportunity the second would remain crimeless, however strong his proclivity to crime" (p. 224).

"According to this doctrine of mine, all men are by nature potential criminals" (p. 228). "He [the criminal] differs from the average man or from the mean of mankind in precisely the same ways as all other men differ from the average or from the mean—in the same ways, and to extents that differ with each criminal as they differ with every non-criminal. The difference between the criminal and non-criminal is, in short, first in the combination in various degrees of qualities that both and all possess in common, and second, that the criminal is subjected to temptation that, relatively to his combination of qualities, is excessive. It may be a temptation that would be no temptation to the average man. It may be a temptation that would be no temptation to a differently constituted criminal; but relatively to the particular person to whom the temptation is presented it is excessive. It reaches his breaking strain, and he gives way. The breaking strain differs in different people, and in the same person is different for different temptations; but every one has his breaking strain in some direction or other, and if in this direction he is tempted beyond his strength, he will fall" (p. 231).

In these words we have a summary of Mercier's contribution. Doubtless this statement is superficial and crude, especially from the viewpoint of the behaviorists, but even without translation into language with which Americans are more familiar it should prove highly suggestive. Mercier's thesis is particularly apropos in view of the current popular notion that there is a "criminal type" and that it is to be defined in terms of hereditary mental defect. Such expressions

as that of Dr. Hickson in the 1917 Report of the Psychopathic Laboratory of the Chicago Municipal Court seem quite the fashion today. But in this effort to relate heredity to environment in a vital, integral manner we have a new perspective that promises much greater returns in the practical control of crime.

But it is most unfortunate that in performing this distinctive service Mercier has involved himself in a lot of outworn ideas. The background of his argument is a "faculty" psychology (p. 47), a Spencerian sociology (p. 81), an absolutistic ethics (pp. 57-58), and a deductive logic (Introduction). His description of human and animal behavior is excessively rationalistic (p. 12). His assumption of a distinctive "social instinct" does not accord with the results of laboratory study (pp. 83, 90). His criteria for measuring "turpitude" are almost amusing (pp. 267-73). His definition of crime is so thoroughly subjective as to be incapable of scientific use (p. 71). Throughout the book he deals with the individual as a distinct entity, which he is enabled to relate to other individuals only by inventing the "social instinct" already mentioned.

On the whole the book is a great disappointment. Mercier had a splendid opportunity to resolve the outworn problem of heredity versus environment into a new statement that would more nearly accord with the results of careful study as well as everyday experience. He had an unusual chance to save correctional theory and practise from certain faddists. But the underlying premises and the whole method are such as to discredit what might otherwise have been an important contribution to the literature of criminology. It is to be hoped that someone with more modern scientific training will avail himself of the cue Mercier has offered and give us a good working statement of criminal behavior.

STUART A. QUEEN

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

A Book of Remarkable Criminals. By H. B. IRVING. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1918. Pp. viii+315. \$2.00.

This volume consists of a lengthy introduction which sets forth somewhat vaguely the author's philosophy of crime, followed by the history of ten notable criminals "chosen from among their fellows for their pre-eminence in character or achievement." From the reading of the introduction one gets a rather obscure notion of the author's purpose. First, it appears that the book is intended to prove "that the

comforting theory of the Lombroso school has been exploded." Next it seems intended to convey the idea that Shakespeare's criminals are not exaggerated types, and finally it is offered as a stimulant to art when he says: "The true stories told in this book present the raw material from which works of art have been made and may yet be created."

The history of the "remarkable criminals" is derived from documentary and other reliable sources and is presented with little attempt at explanation. Some, as in the case of Charles Peace, present a career of criminality lasting for many years. Others, as that of Professor Webster, are confined to the description of a single crime. In only a few instances is any psychological analysis attempted and practically no physiological or biological data are furnished.

If the book has any real value for the science of criminology it lies in the historical data supplied for study, but the details are too meager to afford much analysis. Any specific science is built up by the application of the scientific method to a body of concrete material. In the case of the science of criminology the material is the criminal himself. The details of the crime committed are of value only as they throw light upon the nature and character of the criminal, but facts obtained in this way constitute only a small part of the explanation of criminal behavior.

As a piece of literature the book is a success. The style is admirable and it holds the attention of the reader with the fascination of a detective story. Also, it may not be too much to say that it appeals to the taste for excitement and it would be a misfortune if it found its way into the hands of the morbid or psychopathic individual.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Child Welfare in Alabama. An Inquiry by the National Child Labor Committee under the auspices and with the Co-operation of the University of Alabama. New York: Published by National Child Labor Committee, Inc., 1918. Pp. 349. \$1.00.

This investigation is one of a series of investigations undertaken by the National Child Labor Committee and resembles the previous studies in method, arrangement, and outline. The principal topics covered are Public Health, Education, School Attendance, Child Labor, Juvenile Delinquency, Child-Caring Agencies, Recreation, and Law.

Although public health in the state is under the control of the organized medical profession, actual health conditions are exceedingly deplorable. There are insufficient funds for health work; the birth registration is incomplete; one-tenth of the deaths result from tuberculosis; there is considerable pellagra, and medical inspection of schools is inadequate.

The public-school system is not well organized and many improvements are necessary. The rural-school term for whites averages 138 days, that for the colored 104. Compulsory attendance for four months is now required; many children remain in school only as long as required.

The study of child labor is very unsatisfactory because the factories subject to the federal law of 1916 were not included in the survey. Nevertheless, important information was gained, indicating the necessity of many amendments to the state law.

A state-wide juvenile-court law has resulted in some improvement in the method of handling delinquent children. However, most of the judges usually send such children to some institution, although this procedure does not prevail in Birmingham. Many of the neglected and dependent children handled by the courts are placed out in private homes. There are twenty-five recognized institutions caring for dependent, defective, or delinquent children, but no provision is made for the feeble-minded, nor for delinquent negro girls. Little placing-out is done by institutions but much is expected from the newly established Children's Aid Society. To meet this general problem the report recommends a State Board of Social Welfare, with a Division of Child Welfare.

According to the report there are practically no commercial dance-halls in the state. It is recommended, however, that such commercial amusements as exist be subjected to better control and that a greater impetus be given to the recreation movement.

The last chapter dealing with Law and Administration contains valuable recommendations for the improvement of child welfare in the state. Some of these recommendations are repeated from previous chapters, but it seems worth while to have them all assembled. The report represents an effort to obtain the actual facts and conditions; it shows no internal evidence of over-statement and is clearly intended to present to the people of the state a constructive program based on the needs that have been discovered.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, Ph.D. Vol. III, Since the Civil War. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919. Pp. 411.

With this volume Dr. Calhoun brings to a successful conclusion his elaborate investigation of American family life in its successive historical phases. His hard task has been well done. American sociological literature has been enriched by a keen-sighted survey of basic social conditions extending over three centuries. The author's style and method have been partially revealed in the reviews of the preceding volumes.¹ In the main the sources have been permitted to speak for themselves through extracts from the opinions and records of a great variety of European and American observers. This method has its weakness; for sometimes the layman may be dazed by the mass of indiscriminate, often conflicting, assertions of writers whose relative trustworthiness as witnesses he is not in a position to understand. Not that Dr. Calhoun has wholly failed to digest his materials. Often his criticisms are keen, just, and courageous; but a more consistent and thorough-going effort to evaluate his authorities would have enriched his narrative.

The titles of the fourteen chapters of the text show that the author has clearly discerned the breadth and complexity of his subject. They suggest how the household, with its trinity of institutions—marriage, the home, and the family—is being molded by the mighty forces of the great society which is passing through a transitional phase of evolution since the Civil War. Throughout the volume stress is laid on economic causes and especially on industrial conditions. In the first three chapters, continuing the closing narrative of the second volume, the discussion of family life in the South is taken up. These chapters are entitled, respectively, "The White Family in the New South," "Miscegenation," and "The Negro Family since Emancipation." Slowly the white southerner is freeing himself from the chains of ancient custom and prejudice and responding to the call of progress. Says the author:

The cataclysmic overthrow of slavery in the south inaugurated a social revolution which in any case would have been effected ultimately by the sure working of economic forces. Emancipation set free the life of the South for modernization, and all social institutions began to register the change. The family was no exception; its transformation constitutes one of the insignia of the New South.

¹For the preceding notices see *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII, 670-73; XXIV, 317-22.

Profound changes have taken place in the status of woman. Before the war there "was for the southern woman no career outside the home, no opportunity for economic independence, for self-support." After the conflict ended she had perforce to work. Thousands of women once wealthy but left penniless "took up whatever work came to hand." Many of the men left the plantations for the cities or for other regions, thus throwing the burden of the new era "upon the women of the rural districts." The new activities brought a demand for the better education of girls. School-teaching became the entering wedge for earning money outside the home. Training in home economics and in other social services was sought in northern schools; while in recent years "brilliant and refined southern women take the platform in prohibition campaigns or find comradeship with the socialists, and suffrage bills find their way into southern legislatures." In spite of "conventional traditions as to woman's place, the woman of the New South is becoming 'Woman' rather than 'Lady,' and is welcoming all the means to a stimulating life, while the old degrading pseudo-chivalry is giving way for a better relation, with the possibility of equality in comradeship."

The cityward drift of the younger population has had a "distinct influence on the southern home." The change from the isolation and simplicity of rural conditions to "urban gregariousness" has tended to the "weakening of the home, the substitution of other interests, the shrinkage of parenthood, the growth of divorce." The social life of the "primitive mountaineers" is being affected by the new industrialism; and in some cases its influence for the time being is decidedly harmful, especially when the "stimulating boon" of the new factory system "carried with it the cruel exploitation of childhood at the hands of those who were either too selfish or too short-sighted to realize the wastefulness of such a policy."

From the vivid picture of negro family life drawn by Dr. Calhoun two or three features stand out clearly. The chief responsibility for miscegenation rests on the white man. "The interracial sex *mores* so prevalent in the south during the régime of slavery survived to a considerable degree the downfall of formal chatteldom." It seemed to have been "almost impossible for colored girls to stand up against the temptation encountered at every turn." Seduction and rape are chiefly the sins of the white southerner. One may join the author in approving the ideal of W. D. Weatherford, a distinguished southerner, who declares that "We of the white race must brand every white man

who seduces a colored girl as a fiend of the same stripe as the negro who rapes a white woman." This picture of the negro family life since emancipation affords new evidence of the fearful cost of southern race-prejudice. It is the cherished dogma of the white southerner that the black southerner is made of inferior clay; whereas the truth becomes clearer with every increase in knowledge that physically, morally, and spiritually the negro is no better and no worse, whether in the North or the South, than any other race would be under like conditions. His degradation is due to social causes which are slowly changing for the better as civilization advances. The growing race-consciousness of the American negro is becoming a sufficient check to race-amalgamation.

In successive chapters, with fulness of quotation from contemporary observers, the author discusses the "New Basis of American Life," stressing the economic influence as the "most fundamental fact of social change since the Civil War"; the "Revolution in Woman's World"; "Woman in the Modern American Family"; the "Career of the Child"; the "Passing of Patriarchalism"; the "Precarious Home"; the "Trend as to Marriage"; "Race Sterility and Race Suicide"; "Divorce"; the "Attitude of the Church"; and the "Family and the Social Revolution." Throughout the discussion Dr. Calhoun keeps closely in touch with progressive social thought. One is impressed by his alertness, candor, and modernness. Marriage, divorce, and the family are rightly looked upon as social institutions, the products of human living. Especially in the closing chapter in which he forecasts the character of the family of the future are these qualities revealed. He says:

The family is part and parcel of an organic civilization and must undergo such evolution as will keep it in correspondence with co-existing social institutions whose form and texture seem to depend primarily on the evolution of economic technique. Such being the case, it is manifest that no mere preaching or emotional agitation can determine the future forms of the family. This being true, no one should be unduly alarmed at revolutionary utterances with reference to the family any more than he should put confidence in sentimental campaigns for rehabilitation or conservation of old values.

After referring to the socialists' indictment of the existing monogamic family, the author declares: "Indications are that society is working toward socialism, not as a final goal but as the next stage in social evolution. Such a fundamental economic change will influence profoundly the marriage relation and the forms of the family."

After enumerating the "conceptions" involved in the "meaning and spirit of socialism," the author raises the question of "durable monogamy" as the "culmination of social evolution in respect to the marriage relation." To the minds of many students "society is like a variable approaching a limit and in this particular the permanent mutual fidelity of one husband and one wife constitutes the limit toward which marriage approaches." But will a "free, democratic society care to exercise such rigorous social control as to produce the externals of conformity to any particular marriage type? The issue is at least questionable." It may be that with the disappearance of the chief social conditions which now menace the family life "society will not find it important to censor the marital relations of individuals and that there will ultimately be as many types of sex commerce as there are of individual tastes." On the contrary, it may be that the "increased voice of woman in social control may result in increased censorship of those matters in which the majority of the female sex is constitutionally specialized and that the probably female preference for monogamy may become more and more the established rule."

Commercial prostitution is bound to disappear. "This prediction does not mean that irregular sex relations will necessarily disappear but that the mercantile element will be eliminated. With the coming of universal economic opportunity, women will not be led into vice for want of normal stimulation in life; no woman will be forced to sell herself." Moreover the status of woman is sure to undergo further change.

Woman's cultural education will be in the same subjects as man's tho she may get out of the courses something different from what man gets. Physical convenience will be the only factor to exclude her from any employment. She will probably be out of the home as much as man and in it as much as man, with the single exception of the period of childbirth and the care of the very young child. Both will be able, if they choose, to be in the home together far more than at present. But woman's work will not be housework any more than man's will be. She will be a full-fledged human being enjoying identical social rights, powers, and privileges. Freed thus from masculine dominance she will become more truly feminine and a better colleague of her husband, a more constructive member of society.

This slight sketch of Dr. Calhoun's important contribution may well close with his final word:

A new family is inevitable, a family based on the conservation and scientific administration of limited natural resources, on the social ownership

of the instrumentalities of economic production and the universal enjoyment of the fruits, and on a social democracy devoid of artificial stratification based on economic exploitation. Such is the promise of American life, of the world life.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Human Nature and Its Remaking. By WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, Ph. D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. xxvi+434. \$3.00.

The problem of original human nature has always been a troublesome one in the social sciences. Wrong conceptions of human nature have been very largely responsible for wrong theories concerning the social life. The difficulties have not been removed altogether by the development in psychology of the modern doctrine of the instincts. From complete failure of any recognition of the part played by instinctive activity in social life, social theory seems now about to go to the other extreme and to attribute an undue importance, or even a fatality, to human instincts. Such is especially the case with certain writers in ethics and in economics. Thus the work of the late Professor Carlton H. Parker, suggestive and stimulating though it be, carries the theory of the instincts into the social sciences in a most dangerous way. The instincts become, in Professor Parker's hands, the real rulers of human life.

A good antidote to such views is to be found in Professor Hocking's *Human Nature and Its Remaking*. As the title of the book implies, the author deals with the modern psychological theory of original human nature and then takes up the question of its social modification and control. He shows that civilization means essentially the "remaking," that is, the modification, of original human nature; that this indeed is the distinctive peculiarity of human social life as distinguished from the social life of animals; and that the remaking of human nature *can* proceed along rational lines and in accordance with conscious purposes. Hence Professor Hocking finds that the human instincts offer no impediment to the realization of ethical ideals which are socially sound, and that there is no argument for a return to "the natural man" as so many writers from Rousseau and Nietzsche to the present day imply.

After pointing out that human character is and should be an artificial product, Professor Hocking takes up a careful survey of original nature and a critical examination of the notion of instinct. He then

passes to the relation of conscience and instinct and instinct and sin. He then discusses the effects of experience, especially the modifications which human character undergoes through social life and through institutional control. The book closes with a series of valuable chapters on art and religion and the problem of realizing a Christian society.

It is perhaps to be regretted that a large part of the book is written upon the philosophical rather than the natural science plane. This will undoubtedly repel certain types of social thinkers who shy at anything which savors of philosophical criticism. On the other hand, the critical, philosophical attitude which Professor Hocking maintains toward his problem will increase the value of the book for social thinkers who are of a philosophical turn of mind. In any case the sociologist will find in the book the most recent lucid and reasonable statement of the relation of the human instincts to our social life, and especially to the problem of social progress.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

The Biology of War. By G. F. NICOLAI. Translated by CONSTANCE A. and JULIAN GRANDE. The Century Co., New York, 1918. Pp. xxx+554.

A typically German book is this as to massiveness, structure, and learnedness. So many-sided—ethics, sociology, economics, and even literature and religion, as well as biology, being treated in relation to war—is the work that one cannot characterize it in a few words. Although the instinctive basis of war is accepted (instincts being invoked 135 times together) this conception is really in the author's way, for he finally concludes that man is not naturally warlike and that the real conquests worthy of human endeavor are those over nature, holding that there are almost unlimited opportunities for the development of human welfare in this direction. To the usual arguments supporting the negative selection exercised by war he adds a prophecy (written in 1915) that the war would bring Germany economic isolation and irreparable damage. He intimates that defeat would be better for Germany than victory (p. 273). His analysis of the anti-social and hypocritical character of purely nationalistic patriotism in an international age and economy is excellent, as is his account of how this jingoistic "patriotism" has been manufactured through controlled organs of publicity in modern European countries. He shows that all the great philosophic minds of history have been predominantly internationalistic. His account of the devel-

opment and political bad faith of universal conscription in Germany will interest some American readers. Much space is given to how Christianity has been transformed from a religion of peace to one which sanctions force as a carrier of culture; also of the prostitution of the Kantian philosophy to the military virtues of unquestioning and absolute obedience. He admits that the subjectivism of the Kantian criterion of right has betrayed this philosophy into a weapon against civilization, and he finds that the more objective British philosophy has served humanity better. He is at considerable effort to show the Germans how much they owe to the *Kultur* of other peoples and he marvels much, as we do, that they could have come to feel it their duty to use force to civilize the rest of the world—to their profit. This attitude of a belief that war is good in itself is new in the world, even in Germany, he finds, and is to be traced to three facts: that universal conscription has connected the personal emotions of everyone with war, that a superficial interpretation of Darwinism has led low-power minds to see in war an effective test of fitness to survive, and that the German wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870 appeared to be justified by their economic and political results. He believes that war will destroy itself through overgrowth, since all organisms and institutions perish in the course of time because they become too large and too highly specialized for their environments. The one good thing he sees in this war is the organization arising from it which may be used for the conquest of nature. However, his hope for the future of the white race is not very bright. He speaks haltingly (in 1915, when the book was written) of a world-federation of peoples, apparently drawing his inspiration from Kant. The book is remarkable, considering its environment, and deserves reading for many reasons, one of which is the insight it throws upon Germany in 1915. The author was imprisoned because of his book.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government. By M. P. FOLLETT. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. vii+374. \$3.00.

It is inevitable that the special social sciences should be rewritten with the progress of sociology and psychology. There are encouraging evidences that this is being attempted in both economics and politics. The book before us is the latest and by far the most successful attempt to rewrite the theory of the state in the light of the most recent knowledge furnished by sociology and social psychology.

It is more, however, than a work in political science. About one-third of the book is taken up with a presentation of that central portion of sociological theory which is known as "group psychology"; and perhaps nowhere else can be found a clearer brief presentation of the modern psychological theory of group behavior. Part II of the book is a trenchant criticism of our traditional notions of democracy, and elucidates what true democracy means in the light of group psychology. Part III, under the title "Group Organization Democracy's Method," applies the principles enunciated to the problem of popular government, carefully discussing the relations of neighborhood groups and occupational groups to the modern state. The book closes with two suggestive chapters on "The Moral State" and "The World State."

The work is a notable contribution to social and political theory. Not only is it indispensable to those who wish to think intelligently about the political reconstruction which is evidently before us, but also to all who wish a clear summary of the results of modern psychological sociology. In no other work is the modern sociological point of view brought out more clearly. Professor Cooley's view of the importance of primary social groups in our general social life receives a remarkable elaboration. The book does for the neighborhood group in particular what other books have attempted to do for the family, and it points to the revitalization of neighborhood group organization as the most necessary step toward the revitalization of our political life. Perhaps the book cannot be better characterized than to say that it is such a work as one familiar with community problems and community work would write; and social workers not less than social theorists will profit from reading the book.

Certain criticisms, however, must be made of the work. The chief of these is its tendency toward paradoxical and extravagant statements. Those who feel strongly the necessity of a very exact use of words in a scientific work will undoubtedly be repelled by this fault in the author's style. On page 335, for example, we are told that "our relation to society is so close that there is no room for either rights or duties." Similarly, at the very beginning of the book we are told that "heterogeneity, not homogeneity, makes unity," a statement which would be without sense if the words were taken absolutely without qualification. Happily the context usually supplies, or implies, some qualification. The last quotation cited, however, indicates what is perhaps the main criticism to be made of the book from the sociological point of view; and that is that it detracts over-much from Professor Giddings' theory of the importance of like-mindedness and similarity in our social life.

A minor defect of the book for those who might wish to make use of it in their classes is the absence of an index and the almost entire absence of references to authorities and sources. The author shows a very wide knowledge of recent sociological and psychological literature, but there is unfortunately little in the book to indicate the scientific authorities chiefly relied upon.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Ireland, a Study in Nationalism. By FRANCIS HACKETT. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918. Pp. iii+404. \$2.00.

This book sets forth its author's conception of the right settlement of the Irish question, the ancient question of the relation of that island to England, including the specific question of the relation of Ulster both to England and to the rest of Ireland.

It is a book of special pleading, but it is special pleading that takes pains to quote liberally from responsible spokesmen of the opposition; and it is adapted to succeed in influencing the judicial-minded reader. It displays extensive and sympathetic knowledge of the facts involved, and, withal, is written in a skilful, imaginative, suggestive, and engaging style.

The writer helps to dispel the popular fallacy that human nature is a violently different thing in one part of Europe from what it is in another, and to expose the misconception on both sides which is characteristic of partisanship. He by no means belittles or forgets what Ireland has suffered at England's hands. But he attributes it to conditions that governed the past and deprecates the irrational nursing of vengeful hate toward England as well as supercilious misunderstanding on the part of England.

He points out that "the main record of the Catholic hierarchy is a record of smooth self-seeking, with the interests of Ireland discreetly subordinated." The passionate sectarianism of both North and South is increased by political partisanship. "It is the absence of home rule that has saved the Catholic church from anti-clericalism. Once home-rule is established the church must be prepared for a new mood in Ireland."

One of the author's most serious complaints is against the management of the railways of Ireland. "The best Irish coal fields have no railway communication"; and higher freights are charged on Irish goods moving about in Ireland or going to points of export than on incoming

goods that compete with the domestic product in Irish and English markets. No adequate solution is seen by Mr. Hackett but public ownership and consolidation of the railways into a single system.

The loss of more than half the population in little more than half a century by emigration is evidence of the misgovernment of the island. "The condition of the common Irish up to 1870 was incalculably worse" than that of the freed negroes of America. A great need of Ireland is to do what Denmark has done in co-operative agriculture.

The supreme need, however, in the opinion of the author, is home rule. In this home rule Ulster should unite and do her part as the integral part of Ireland which she is. Home rule, moreover, must be more than the hollow semblance of the law of 1914. That law provides that, "Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish parliament or anything contained in this act, the supreme power and authority of the parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland and every part thereof." Mr. Hackett is convinced that "the alternatives for Ireland are not federalism and rebellion. They are the permanent international disgrace of England and genuine home rule. And by genuine home rule is meant a measure which gives Ireland complete control of its own finances, its own excise and customs, its conscription, its administration of everything from police force to land purchase, and its place alongside Canada and Australia and South Africa and New Zealand in imperial representation and conference."

In the mind of Mr. Hackett hope for this result is high, but depends upon the coming in England of a new political order freer from imperialistic self-seeking and more democratic. This new political order he believes to be on the verge of realization, and asserts that with its coming Ireland's memory of her bitter past will fall away like last year's leaves, and Irishmen will be ready to take their part in making the better history of the new day.

E. C. HAYES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The Technique of Psycho-analysis. By SMITH ELY JELLIFFE. Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1918. Pp. xii+163. \$2.00.

As the title suggests, this book is a discussion of the method of psycho-analysis and is written for the beginner in analytic investigation. It especially attempts to serve the general practitioner and has most

value for those who in dealing with simple neurotic problems of medical character need to know how to make use of the rudiments of psycho-analysis. The book, however, is of value also to the lay reader who wishes a clear statement of the technique of psycho-analysis made by a Freudian scholar of acknowledged authority.

Psycho-analysis is presented as a tool by which all the psychical activities may be investigated and a knowledge of the causes of human behavior established. Drawing his illustrative material largely from the medical field, the author treats the following topics: Material to be Analyzed, History of Psycho-analysis, Opening of the Analysis, the Oedipus Hypothesis, Transference and Its Dynamics, Transference and Resistance, Overcoming the Conflict.

Although written with evident enthusiasm and sincere confidence, the book is temperate and judicial. The author admits the limitations and difficulties of psycho-analysis and rebukes the Freudian convert "of little knowledge" who regards psycho-analysis as a miracle-working process. Emphasis is placed upon the value of anthropological material for the analyst and the neurosis is treated as a failure in the social maturing of the individual.

The book will be best appreciated by those who have already read along Freudian lines, and even the general practitioner is likely to find such a book as Lay's *Man's Unconscious Conflict* better for the beginning of his study. The sociologist will glean from the discussion many thought-starting suggestions.

ERNEST R. GROVES

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE COLLEGE

Child Placing in Families. By W. H. SLINGERLAND. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1918. Pp. 261. \$2.00.

Social workers have for some time needed such a book as this and the Russell Sage Foundation has performed a genuine service in making this contribution to the literature on child welfare. The book begins with a brief history of child-placing and credits the Jews with the origination of legal child-placing. The principles on which child-caring agencies and their work should be based are carefully detailed and a brief description of typical public agencies is given.

The employment of inferior workers is severely condemned, technical standards are demanded, and children are classified from the point of view of child-placing. The technical problems of receiving, treating, finding homes for, placing, and supervising the children are

discussed at length, while plans for the construction of receiving homes are also suggested. The practical character of these discussions makes the book a most valuable manual for the worker; furthermore, nearly every question that might arise in child-placing work is considered, although in some cases definite standards are not suggested. The evidence indicates that there are wide differences in the amount of supervision given children in their homes. Better standards are advocated, as well as a complete system of public supervision of all child-caring agencies. Child welfare has recently been promoted through the establishment of research bureaus and children's code commissions. The author selected the revelations presented by the Missouri commission as probably typical of the conditions existing in many of the states, but he failed to note the remedial legislation passed in 1917, and therefore introduces the reform program as though it were entirely applicable today.

A very important chapter deals in a rather cautious manner with the illegitimate child. Nevertheless, the recent Norwegian law receives favorable comment. The summarized statement of its principal provisions, however, omits the very important stipulation that joint responsibility for a child will be demanded in case several men are implicated and the actual paternity cannot be proven. The progressive Minnesota law of 1917 is summarized but no mention is made of the most radical American law—that of North Dakota. The book contains a number of very convincing illustrations and the appendix includes the progressive Tennessee child-welfare law.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

MISSOURI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

The Educational Director. By BEULAH E. KENNARD, New York Department Store Merchandise Manuals. The Ronald Press Co., 1918. Pp. 207. \$1.50.

This book is an attempt to present to the reader a broad survey of the particular problems of the educational director of a department store, which has organization problems quite different from those of a factory and in which the unskilled worker must be trained, not only to handle goods, but to appraise and deal with people. The author discusses a little too fully the necessity of the development of such personal qualities as imagination, judgment, tact, poise, self-control, etc., in the employee, while one wishes that she had elaborated more her suggestions as to instructions in merchandise and salesmanship. The author

emphasizes most the training of employees already in the service without seeming to realize sufficiently the greater effectiveness of careful and systematic training of the new employee before he has been put to work. In the last section of the book too much space proportionally is given to the relationship of the welfare and educational departments; and the importance of the educational director in the job analyses, the initiation of the employee into his job, his transfer and his promotion, and the necessity for close co-operation in these matters between the educational and employment departments, might have been brought out more clearly. The material on the co-operation of the department store with the public schools in the training of junior employees and of students who plan later to enter the service of the stores is highly suggestive.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

CHICAGO SCHOOL OF CIVICS AND PHILANTHROPY

The Nature of the Relationship between Ethics and Economics. By CLARENCE EDWIN AYRES. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp. viii+58.

Economics "represents one phase of the general moral problem. It has special problems of its own—questions of fact about the pecuniary order; but the question of fact, 'What is the nature of the economic organization of society?' draws all its significance from the larger question, 'Wherein ought the existing order to be altered?'"

Dr. Ayres assumes, with the instrumentalists whom he follows, that principles of science are hypothetical propositions facing future contingencies. Applying this view to his problem he concludes that ethics and economics cannot commit themselves to a fixed order of society by rationalizing motives and processes at one time dominant. Economic theory presupposes an institutional organization of society within which claims are adjusted. What is this social organization? Are the legitimate claims of its constituents acknowledged? Admitting a measure of order, where are the *failures* of adjustment? What propositions will cover these failures (exceptions to former "laws") and anticipate future contingencies? A science without a major interest in prevision can have little more than an antiquarian value; practically it defends the strong and established. Similarly ethics, with its metaphysical and deductive bias, until recently has suggested no method of handling specific emergencies.

Sidgwick, Green, Martineau, Smith, Ricardo, Mill—the writers and their books—are quickly dissected to show the dependence of their propositions on the epochs in which they were produced, and the futility of their pretension of finality. The criticism is in agreement with the tenets of the “new school” in ethics and economics, with its liking for anthropology, historical origins, and probing into the springs of behavior.

It is a good piece of monograph-making, lacking the unclearness, anemia, and redundancy which are enough prevalent in doctoral theses in the social sciences to give point to the layman's conviction that little wisdom on human problems issues from the graduate schools of the universities.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Applied Eugenics. By PAUL POPONOE and ROSWELL HILL JOHNSON.
New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. xii+459. \$2.10.

Our authors say that “eugenics consists of a foundation of biology and a superstructure of sociology.” They assume that the “eugenically superior or desirable person has, to a greater degree than the average, the germinal basis for the following characteristics: to live past maturity, to reproduce adequately, to live happily, and to make contributions to the productivity, happiness, and progress of society.” In accordance with the first statement the authors endeavor to suggest ways in which society may apply the biological principles to the social problems. The first seven chapters are devoted to a demonstration of the second statement. The remaining chapters of the book concern themselves with the application of eugenics to social problems.

The authors discuss both restrictive and what may be called positive eugenics. While they believe that restrictive or negative eugenics are necessary to the protection of society from the inferior germ-plasm, they believe that the endeavor to educate people to a lively concern for the germinal purity of the race is more hopeful. They assume all the way through the book that in social problems inheritance is of primary importance. They assume that under *present* conditions of society “superior” persons will secure superior economic returns for themselves, and thus economic success is the sign of germinal superiority. They also assume that the “superior” persons will not only obtain greater economic success for themselves, but that they will retain the earnings their superiority has won for them. Now it is open to question whether such assumptions are true. Certainly there are classes of people whose

social worth is not recognized by economic society. There are others who are superior in other than economic lines, but who have not the inclination to exploit their abilities for economic gain. There are others who can capitalize their abilities, but who, because of changing conditions, lose their fortunes, and there are still others who can capitalize their abilities and earn much money but cannot save it.

The authors show that eugenics has some light to throw upon social problems. Such problems as the care of those classes of people who are unsocial in their conduct by reason of a defective or abnormal inheritance have received most light from eugenics. But how little light this science has to contribute to some of the other social problems and the social programs of reform is shown by the discussion of such problems as taxation, democracy, socialism, child labor, etc., in chapter xviii. Happily our authors confess that in spite of the fact that certain of our social evils are eugenically helpful, they should not for social reasons continue to exist. For example, they say, "Is it necessary, then, to retain sexual immorality in order to achieve race progress? No, because it is only one of many factors contributing to race progress. Society can mitigate this as well as alcoholism, disease, infant mortality—all powerful selective factors—without harm, provided increased efficiency of other selective factors is insured, such as the segregation of defectives, more effective sexual selection, a better correlation of income and ability, and a more eugenic distribution of family limitation" (p. 388). The final chapter on "Eugenics and Euthenics" corrects some of the false balance to be found in the previous chapters. In that chapter they say, "The present book holds that the second factor (euthenics) is just as important as the first for racial progress; that one leg is just as important as the other to a pedestrian."

In spite of the overemphasis on the biological factor in social betterment in the earlier chapters of the book, those interested in sociology will welcome the book for the attention it calls to the social problems in which eugenics can make a real contribution.

J. L. GILLIN

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

The Philosophy of the State in the Writings of Gabriel Tarde.—Since the time of Comte no other author was so instrumental in shaping the general body of sociological thought as Gabriel Tarde. Tarde's sociology centers about the elaboration of the psychological and sociological importance of "imitation." He finds the social process to consist fundamentally in the intermental activity of individuals, taking place through the three fundamental processes of "repetition," "opposition," and "adaptation." Through imitative repetition invention, the fundamental social adaptation, spreads and is strengthened, "and tends, through the encounter of one of its own imitative rays with an imitative ray emanating from some other invention, old or new, either to arouse new struggles or to yield new and more complex inventions which soon radiate out imitatively in turn, and so on indefinitely. . . . Thus, of the three terms compared, the first and third surpass the second in height, depth, importance, and possibly also in direction. The only value of the second opposition is to provoke a tension of antagonistic forces fitted to arouse inventive genius."—Harry E. Barnes, *The Philosophical Review*, March, 1919.

Remarques sur la psychologie collective.—All wars and especially the present Great War singularly bring to light the interest which collective psychology presents. War presupposes collective action. It necessitates the alignment of two hostile groups, the members in each being characterized by a certain cohesion distinct and different from each other. All living organisms are composed of two parts—that which is itself, its heredity, and that outside of itself, its *milieu*. This is especially significant in man, who, unlike plants and lower animals, is possessed of the quality of "thought," by means of which experiences can be represented by mere signs. The distinguishing feature in man is that while he of all beings is a product of and is subject to the "group," he at the same time is the most individual. The influence of the group makes itself felt through "imitation," as the illustrious sociologist Tarde contended, and otherwise. Sometimes one acts even contrary to his own sentiments. The average *poilu* soldier is an example. Though his thoughts and sentiments were entirely directed to his home, yet when critical moments came he fought and died valiantly.—J. Sagerd, *Revue philosophique*, Mai-Juin, 1919. L. D. C.

Human Personality and Its Pathology.—Personality may be analyzed for psychological descriptive purposes into two component factors: (1) the actual movements and behaviors, (2) potential behaviors. Both the actual behaviors and the dispositions may be further divided into predominantly behavioristic or mentalistic factors, which include muscular, glandular, and neural dispositions necessary for adjustments to external conditions. The personality is a concrete object developed from actual contact with surrounding objects and persons. The pathological personalities may be roughly described as follows: (1) defective personalities due to imperfect development of the psycho-physical tendencies. In such a case the individual fails to adapt himself to his surroundings and to develop any considerable degree of intelligence. The typical case of unco-ordination of original instinctive tendencies leaves the individual in an animal stage of development, while in a higher stage of human development the original tendencies are entirely co-ordinated, but the resulting actions are not adapted to the needs of the individual, with respect to his environing circumstances; (2) the defective person called the paranoiac, who from his early years builds up habits of shunning others, is suspicious and bears a general attitude of isolation and persecution; (3) psychoneurotic personalities whose original action tendencies group themselves into habits and volitions which unfit them to maintain their expected place in society. The individual's responses are so out of tune with each other that he loses control over

his environment. No absolute classification of defective personalities can be made, since human personality is a dynamic object of extreme complexity and cannot be assumed to function in an inflexible and constant manner.—J. R. Kantor, *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, April, 1919. C. N.

The Correlation of Neurology, Psychiatry, Psychology, and General Medicine as Scientific Aids to Industrial Efficiency.—This article presents an approach to efficiency, which aims at giving industry proper scientific functioning under competent directing heads, and with the sympathetic co-operation of labor and industrial leaders. The *modus operandi* is the proper co-ordination of all scientific aids through industrial examinations. The aim is the proper selection and distribution of labor so as to salvage the human material lost to industry through present hit-and-miss methods. The author finds the efficiency of a plant to be dependent upon the methods used in its employment bureau. The interests of the individual, of organization both industrial and labor, and of the community call for the establishment of medico-psychological laboratories as the principal department of the employment bureau of every large industrial organization, or groups of industrial organizations too small to conduct their own bureaus economically.—Jan D. Ball, *American Journal of Insanity*, April, 1919. C. W. C.

La "Force Majeure" et la Guerre.—Juridical notions change under the pressure of facts. These changes sometimes operate plainly, but more often in a subtle manner. Such is, so to speak, the "life of right," nothing precise and definite, the constant study of jurists. In the light of the above, what is the relation of war to the notion of "irresistible force" in its nullifying effect upon obligations and contracts? It is only indirectly that the war is linked up with the latter. War as such is not a case of "irresistible force" for the debtor. In order to become so, the latter will have to furnish proof that on account of the war he is unable to meet his obligations. A certain number of general conclusions may be drawn: (1) The interpretation of "right" is not a literal and logical one drawn from texts. (2) Juridical notions are transformed by the pressure of facts, but not such as are purely brutal and material; they must be proved and more or less elaborated in accordance with juridical knowledge, sentiments, and beliefs. (3) The sentiments and beliefs which determine the content of juridical notions are social; they are thus both subjective and objective in character. (4) "Right," being social in its origin and form, is also social in content.—G. Aillet, *Revue métaphysique morale*, Mai-Juin, 1919. L. C. D.

Thoughts on Industrial Peace.—As peace leads us across the threshold of a new era, we find ourselves adrift in strange seas. The big issue is not wages but one of industrial control. How shall it be divided among the state, the employer, and the employees? In Great Britain everything points to a new industrial régime—common ownership of public utilities and private industries at the most expedient time. In America conditions are somewhat better. The day of the working people is at hand, and democracy has come to its own; the radicalism of yesterday becomes the conservatism of today. The feeling that the man who toils with his hands is going to dominate the world is but the inevitable harvest of disturbed and disordered industrial conditions. The industrial war is no longer a private issue between employer and employee, but an issue between organized labor and our existing institutions. It is the universal problem of society. No substantial progress toward industrial peace or a lessening of class bitterness has been made for three decades, because of the attitude of personal resentment, distrust, and suspicion of labor leaders and employers toward one another. By unselfish efforts, establishment of employer's committees on reconstruction and conciliation, national labor boards, and development of collective responsibility within labor organizations, industrial peace is attainable.—Walter G. Merritt, *The Unpopular Review*, April and June, 1919. C. N.

Educational Values in Schools for Negroes.—One view holds that southern society may be regarded as a dual organism consisting of two interrelated, yet mutually dependent, elements. This raises the question whether a special curriculum adapted to the needs of the colored race should be provided. This point can be decided only

through a series of social, economic, and psychological investigations of the Negro race. Booker Washington has offered a scheme of values which proves acceptable to both races: (1) economic independence, i.e., ability to earn a living, to acquire property, and to enlarge accordingly the circle of human wants; (2) morality based on the right kind of education, since numerous crimes committed by Negroes show that the education the Negro has received in the past has failed to function in morality; (3) sociability, based on those ideals and activities which will lead each race to a proper understanding of its place in society, and which will make for harmonious relations between the two races; (4) the health value which is obtainable by either race through sanitary housing, warmer clothes, and more specific instructions in the rules of health. A curriculum organized upon these values should be productive of good results and acceptable to both races.—Stuart G. Noble, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1919. C. N.

The Social Service Bureau at Sing Sing Prison.—Out of the experience of the psychiatric clinic at the prison has developed the present enterprise undertaken in a spirit of sociological experimentation quite as much as that of specific humanitarian service, in order to discover by actual experiment whether and to what extent the recidivist was fated to continue indefinitely within the vicious circle of crime and punishment, or whether by a deliberate and sustained effort at understanding and refitting him into a normal environment a sufficient modification in his habits and attitudes was yet practicable to effect his permanent restoration to law-abiding citizenship. Functioning as a criminological experiment station, the usefulness of a social service bureau would not be limited to the mere material services as a job and emergency relief, but would have the larger purpose of reconstruction of the man and his environment so as to organize them in a plan of action and observation in each particular case such that a broad scientific foundation could be laid for a system of after-care that should aim at nothing less than the prevention and cure of recidivism in the community. Some forty-odd cases have been handled in three months, resulting in unexpected and frequently unpredictable recoveries of men whose past careers have been those of chronic transgressors of the law of property and honesty. A staff of professionally trained field workers for follow-up work would be a valuable aid to this after-care service.—Paul Wander, *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1919.

C. W. C.

Rural Child Welfare and the Red Cross.—The report of a committee to investigate the status of social work in rural communities emphasizes three convictions: (1) no one knows the nature and extent of rural social work in any of the states; (2) practically the same kind of work is being carried on in different communities under various types of organization; (3) very few local agencies employ representatives who understand the case-work method. Three forces which have brought order into city work are (1) confidential registration, (2) increasing socialization of public agencies, and (3) new desire for knowledge as a basis of action. These same forces would prove potent in rural communities. The Home Service Division of the American Red Cross offers opportunity for this. Its purpose is to give financial aid and advice to families of fighting men. The method employed includes the division of the United States into organized units with a director responsible for the supervision of local units. In rural districts a trained worker has been placed at county seats, and a six weeks' training course has been offered. The Red Cross is related to the problem of dependency in that (1) dependent homes are transferred to it by other organizations, and (2) problems arise in it that benefit all families alike. Since 60.7 per cent of the children still grow up in communities of less than 2,500 population, it is desirable that these rural social centers be conserved for social activity after the war.—Mabel B. Ellis, *Child Labor Bulletin*, August, 1918.

F. O. D.

The Family Court.—The need for a family court is shown in the large number of cases where different members of a single family are brought before different courts. In six months in the Philadelphia Municipal Court 705 such instances occurred. The establishment of a family court would mean simply: (1) more perfect organization along present lines of court division, (2) a probation department belonging primarily

to the court as a whole and secondarily to its branches, and (3) a central filing of records. The actual subdivisions of the court, as regards hearings and the assignment of judges, would come through experimentation. The following tentative plan is suggested.

GENERAL MUNICIPAL COURT

- I. Family Court, with the following divisions:
 1. Juvenile, to handle delinquents up to sixteen years
 2. Misdemeanor, to handle delinquent adolescents from sixteen to twenty-one years
 3. Domestic Relations, to handle:
 - a) All desertion cases
 - b) Non-contested paternity cases
 4. Delinquent Families, to handle:
 - a) Begging and thieving children
 - b) Certain incorrigible children and adolescents
 5. Offenses against children, to handle magistrates' hearings for adult offenders against children
- II. Criminal Division, to handle criminal offenses against children and criminal negligence of parents
- III. Civil Division, to handle cases involving family and personal issues between employer and labor.

The work of the probation staff would be preliminary interviews, investigation, preparation of cases for court hearings in the various sections, follow-up work, securing of medical care, employment, and other restorative efforts.—Jane D. Rippin, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August, 1918. F. O. D.

A New Social Purpose.—The really significant thing which the war will teach is a change from the consideration of mere details and precedents to a new social purpose. As the nation formed itself into a committee of ways and means to win the war, so it now forms its new point of view. What we may recognize as a worthy ideal is expressed in these words from the program of the English Labor party:

"Recognition of the value of every human being as an individual personality, entitled not only to the necessities of physical life, but to an education which will secure him fullest mental and spiritual development; and

"A reconstruction of industry upon such a basis that a man may have the opportunity for choice of work, and a share in the direction of that work, and may feel in the performance, that he is not merely providing for his own needs but is making a contribution to the community in which he lives of the things which have a real value for it."

Once this ideal becomes the conscious purpose of society, we may trust ourselves to find the ways and means. That will be the problem of our great leaders in social development as the problems of physical science have been the field for investigators and discoverers. Social integration has reached a point where collective purpose is unavoidable.—R. F. Beasley, *Everybody's*, January, 1919. H. F. S.

Primitive Conceptions of the Mutability of Living Beings.—The idea that organic beings can change their form became a scientific notion about half a century ago. Comparative ethnography tells us that before all cosmogonies about creation of man, animals, and plants by divine beings, the belief in animal ancestors was very widely, if not universally, extended and expressed in all archaic legends on all continents. The study of mutability has two principal phases: the mythological and the recent-scientific. All ancient legends regard man as an animal form modified from the zoological type which generally inhabited the same region. The idea of possible parentage arose when primitive men observed the similarity of actions between themselves and animals. It appeared so simple and credible that it constitutes the foundation of all traditions and mythologies. It was not regarded as indignity for savages to descend from zoological forms, but an honor, because of the remarkable strength and intelligence of some animals. The period when man recognized his progenitor in the animal beings of his vicinity came after a period in which his mentality was

too rudimentary, and when he did not occupy himself with the question where he came from. The belief in the mutability of beings was widespread over all continents. The belief in transformation of animals into gods we find in Egypt and classical civilization.—Pierre G. Mahoudeau, *Revue d'anthropologie*, March-April, 1919.

C. W. C.

The Church and the Coming Social Movement.—The war has brought about amazing social emergencies to be followed by an era of social action on a large scale such that the absorbing concern of the nation will be for social justice and the progress of the masses of the people, having among its objectives: the abolition of poverty; a distribution of the products of the common labor of the world which will be not only more just, but better adjusted to the needs of various social groups; the scientific betterment of public health; the control of vice; wholesome and abundant recreational provision for all the people; the extension of democracy to make the privileges of the few the possession of the many; the perfecting of the machinery of federal, state, and municipal governments; and international co-operation. This action will express itself in terms of the British idea of constitutional democracy as "continuous evolution from one social state to another, retaining at each step enough of the old system to keep economic life functioning continually, progress being achieved, not chiefly by force, but by education, agitation and information," or will work through the methods of Russian program democracy—Bolsheviki. Whichever form the social movement may take the church must enter into it with a comprehensive, hopeful, wide-as-the-world program of the Kingdom of God with an organization whose fellowship should be as broad as the entire division of labor of the social movement. To this end society wants every church open seven days a week to function at capacity as religious social centers for neighborhoods in co-operation with other agencies solving the problems of community welfare and to do this with such a new unity of religious consciousness and organization that the entire church will make itself felt back of national causes with a unanimity heralding possible organic union of the Protestant churches.—Worth M. Tippy, *Biblical World*, November, 1918.

C. W. C.

The War's Influence on Art.—This war has proved a great inspiration to the American artist. It has made the whole craft more sincere in its aims. It will stop a lot of groping, a lot of striving after false gods, if one can dignify such new emotions as have sprung up within the last decade or so by such a title. We are going to have something fresh, if not absolutely new, to say. An effort must be made to nourish the artisan-artist, to compete with and to be conservators of European skill which was formerly available to American manufacturers, but which has been swept away by the war. We must have an industrial art. This war has taught us to look anew at the serious side of life. One of its most striking results is that it has brought to the front a class of men who have never been popular before. The public had never, for instance, given a full measure of credit to the poster-man and illustrator. . . . They have never been called on to go beyond the depiction in her younger and prettier phases of the "eternal feminine," especially the illustrator. They are now going to try to take an interest in heroic figures, perhaps, typifying industry; and the more serious aspects of life. . . . The artist will be far more gregarious with his kind than he ever was before in America—something our own art has greatly needed.—Herbert Adams, *Forum*, January, 1919.

H. F. S.

The Everlasting Army.—Shaftsbury saw—he almost alone in all this land—a thing that seems incredible to us, a pampered dragon in our midst that slew the very hope of England and threatened to engulf the future of our race, namely, this social system which has inflicted on our own people a cruelty as ruthless as the German cruelty in Belgium. Thus in its hundred years of peace the nation that destroyed Napoleon has destroyed within its own borders a nation equal to itself through compelling our children to be born into an environment where the mass of life submerged in the social and physical and moral wreckage of the British Isles, at any time in any year, is as great as the entire mass of British manhood now in khaki. These conditions front us with the question, Do thousands of children come into the world to

gasp for life in a slum; to pick up a little food, a little slang, and a little arithmetic; to grovel in the earth for 40 years, or to stand in steaming factories; to wear their bodies out like cattle on the land; to live in little rows of dirty houses, in little blocks of stuffy rooms, and then to die? This question finds its answer in three mighty hopes—the hope of the men who are coming home resolved that this ghastly crime of war shall never be again; the hope of the women who are coming into Parliament to touch our public life with the glow of faith and hope and love; the hope of the children who are coming to school—this everlasting army of our children marching to its own.—Arthur Mee, *The Child*, December, 1918. C. W. C.

A Study of the Mental and Physical Characteristics of the Chinese.—In the year of 1915-17 Dr. J. W. Creighton made a study of the mental and physical characteristics of Chinese (Cantonese). The physical measurements showed that: (1) the Chinese boys and girls are not quite so tall, not nearly so heavy, nor so strong, as Americans of the same age; (2) the Chinese boys are faster than American boys; the Chinese girls not so fast as American girls; (3) the air space per pound in the case of Chinese boys is about 10 per cent less than that of American boys, and that of girls about 8 per cent less than that of American girls; (4) the Chinese are broader headed than Americans and are somewhat more nearly ambidextrous. The mental measurements showed that: (1) the Chinese boys and girls are better in rote memory than Americans; (2) in logical memory the Chinese girls are almost as good as American girls of the same age; while Chinese boys lack 13.5 per cent of being as efficient as American boys of corresponding age; (3) in substitution tests the Chinese were slower than Americans; (4) in the analogue test the Chinese were especially poor; (5) in the spot pattern test the Chinese were on an equal footing with Americans. If the averages of the various tests are combined, the efficiency of the Chinese boys is found to be about 84 per cent of that of Americans, while the efficiency of Chinese girls is only 77 per cent of that of American girls.—W. H. Pyle, *School and Society*, August, 1918. C. N.

The Survey as an Implement of Democracy.—During the past decade the efforts of communities in outlining programs of correction, readjustment, and betterment have more and more been based on social, industrial, and civic investigations and surveys, having as their aim a scientific solution of the problems that confront the communities. There are two kinds of surveys: (1) *general social and civic surveys* involving specific geographic limits and bearings with the careful investigation, analysis, and interpretation of the facts of social and civic problems; the recommendation and outlining of action based on the facts, and acquainting and educating of the community, not only to conditions found, but to the corrective and preventive measures to be adopted; (2) the *special-subject surveys*, covering only a specific field of social, civic, and governmental activity, and intended more for the guidance of administration in the fields which they concern than for the formulation of public opinion. In many cities concrete accomplishments have been obtained by surveys: (a) in health; (b) in delinquency and corrections; (c) in health; (d) in charities; (e) in recreation; (f) in industrial conditions; (g) in the police force. The scientific survey movement has justified its inception, and as an implement of democracy it promises to play an important rôle in national, state, and local affairs.—Murray Gross, *National Municipal Review*, November, 1918. C. N.

Framingham Monograph No. 4.—The fourth of a series of monographs, taking stock of the results of the National Tuberculosis Association's health and tuberculosis survey of Framingham, Mass., sums up the results of two examination drives, one in April, 1917, of 1,580 cases, and one seven months later of 2,893 individuals, a total of 4,473 persons, members of 1783 families. Of the 4,473 cases studied 77 per cent were recorded as ill, which classification includes minor as well as serious affections; 64 per cent of these illness cases were directly preventable and 22 per cent partially preventable, leaving only 14 per cent, or 512 cases, actually not preventable. Fifty-five per cent of the individuals were female and 46 per cent were under 14 years of age. Sixty-two per cent of the three affections most prominent, namely, teeth, tonsils, and glands, were under 14 years of age. Seventy-nine per cent of the males

and 75 per cent of the females examined were reported as ill. Each drive respectively discovered 48 cases or 2.16 per cent in all to be actually tuberculosis. Of the 96 cases thus brought to light, 25 were incipient, 17 cases were advanced, and 54 were arrested. The findings of the campaigns suggest that the economic factor is not the predominating and absolutely determining one in the incidence of tuberculosis that students had decided it to be, which incidence was foremost in the committee's objective when it was planned to obtain this accurate cross-section picture of illness in a supposedly normal group. That the necessity of such a survey for purposes of accuracy does obtain in American communities is demonstrated by the fact that a health census of Framingham covering 6,582 people, of whom 407 admitted illness, including 16 tuberculosis cases, was followed by the health and tuberculosis survey, which found 77 per cent to be ill, including 96 cases of tuberculosis. The picture is offered as that of a representative American community.—National Tuberculosis Association, *Framingham Monograph Number 4*. C. W. C.

Synopsis of Social Studies of the Neighborhood of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement in Pittsburgh, Pa.—The settlement's neighborhood contains seventeen nationalities. They are becoming Americanized. Natives of the United States have moved away. The membership of the settlement in 1916-17 numbered 2,756. Service which consists of entertainments, concerts, lectures, use of public baths, and the nursing and personal service departments was given to 10,000 individuals in one year. Among the constructive forces of the neighborhood we find 93 institutions, including 40 churches, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant; 9 public schools and 4 parochial schools; 19 houses and institutions; 13 hospitals and dispensaries; 2 relief offices; and 6 other organizations doing social work. Among the negative and neutral forces which the settlement tries to eliminate or to elevate are 195 agencies. They are 47 saloons, 8 liquor stores, 16 movies, 46 pool rooms, and 124 disorderly houses. Police records show 168 raids in this neighborhood. The Juvenile Court records 38 dependents and 48 delinquents among the white, and 39 dependents and 20 delinquents among the colored. The death rate is higher than for the whole city, because of lack of sewage, bad housing, and uncleanness. The nursing service during the past 15½ years shows 100,138 nurses' visits made. Against the neighborhood poverty the settlement joins hands with other relief agencies.—Special Pamphlet. J. H.

The Church and Reconstruction.—The workingmen on the whole are indifferent to the church. The American Federation of Labor is directed and controlled by men who are at least indifferent to the church, yet the labor movement on the whole sees the same end as Christianity. The laboring man criticizes the church's lack of real understanding of the labor movement and the lack of practical sympathy with the laborer's aspirations, ideals, and objectives. Luther by his separation of the church and state defended privilege. The socialists of Germany have always found the church a bulwark of privilege and conservatism. American Protestantism is for the most part democratic but has inherited the sad conditions of Europe. The laborer still looks upon the church as the champion of the established order, as the servant of the capitalist and privileged classes. Until recently the church has emphasized the individual rather than the social problems. At present it is becoming more democratic and aware of social conditions. What the church needs is to face the social problems seriously and actively, to present to the world a human, practical, and comprehensive gospel of Christ, and to bring herself into harmony with the democratic spirit of the times in seeking to remedy the great social defects of our day.—William H. Morgan, *Methodist Review*, March-April, 1919. F. O. D.

The Psychology of the Latin-American.—The main respects in which the psychology of the Latin-American differs from our own may be summed up as follows: (1) "Egoism," which commonly appears in a threefold cult (a) of an ultra-acute sense of personal dignity demanding due recognition without allowance for circumstances; (b) of an excessive formality in the rigor with which prescribed rules of conduct, official and social, must be observed; (c) of the spirit of exclusiveness that makes real co-operation extremely difficult if not impossible. The net result of all this is that the

Latin-American suffers from a lack of real social solidarity. Defined in its relation to the Latin-American "egoism" is a disposition to regard the individual for what he is rather than for what he can do. It is individualism conscious of self but devoid of genuine initiative. (2) "Impulsiveness," presented by his verbosity. Impulsiveness includes the usual concept of acting without forethought and contains another ingredient as well. It is a blend of opportunism and arrested determination. (3) "Unmorality," in its turn, finds inadequate representation in the dictionary rendering of "non-morality." The Latin-American is not altogether an amoral person. His is a state of mind which recognizes ethical obligations in theory but is likely to abstain from applying them.—William R. Shepherd, *Journal of Race Development*, January, 1919. C. N.

The Next Step in Applied Science.—The direct application of applied science to our everyday needs has revealed to us the good of social welfare, social welfare being generally interpreted to mean the comfort, happiness, and convenience of the present generation; thus it has made the world a tidy place to live in and has contributed an untold sum to human happiness and welfare. Just what will be the effect, however, upon a race of men disciplined through a hundred thousand years of hardship of this sudden introduction to comfort? Possibly science should never have been applied to making man comfortable, but should have been applied to making him perfect. Applied science is substituting machinery for stoutness of arm and the motor car for strength of leg, so that upon biological grounds we must believe that disastrous consequences of such a régime upon society as a whole may be serious in the highest degree. In all our plans for improved economic and social conditions it is uniformly taken for granted that leisure, resulting from a shortened working day or from time-saving devices, will be an unmixed good. Science has made war monstrous in destructiveness, so that such sciences as biology, psychology, sociology, and education must find in the preventing of war a real problem in applied science. Nature seems to have discovered ages ago that the way to make any race of animals or men strong and hardy was not to shield them from their enemies but to give them power of resistance against their enemies. The immediate needs of our present time are not more wealth and more luxury and more efficiency but more racial and constitutional power of resistance to physical disease and more individual power of resistance to every alluring immediate joy which threatens the permanent welfare of society. In the reconstruction era the danger is that in the spirit of the time we shall attempt to solve the profound social problems that confront us in two ways, first, by the further development of the mechanical industrial arts, and secondly, by the manipulation of political institutions; but with these must go conservation, self-control, and the limitation of desires.—George T. W. Patrick, *Scientific Monthly*, February, 1919. C. W. C.

A High-School Course in Sociology.—Only a small percentage of high-school boys attend college. A large majority of high-school students enter business and professional life and become voters unprepared to deal intelligently with the common social problems which all citizens must face; and only here and there do we find a group the members of which are given the preliminary training which will enable them later to assume some leadership in the war against the slavery of disease, crime, and poverty. This situation has been met in Portland, Oregon, by the addition of a course in sociology to a high-school curriculum having as its purpose, first, to furnish all the students taking the course with such information regarding modern social problems as would enable them to take an intelligent and effective part as citizens in combating modern social evils; and secondly, to present to those of the students who might later attend college such an introduction to the subject of sociology and to allied subjects as might aid them in intelligently choosing their courses of study in college. This course was planned for third- and fourth-year students, of whom the enrolment was twenty-three the first semester and thirty the second. The most important observation made was on the effect the course had in changing their ideals. Almost everyone said that his whole attitude toward life had been changed by the course. All of them failed to understand why such a course had not been given before. They agreed that it was a course all students should take. The war has roused our young people to a realization of social needs such that, if given an opportunity to

prepare themselves, they will play their part courageously and intelligently in the revolution which is taking place in the conditions and ideas which underlie the present social order.—Harry H. Moore, *Educational Review*, March, 1919. C. W. C.

A Scientific Basis for Training Social Workers.—Sociology, while synthesizing the work of other fields, helps to develop a sound perspective toward social relations chiefly because its own special and independent field of study is the discovery of principles which operate in the growth and change of social standards, customs, and traditions; while applied sociology (or social work) is the effort to prevent lapses from the prevailing standards of time and place. Accordingly a course in sociology becomes a *sine qua non* of preparing case workers by the method of the short, intensive training-course of the kind given at Smith College. To illustrate, the economic aspects of our social problems usually appear fundamental, yet the searching analysis of psychiatrists, as well as the sad experience of social workers, has demonstrated that below the surface of economic conditions lies the elusive psychological fact, and sociologists know that lower still may be found a stratum of biological fact and principle. Social case workers become applied sociologists as soon as they cease to view their "cases" as a sequence of detached events and come to view them as scientific facts of observation contributed to the mass of trustworthy data. To this end the Smith College experiment has demonstrated that training for social case work may be based on scientific method rather than on philanthropic technique.—F. Stuart Chapin, *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1918. C. W. C.

The Psychiatric Social Worker.—The most striking thing in the development of the field of mental disease has been the extension of the subject socially. Independent of its closer union with neurology has been its affiliation with criminology, social hygiene, the employment phase of economics, the distribution of charity and social relief, and lastly its recognition as a great branch of medicine by the military authorities, so that the neuropsychiatrist has a great rôle both in the selection of army and navy personnel and in the care of the disabled. It is these social affiliations that have made the psychiatric social worker a necessity. This profession discovers for us that the fundamental point in the commitment of the insane is the safeguarding of society, in that the fact of chief moment is the generalized social damage which as a focus of social difficulty of all kinds arises through the psychoses proper. Again the extension of psychiatry to criminology is merely the recognition of the fact that the point of departure in crime is the criminal himself—his mentality, his personality—matters which call for psychiatric investigation; in recognition that the conception of treatment must supplant that of punishment, and treatment is social adjustment. The war-work opportunity of the psychiatric social worker cannot be overemphasized. Aside from the ordinary value of such social-adjustment work it gains additional importance because, in direct ratio to its success, it will make for social stability. Further the war will raise all social work in dignity and remuneration, for the war is bringing a unifying feeling of social responsibility to the heart of every American; and social responsibility is the energizing feeling behind social activities.—Abraham Myerson, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, October, 1918. C. W. C.

A Statistical Study of 102 Truants.—The subjects of this study were 102 truant boys who had been committed to Whittier State School from Los Angeles County. The survey reveals the following facts: (1) Sixty-five per cent of the boys were white, 25 per cent colored, 10 per cent Mexican-Indian. (2) Truancy was the principal offense of only 7 per cent of the boys, and burglary, stealing, and larceny together constituted the principal offense of 70 per cent of the cases. (3) Every boy had committed one or more offenses, 80 per cent three or more offenses, 25 per cent had used alcoholic liquor, 62 per cent used tobacco, and 90 per cent used profane language. (4) One-fourth of the white, one-half of the colored and Mexican-Indian boys, were definitely feeble-minded, only 17.7 per cent of the total number were of average-normal or superior intelligence. (5) In school about 30 per cent were retarded over two years, and 20 per cent were at or above normal grade for age. (6) Mental defectiveness was prevalent in the families of these truant boys. About 10 per cent of the whites, 37 per cent of the negroes, and 47.4 per cent of the total of those

classified were of average-normal or superior intelligence. Seventy-one per cent of the total of those classified were of average intelligence. (7) In 68.6 per cent of the homes there were abnormal parental conditions, one or both parents being dead or divorced. One-half of the fathers and 7.8 per cent of the mothers were intemperate. —Willis W. Clark, *The Journal of Delinquency*, September, 1918. C. N.

Some Aspects of Feeble-mindedness in Wisconsin.—By the term "feeble-minded" is meant all idiots, imbeciles, and morons. Professor George B. Mangold in 1911, assuming that Wisconsin has as many per thousand of population as the country, estimated the number for Wisconsin at between four and five thousand. On the assumption that Wisconsin has her proportion of the 400,000 criminals of the country, she may be estimated to have about 9,335 criminals. If 12 per cent of these are feeble-minded, then there are about 1,549 feeble-minded criminals in the state. Probably 25 per cent of the cost of supporting the poor in almshouses is due to feeble-mindedness, and 10 per cent of the cost of public outdoor relief is due to the same factor. Perhaps 5 per cent of the pauperism met by private organizations is to be charged to feeble-mindedness. The feeble-minded in the state institutions have a death rate of from 26 to 43.

If the share of feeble-mindedness in the cost of crime is \$281,090.28; of pauperism, \$136,226.44; of common schools, \$253,887.22; of preventable deaths, \$844,200.00; then the total in these four fields is \$1,515,403.94. The problem can only be solved by preventing the reproduction of feeble-mindedness. The methods proposed for doing this are sterilization, segregation, and regard for the welfare of the race. "Sterilization is still an experiment. Up to the present, experience suggests that the chief reliance for the struggle with feeble-mindedness must be placed upon the segregation of the feeble-minded in special institutions where they will be carefully kept so that they cannot propagate, and where they may live happily and as usefully as their condition permits."—John L. Gillin, *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, Serial No. 940. Price 10 cents.

H. F. S.

The Negro in Business in Philadelphia.—The investigation showed a total of 450 business establishments housed in a room, store, or office. There were 55 different kinds of business, the ten most popular being as follows: barbers, 66; cafés and restaurants, 63; hair culturists, massage, 25; caterers, 23; express and storage, 21; grocers, 20; tailors, 20; coal, wood, ice, 17; shoe parlors and bootblacks, 17; employment, 14; total, 286. Of the 423 who gave their place of birth, only 62 were born in Philadelphia; 53 others were born in Pennsylvania; nearly all had been in Philadelphia from ten to twenty years before engaging successfully in business. Of the 414 cases in which the gross annual receipts were known, 305 ranged from \$1,000 to \$4,000, while 8 reached \$15,000 or over. The small size of the businesses and the lack of efficiency frequently found may be due to one or to several of the following causes: inexperience, lack of training, lack of ability, difficulty of securing capital. The following recommendations are made: (1) that employers inquire from the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and from the public high schools for the names of promising young men and women who are ambitious, but who, on account of the lack of opportunity, are more easily obtainable for a moderate compensation than they would be if they were white; (2) that on account of the great lack of apprenticeship, the public schools introduce into their curriculum courses which shall as soon as possible take the place of the apprenticeships which the young colored men or women are unable to obtain.—*An Investigation by the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia*. H. F. S.

Social Work as a Profession in Los Angeles.—The survey was made in the city of Los Angeles and included the following heads: (1) *number and size of social agencies*, comprising twenty-two institutional and thirty-eight non-institutional social agencies of which twenty-four were public and thirty-six private. The average number of persons employed per agency was six. The average for the public agencies was eleven; for the private agencies two and five-tenths; (2) *number and classification of workers employed*: four hundred and four social workers were included,

the public health employing the largest number of workers, the non-institutional outranking institutional workers by more than five to one. Out of the total, one hundred fifty-three were men and two hundred fifty-one were women; (3) *comparative salaries*: the average salary paid to social service workers is \$106.97 per month. The average for men is \$135.35, and for women \$91.82 per month; (4) *public versus private agencies*: two hundred and sixty-four social workers were employed by public agencies while only ninety-two workers were employed by private agencies; (5) *standards and qualifications*: the necessary qualifications vary so widely that it is difficult to compare them. The public health doctors, lawyers, nurses, etc., must have the regular technical training of their professions, plus the knowledge of, or personal fitness for, social work. The playground workers, probation officers, field visitors, inspectors, etc., must have specialized training and experience or knowledge of social welfare work. Some types call for little specialized training, adaptability, and personality being the fundamental requirements.—Mary Chaffee, *Sociological Monograph Number 9*, October, 1918. C. N.

The Iowa Plan for the Combination of Public and Private Relief.—After a careful investigation of the poor relief conditions in Grinnell, in 1912, public and private charity organizations were united to carry on social work more efficiently, with the following results: (1) it made possible the employment of trained charity workers; (2) it resulted in the installation of modern business methods of keeping records; (3) it made possible adequate investigations to show not only where the need really existed, but also the cause for the need; (4) the combination plan helped in various kinds of community services; (5) the centralized relief administration gave a scientific basis for the initiation of other needed social movement; (6) better supervision (a) of the widows' pension law in reference to the accounting of the money received and expended, (b) of the law providing for pensions for the blind as to the applicants' needs; (7) the combination plan has extended the doctrine of efficient charity over the county through investigations; (8) the plan has demonstrated that public relief can be efficient and elastic and can be adjusted to the individual need; (9) it has tended to discard the words "pauper" and "charity" and to substitute the idea of community service, social service, or social welfare; (10) it made possible the handling of juvenile-court and truancy work by a trained worker. This combination plan is operating in six Iowa cities and can be adjusted to meet the needs of any locality, whether city, town, or rural district, through intelligent co-operation of public and private agencies.—Bessie A. McClenahan, *University of Iowa Monograph*, Number 3, June, 1918. C. N.

Arbitration and Wage-fixing in Australia.—Having accepted a practical state socialism the people of the Australian Commonwealth have given expression to a program of social reform that has meant the suppression of sweating, the fixing of a minimum wage, and the establishment of methods of conciliation and arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes which have been concerned mainly with wage controversies and matters other than those concerning trade unionism. The review of industrial disputes under the Victorian System of conciliation is by the Wages Boards, whose members are nominated by the Minister of Labor, and its award is enforced by state officials. The review in New South Wales takes the form of compulsory arbitration (strikes being classified as legal or illegal), through the Industrial Boards appointed by the Minister of Labor and Industry, and the Court of Industrial Arbitration, which determines the living wage minimum yearly. Here, too, there are features of conciliation vested in the Industrial Commissioner, whose prerogative it is to discover and head off disputes. An admixture of compulsion and conciliation through the use of the compulsory conference is found in each state of the union and in the Commonwealth Government itself, which deals with labor disputes extending beyond the limits of any one state. Even in a period when effective wages are falling the Labor Party has shown no general desire to substitute the strike for arbitration which has produced social advantages at a certain cost of efficiency of production.—National Industrial Conference Board, *Research Report Number 10*, October, 1918. C. W. C.

Publications Presenting the Organization, Work, and Method of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men.—On the corner at 311 Fourth Ave., New York, stands a three-story building, the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, in which is being worked out the problem of reconstructing our returning crippled and disabled men. This institute offers official publications as follows: fifteen pamphlets of Series 1, namely: *A Bibliography of the War Cripple*, prepared by Mr. McMurtrie; *The Economic Consequences of Physical Disability*, a case study of civilian cripples in New York City, edited by John Culbert Faries; *Memorandum on Provision for Disabled Soldiers in New Zealand*, written by Mr. McMurtrie; *A Statistical Consideration of the Number of Men Crippled in War and Disabled in Industry*, prepared by I. M. Rubinow; *The French System for Return to Civilian Life of Crippled and Discharged Soldiers*, issued by John L. Todd; Gustave Hirschfeld's *Tourvielle: A Trade School for War Cripples*, translated by Gladys Gladding Whiteside; *The Development in England of the State System for the Care of the Disabled Soldier*, written by Mr. Faries; *Training in English Technical Schools for Disabled Soldiers*, also by Mr. Faries; *Placement Technique in the Employment Work of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men*, prepared by Gertrude R. Stein; *The Relation of the Short, Intensive Industrial Survey to the Problem of Soldier Re-education*, penned by G. A. Boate; *Provision for War Cripples in Italy*, also *Provision for War Cripples in Germany*, both prepared by Ruth Underhill; J. Breuil's *The Vocational School for Disabled Soldiers at Rouen, France*, and translations of two pamphlets, *Provision for Vocational Re-education for Disabled Soldiers in France* and *Provision for the Re-education of Belgian War Cripples*, prepared by Miss Whiteside; two pamphlets of Series 2, *Vocational Re-education for War Cripples in France*, prepared by Grace S. Harper, and *Principles of Design and Construction of Artificial Legs*, contributed by Captain Philip Wilson. In addition to these we have the first of a series of publications of the Red Cross Institute for the Blind, which is a translation of Eugene Brioux's *Our Blinded Soldiers*; *Instructions for Directors of Schools*, by Miss Whiteside; also certain special publications by Mr. McMurtrie including: *The Duty of the Employer in the Reconstruction of the Crippled Soldier*; *The Organization, Work, and Method of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men*; *Reconstructing the Crippled Soldier*; *Rehabilitation of the War Cripple*; and leaflets, *Your Duty to the War Cripple*, and others. Those interested may secure copies of the indicated booklets by communicating with the Institute at the address given above.

C. W. C.

The Relation between Dependency and Retardation.—The problem is the relation between financial dependence of the family and retardation of the children. Investigation of the records of children in four schools in Minneapolis was made, schools representing gradations from extreme poverty, congestion, immorality, and alien population up to prosperous conditions. In an enrolment of 2,828 pupils, 504, or 17.8 per cent, were retarded; 228, or 8 per cent, were advanced or under the normal age for their grade. A contrast may be made between the Lyndale School, where the pupils come from prosperous homes, and the Washington School, where there are many dependent families. In the Lyndale School only 13 per cent were retarded, in the Washington School 27.3 per cent; and in the Lyndale School 10.7 per cent were advanced, in the Washington School only 5.3 per cent. A comparison of 1,351 children of dependent families with the average children revealed 30.94 per cent of retardation as compared with 17.8 for the average, and only 5.92 per cent of advancement as compared with 8 per cent for the average. Two problems require further investigation: the causes of retardation—whether malnutrition, continual shifting in residence, late school entrance, bad heredity, or merely lack of intellectual background—and the prevention of this retardation.—Margaret K. Beard, *Research Publications of the University of Minnesota*, February, 1919.

G. H. S.

Conservation and Criminology.—One of the greatest wastes of humanity is the toleration of conditions that produce criminals and the management of these criminals in ways that make them forever useless to themselves and to their fellows. The practice of criminology in the United States is fifty years behind the general advance of American civilization. Much crime can be prevented by the right kind of education.

The exploitation of the rich also drives many of the poorer class to crime as a blind protest against unfair social conditions. The greatest weakness of the Jeffersonian *laissez faire* philosophy is that it is almost entirely concerned with protecting the individual against society and neglects the equal necessity for protecting society against powerful individuals. Persons powerful through wealth have been inclined and allowed to pursue their own selfish ends with little regard for the welfare of the less fortunate members of their communities. Courts have solemnly declared unconstitutional, null, and void laws restricting the "liberty of contract" between the rich employer and his helpless employees, and other laws violating the "sacred rights of property." Law teachers, lawyers, and judges know little beyond mere technical rules of law and pay little attention to the economic and sociological background of these rules. Teachers and students of law, legislators, and judges know practically nothing of the discoveries in economics, political science, geography, psychology, history, and sociology on which a jurisprudence more nearly abreast of the times might be based. Officials dealing with criminals should be specially trained for that purpose.—Edward J. Woodhouse, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, January, 1919. C. N.

The Demobilization of Juvenile Workers.—There are two types of education for young people: education for the future and education for the present only. Since the Industrial Revolution the latter type has tended to increase. The effect of the war has been to quicken the tendency already in operation toward degrading the qualifications and lowering the educational standards which had with difficulty survived the disintegrating forces of machine industry. All considerations of future requirements were put aside and subordinated to future output. There is evidence that young workers have suffered a considerable degree of overwork and exhaustion. Moreover, during the war juvenile crime has increased. Following the industrial confusion of the war we are now confronted with the possibility of widespread unemployment of young persons. Present reforms needed are (1) shortening of hours; (2) keeping back of children now at school from forcing their way into the labor market and aggravating the problem; (3) some definite, organized provision of "maintenance with training" as advocated by the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission for 1909; (4) provision for more recreation among children of the working class; (5) more co-ordination among different bodies such as labor-exchange authorities, education authorities, school medical officers, employers, and trade unions; (6) some central representative body which should be able to survey the whole subject of juvenile unemployment, consider its bearings on apprenticeship, casual labor, and education, and prepare a remedial and constructive policy.—B. L. Hutchins, *Contemporary Review*, February, 1919. F. O. D.

Vagrancy.—Twenty-eight per cent of the inmates examined at the Westchester County Penitentiary last spring were there as vagrants or tramps. Of these, 36 per cent were under forty years of age and 64 per cent were over forty, while 54 per cent were native-born and 46 per cent foreign-born; 52 per cent had attended school for varying periods of from three to eight years, while 28 per cent could barely read and write, and 20 per cent had no education whatever. In the light of these data one asks why these men were sent to the penitentiary. If the idea was punishment, society made a sad mistake. None of them looked upon a short sojourn here as a hardship. Was the aim rehabilitation? I doubt it, for the time allowed for that was altogether too short. What then is the answer? The purpose in some cases was simply to get rid of the man for a short time and in other cases to provide him with a shelter, not knowing what else to do with him, with the result that one man had served one term in Elmira, three terms in state prisons, and nineteen terms in penitentiaries, while 56 per cent acknowledged previous terms, and all seemed to have had former penal experience. This treatment at society's hands had been meted out to men 76 per cent of whom showed definite pathological conditions. This fact points strongly to a medical approach in handling this problem, such as institutionalizing the insane and feeble-minded delinquent by the state, hospitalization for the more seriously deteriorated older men and commitment of the residue to a colony under medical supervision for an indefinite period, and the parole of an inmate to be determined by his record for industry in the colony and by his physical condition—parole to be closely followed by

after-care agency. Wars tend to increase vagrancy, hence the proper handling of this problem may be a post-bellum patriotic duty.—Amos T. Baker, *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1918. C. W. C.

Censorship of Motion Pictures.—We have here a problem and a program. The problem briefly is this: (1) Motion pictures are often characterized by irreverence, gressomeness, drinking and gambling attractively presented, objectionable love scenes, marriage infidelity, sex immorality, bedroom scenes, lewdness, instruction in crime—in fact, so many scenes undermining law, religion, and morality that almost half the plays have been declared unfit for immature youths. (2) Advertisements have been equally suggestive of crime and immorality. (3) These evils are important because the motion-picture business is already fourth or fifth largest in America, also because ideas presented visually are peculiarly unforgettable. (4) So great was the evil that a censorship was begun under the People's Institute in New York. (5) Soon the public was deceived by a "National Board of Review," employed by the motion-picture directors to eliminate some evils, whitewash the production by this nominal censorship, and to lobby against and fight every move for real and effective censorship. (7) The local motion-picture man is often helpless, having to show the picture sent to him or else to close the house. The program is as follows: (1) Make a survey, using a blank with 38 questions covering every play presented in the state for two weeks. (2) Tabulate the results, and then, if conditions call for censorship, (3) prepare a bill, based on the model prepared by the Illinois Legislative Reference Bureau, but adapt it to local conditions. (4) Select a strong man to introduce the bill and fight for it. (5) Enlist all important organizations to fight for it. (6) Have the people write letters to their own representatives, especially telling them the facts in their own town. (7) Have the most representative people in the state appear before the committee and urge the passage of the bill.—Compiled by Florence Butler Blanchard for the Civics Department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. G. H. S.

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129

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EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY: ITS PROVINCE AND POSSIBILITIES

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Men, women, and children nearly always live and work in groups or societies—clans, families, clubs, villages, partnerships, unions, cities, nations. Any given individual usually strives to “realize himself,” to amount to the most possible, to “get all that he can” (in the more or less “long run”) by virtue of the advantages of living and working in various groups. Because all other individuals do the same, group membership involves endless adjustments, compromises, tensions, quiet struggles, and sometimes open and violent conflicts.

In any given group of human beings the “strong” individual usually exerts a greater influence on the “weak” individual than does the weak on the strong. (It is assumed that an individual is stronger because he is older, or of keener mind, or of stronger body, or of better training, or of greater co-operative ability, than another.) Normally, also, however, if the weakness of an individual is due to youth, lack of experience, or the performance of special function, then strong individuals protect him and give him opportunity to grow to full usefulness.

In any given human group a portion of the strength of any individual is due, as in the case of animals, to innate or (biologically) inherited powers and capacities as these develop when given time and nurture. But another portion is due to the stored knowledge, tools, and methods of living and work which the group has accumulated and passes on to new members by example and

education. The "strength" of a social group, therefore, consists not only of the sum of the strengths of the individuals composing it at any one time, but also of the character and amount of this accumulated knowledge—the social inheritance which can in part exist outside of any individuals for the time being (such as inventions, laws, books).

The foregoing paragraphs, which could easily be indefinitely multiplied, express some of the truisms of contemporary sociological science. They suggest that the sociologist thinks constantly in terms of social groups of human beings, but also in terms of the individuals composing these groups. Numberless quotations from sociological writers could be cited which would seem to suggest, too, that the sociologist is frequently preoccupied with aspirations and plans for "improving" conditions or for discovering the means whereby more individuals may have more well-being than is now the case.

But the sociologist is clearly not the only man to have these aspirations and plans. Deep-rooted in the nature of every man, animal, and plant too, probably, is the ambition, desire, instinct, or vital tendency (call it what we will) to "get on," to survive, to accomplish as much as possible. Very early in the lives of many species it is found that these results can best be accomplished by co-operations—and co-operative abilities become as much the ends of evolution through natural selection or through design as protecting horns, or language, or more active brain. Nearly all inventions, governments, religions, and social customs have been evolved to help men to "get on," to have "life more abundantly." Hence a very large portion of the effort that men have expended on inventions, governments, religions, and other social agencies has been expended to help either these persons themselves, or others in whom they were interested, to have life more abundantly, to realize more happiness and less suffering, to "multiply and replenish the earth," and to enjoy the fulness thereof. Every man who has led an army to punish an enemy or has tried to further a religion has been concerned with his own or his fellows' well-being. So has every man who has sought to discover a new, or to improve an old, tool; to add new knowledge to the social inheritance; to make two blades of grass grow where

but one grew before; to heal the sick; to reform the delinquent; to promote justice; or to educate the young.

It can be said of the sociologist only that he is trying to see social conditions more comprehensively and a little more profoundly than these others. He is trying to get at the more obscure relations and processes involved and to substitute tested knowledge for the half-knowledge of inference or slowly evolved faiths. Quite probably he finds it especially desirable that some persons shall study those things affecting human well-being which are important over long periods of time and for large numbers of people. Often he becomes especially solicitous for the well-being of those weaker ones who seem to be crowded down or aside by stronger individuals or stronger groups in pursuit of their ends. Sociology is still a very young science, a very imperfectly developed field of knowledge; and conscious applications of its results have been made in only a few of the major departments of human action. The sociologist has already exerted visible influence in the treatment of dependency and crime. Indirectly he seems to be affecting policies of control of colonial dependencies and of state oversight or direction of some phases of production. But he has had as yet little recognition in practical efforts to improve religion, war, finance, economic production in general, domestic life, or education.

Nevertheless it is certain that sociology is now rapidly amassing knowledge and evolving methods which must soon find application in all departments of social study. It has frequently happened that a department of practical effort has advanced far as an art before science became available for application. The working of iron and steel had reached an advanced stage of development before physics and chemistry gave a basis for scientific metallurgy. Tillage of the soil and breeding of domestic animals had elaborate techniques before chemistry and biology had reached a stage where help could be procured from them. Healing the sick and preventing disease had become highly developed arts long before the appearance of physiology or bacteriology as sciences. Pedagogical practice, in schools and elsewhere, had produced its arts and its discussions of teaching problems long before men thought of applying psychology to their elucidation.

There are many indications that sociology has now reached a stage of evolution where its findings and methods can in large measure be made available for the further development of government, co-operative production, religion, domestic life, and education. It is noteworthy that traditions, beliefs, faiths, and customs play a large part in any field of practice in the stages prior to the application of knowledge and methods from the sciences; in fact they frequently constitute the bulk of the social inheritance of guiding principles of aim, procedure, and valuation. Such was the case with the mechanical industries largely until the end of the eighteenth century; such was the case with medicine and agriculture (except as to a few factors) until well along in the nineteenth century; and such is still, in large measure, the case with education, social control, and domestic life.

But we are clearly approaching a time of transition even in the new fields. Hardly a modern problem of politics, religion, education, economics, or community co-operation but forces us back to needs of more exact knowledge that in the last resort only the sociologist can supply—or will be expected to supply—when he is ready, for no one can pretend that sociology, relatively, is today more advanced or more in the possession of needed keys of interpretation than was chemistry in 1720 or biology in 1820. We have seen how psychology in its speculative stages waited generations and in its more scientific stage, years, until it came partly to a fruition of its dreams of application in the recent war. Now education, industry, and government are clamoring for its contributions.

The time is ripe to begin a careful examination of the possible contributions of sociology and social economy to education. The two sciences most fundamental to education are sociology and psychology. From sociology must come answers to the question, What shall be the aims of education? From psychology must come answers to the questions, What is the educability of the individual? and, How shall we best instruct, train, or otherwise educate toward predetermined goals?

In the empirical fashion characteristic of social action in pre-scientific stages educators have, of course, for thousands of years determined the purposes of conscious education on the basis of such

knowledge and belief as was available regarding the needs of the family, tribe, state, army, craft, or church. The education of princes and priests, the training of captains and soldiers, and the instruction of citizens in reading and writing have nearly always been designed partly, if not chiefly, for the good of society or some important group thereof. At times it may have appeared that the good of the individual was the chief goal—in the teaching of Latin to the sons of gentlemen, a trade to the prospective guildsman, arithmetic to the American farmer's boy, or algebra to the minister's daughter. But no serious student would at any time have defended these efforts on purely individualistic grounds. The prevailing beliefs of the time held that the public good was somehow served through the persons thus rendered more cultured, keener, or more upright than they would have otherwise been. We may flatter ourselves that we have discovered the social justifications of public or endowed education; but in reality we have only restated ancient purposes in slightly more modern terms.

Lester F. Ward, Herbert Spencer, and some other prominent sociologists have indicated some of the possibilities of educational sociology. But those educators who have recently written on this subject have been unnecessarily modest in their claims. They have seemed to hold that educational sociology should concern itself only or chiefly with the newer extensions and modifications of educational theory and practice. They have seemed desirous of avoiding recognition of the undoubted fact that the proper province of this study is the entire range of educational aims, traditional and modern, social and individual. Its primary concern must be with normal groups being educated under normal conditions.

Two recent tendencies in education have probably somewhat misled students in defining the desirable and practicable purposes of educational sociology. Beginning conspicuously about the opening of the twentieth century there developed certain new interests (in a few cases renewed interests) in those individuals and groups that had heretofore shared little, if at all, in the advantages of the schools. It was noted that only for the upper classes—for those likely to enter on their vocations through the aid of professional schools—was systematic vocational education available.

Defectives and potential delinquents received small consideration in the ordinary schools. The special educational needs of dwellers in sparsely settled areas, in crowded slums, or in broken homes were hardly recognized, and received small attention when recognized. Hence arose a large variety of demands that, in the interests of a sounder social economy, education should be extended, modified, enriched, so as to provide valuable offerings for these heretofore neglected classes or groups. Necessarily these demands had to be expressed in the sociological terminology of the day, and the needs described largely in language which had developed chiefly in connection with studies in social pathology—the first area of practical effort to which sociologist and social economist had turned.

In the second place there developed among educators during the first decade of the twentieth century, and conspicuously in America as an outgrowth of the child-study movement, a strong interest in the *socialization* of education, including all the common varieties or grades. Among many able educators the conviction grew that existing curricula were excessively individualistic in aim as well as in method—that is, their effect was to induce the individual to think unduly in terms of personal achievement, to strive to win against, rather than with, his fellows, and to ignore the realities of social interdependence. Naturally these aspirations for a more socialized education greatly interested students of sociology as well as educators possessed of some insight into contemporary social problems.

Valuable as have been the results of these new interests which have somewhat linked up education as a field of practice with sociology as a science, it is a fact nevertheless that their net effect has been to cause many educators, and sociologists as well, to think that sociology could be of significance only in the marginal or frontier regions of education, and particularly where pathological conditions are in process of correction. Hundreds, possibly thousands, of articles have been written during the last twenty years dealing with these slightly explored fields. But it is as yet hard to find more than a scant half dozen books or articles written in the conviction that to sociology and studies prosecuted by sociological

methods we must look for criteria of scientific aims in all education, and conspicuously in that which is to be provided for the average or normal 90 per cent of our folk.

This preoccupation of pioneer educational sociologists with problems in the marginal fields of education was, of course, only to be expected. In the more ancient and familiar areas standards of aim are profoundly traditional, deeply set in dogma and custom. In some cases processes of selection have so operated as to give these a very substantial validity, even though, as in the case of all practice based upon belief and custom, there is always a very marked "lag" in making the adaptations required in a strongly dynamic social order. But, generally speaking, so strongly entrenched are our faiths in the validity of the aims usually held for educational practice in our kindergarten, elementary and secondary schools, and liberal arts colleges, that any fundamental questioning of them still arouses the same mingled horror, resentment, and incredulity that formerly greeted religious or medical heresies and that still fiercely confront much sincere and profound political criticism.

We can readily concede that as a distinctive field of study educational sociology is as yet very imperfectly developed. It is not certain that within it are capable of being developed the necessary methods of attack on some of the most difficult of contemporary problems of curricula. Writers on educational sociology still slip constantly into the methods and language of speculative philosophy. Quite possibly we shall have to wait on the sociologists themselves for new methods of analyzing and evaluating the objectives of social and, therefore, of educational action.

For, obviously, we can have no satisfactory set of working principles in the construction of curricula until we possess fairly acceptable analyses, qualitative and quantitative, of the *values* of social life. Granted that such words as security, health, righteousness, wealth, knowledge, beauty, sociability, extension of race, and communion with God express valuable ends of social action, to be achieved partly through education, we are still confronted by endless problems of relative values. We cannot have everything within the space of a few years; what shall we emphasize, what ignore? Every educator knows today that, after we leave the

lowest grades, the most serious difficulties are encountered in choosing among the embarrassment of riches presented to us. Here especially do we find ancient faith standards of values in conflict with modern aspirations for a scientific determinism (always condemned, of course, by conservatives, as a conflict between idealism and materialism).

But, in spite of the meagerness of sociological support yet available, it is certain that scores of the hundreds of problems of educational aim now confronting educators are capable of being at least somewhat elucidated by sociological methods. It is especially important that inquiring minds address themselves to these problems, even if they can proceed only to the stage of breaking some of the crusts of custom and belief which have hitherto repelled all tools of criticism. In some respects work of this character should even now prove very productive.

It should, for example, prove easily practicable, given sufficient working resources, to analyze, classify, and, at least crudely, to evaluate those qualities—powers and capacities, in terms of the habits, knowledge, appreciations, aspirations, and ideals under which such values as health, wealth, sociability, and righteousness may be considered—which given groups or classes of adults possess, and to trace to their respective sources in original nature, environmental influence (including by-education), and school education these various qualities. It could be ascertained how far such of these qualities as are demonstrably valuable to the possessor himself, or indirectly through him to society, have been produced by school education or, in its absence, through by-education or fostered development. The foundations could thus be laid for investigations and experimental procedures designed to determine how far direct education could or should be provided to reinforce or supersede by-education.

In the case of qualities demonstrably unsatisfactory, as gauged by standards of a scheme of social values approved by a representative jury, similar inquiries could be made. How far, for the next generation, can the conditions of defective by-education be corrected, apart from the procedures of direct education? how far through proposed new forms of direct education?

As a means of giving concrete illustration to some possible studies in this field the examples given below are submitted. It is freely conceded that the suggested findings are excessively dogmatic in form and possibly speculative in origin. Nevertheless, it is confidently believed that the problems suggested are even now capable of attack by methods reasonably scientific.

1. When leading legislators, social economists, business men, and educators became convinced a few years ago that the well-being of American society as well as that of most of the individuals composing that society required substantial extensions of special facilities for education for vocational competency, and when it became apparent that such extensions could be assured only through vocational schools provided at public expense, problems of specific aim and method immediately appeared in large number. What was meant by vocational education? For what occupations were vocational schools desirable? for what practicable? At what ages, for stated vocations, should or could school vocational education begin? What should or could be the relations of school vocational education to commercial work, to productive enterprise, to apprenticeship, to shifting or promotion from one stage to another?

Throughout the earlier stages of evolution of school vocational education (of less than professional grade), theorists and doctrinaires found endless opportunities for expression. Little was definitely known about the pedagogy of vocational education and hardly more about localized and specific needs for it. A variety of courses in manual training and household arts had been developed in schools and these presented to citizens many of the semblances of vocational education. A variety of so-called commercial and agricultural subjects had also been introduced into schools which (with the exception of typewriting and stenography) were actually designed more to impart general information *about* some vocations than to prepare for competency in their pursuit, perhaps in the vague expectancy that such information would, in some invisible way, function as vocational competency later.

It was only when objective sociological studies of the conditions surrounding the work of men and women in actual vocational practice were instituted that the promoters of vocational education

found themselves on sound ground. Surveys were begun with a view to obtaining reasonably correct answers to such questions as these: What are the various vocations now followed in a given community? How many workers in each? When, where, and how did these acquire the competency they now possess? Were the methods followed by them in acquiring their present vocational powers (chiefly through extra-school education, of course) effective, or ineffective, wasteful, or the reverse? Is it in evidence (here or abroad) that school programs of training and instruction could be devised (as they have for several of the professions) which would give, in whole or in part, more effective vocational education for specific vocations than does now apprenticeship or the fortuitous conditions of wage-earning participation? What should be the program of such a school to insure specified vocational skills? Technical knowledge? Social insight (related to the specific vocation)?

Our accumulations of knowledge resulting from this method of study are meager enough as yet, but such as they are they present good evidence of being soundly based and relatively free of speculative elements and mystical assumptions.

2. School curricula are usually designed for normal children. What shall be done for those that are greatly abnormal or variant? As a rule philanthropy rather than the state first undertakes to provide education for the blind and the deaf, the moron and the delinquent. The very conditions of variance encountered force certain highly specialized or new types of training—touch reading for the blind, manual communication for the deaf, objective instruction for the moron, occupational training for the delinquent. But beyond these departures, historic curricula for variant children have been patterned almost rigidly after curricula for normal children. Even yet in many schools teachers are striving to impart to blind children the same knowledge of geography that is sought on behalf of normal children; in schools for the deaf, it is a usual boast that the customary "high-school" studies are taught; and even for morons the standards of intellectual attainment sought, for example, in arithmetic, hardly differ in scope and content from those held in other schools.

Nevertheless there has been progress in recent years especially in the less "institutionalized" schools. Certain fundamental questions, obviously inspired by sociological considerations, are being asked. Are the pupils of a given class and grade being trained in the expectation that they will eventually leave the school and participate on a free competitive basis in the work of the world? Or is it expected that they will remain for life the protected wards of the state? According to the answers to these questions, for given groups of variant children, programs of education will obviously differ greatly; and that fact is gradually being given influence in shaping the principles governing curricula.

But this method of inquiry has gone farther. It has resulted in the foundation of many varieties of classes for children who are less manifestly variants than are the blind, deaf, and moron. It has given us special classes, opportunity classes, ungraded classes, certain types of so-called prevocational schools, day truant schools, and several others. Gradually specific aims, more or less empirically derived, are being differentiated for the various groups thus recognized.

Here again it is obvious that, given resources and time, it should now prove practicable to carry sociological methods of inquiry very far in determining the types of special schools that society should provide and the curricula and conditions needed for each type.

3. The responsibilities for collective thinking and acting forced upon us by the war gave rise to fears that our democracy would not be equal to the strain put upon it. To many it appeared that we had allowed our education, and especially that of the public schools, to become excessively individualistic. Dr. Bagley, writing in April, 1918, said:

For the first time in our history our people are awakening to the fact that an educational system in a democracy has a fundamental duty to discharge in insuring a thorough-going community of ideals, aspirations, and standards of conduct. . . . It is safe to say that the actual sanctions that have operated to promote universal education in this country have been essentially individualistic. . . . The people are thinking today as never before in terms of common good. They are insisting that the common good shall be the fundamental standard in the administration of business, transportation, and industry,

as well as in the conduct of public affairs. . . . Today it is clear that the primary function of education in a democracy is to integrate rather than to differentiate the people.

The "Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education" created by the National Educational Association, states, among its "cardinal principles," under the head, "The unifying function":

In some countries a common heredity, a strongly centralized government, and an established religion contribute to social solidarity. In America, racial stocks are widely diversified, various forms of social heredity come into conflict, differing religious beliefs do not always make for unification, and the members of different vocations often fail to recognize the interests that they have in common with others. The school is the one agency that may be controlled definitely and consciously by our democracy for the purpose of unifying the people. In this process the secondary school must play an important part because the elementary school with its immature pupils can not alone develop the common knowledge, common ideals, and common interest essential to American democracy.

Now it is highly probably that back of these ideals and aspirations, of which many expressions similar to the foregoing could be cited, there is a fundamental need of readjustments in present-day education, possibly for some redirection of its aims and procedures. But it is very unlikely that we shall make substantial progress away from present educational customs—which are tardily affected by social evolution—until sociological analysis will show us far more specifically than do contemporary critics of "individualistic" education what we should do in the schools to promote "integrating" functions. Vague philosophical aspirations here require much supplementing with concrete proposals and these tested against available facts of sociology.

It is essential, for one thing, that we should detect, describe, and evaluate the integrating agencies now actively functional throughout America, apart from the schools. What are the effects of newspapers, movies, labor organizations, advertising, consumption of branded staples, and standards of living rising everywhere toward an American optimum? What are the effects on "melting pot" processes of the migration of laborers, Pullman car mixing of the leaders, our multitudinous fraternal and other organizations,

and party politics? Certainly the hundred millions in these forty-eight states are, in spite of diversities of race, place of birth, religion, and culture inheritance a remarkably homogeneous body today. May they not possess, for practical purposes, a considerably greater homogeneity than critics have feared, especially when confronted by rationally perceived need for concert of action?

Nevertheless, divisive influences are certainly to be found, some rooted in the past, some arising from new strains imposed upon the social structure. Probably some of these are very serious. Perhaps the schools should play a more effective part than they do now in furthering social solidarity. What schools—kindergartens, elementary schools, junior schools, high schools, colleges? What, specifically, should they do? Toward what collective ends of appreciation, habit, ideal, knowledge, should they work?

Now we can make some slight progress in these matters, in spite of the hugeness and complexity of the problems involved, by following the trial-and-error, hit-or-miss, empirical methods of our forefathers, just as in time we could, probably, have made some progress in combating yellow fever even if we had known nothing of bacteriology. But certainly under these conditions 90 to 99 per cent of the energy we expend will be inevitably wasted. New methods of attack, at least partially scientific in character, are needed. Can these be supplied by sociologist and social economist? In part, yes. For the rest the educator must himself develop methods of analysis and valuation of the social phenomena with which he must largely deal. Until he does this it is to be feared that much of our discussion, especially of more adequate "social" aims for education, will evaporate as fruitless speculation.

4. Heretofore, the American elementary school has comprised at least eight grades or years within which practically no flexibility of courses has been found, with the single exception that girls have not been required to take manual training or boys household arts. But there is now well under way a strongly defined movement so to reorganize elementary education that only the first six grades shall constitute the elementary school proper, the remaining grades and perhaps the first grade of the high school to be organized as a new type of school.

The processes of reorganization here at once throw us back on fundamental questions of aim. In what respects shall we, in the new school, change the historic or traditional aims, as expressed in the "subjects of study" and the more or less standardized methods of teaching them? To what extent shall we provide for flexibility either through elective offerings or optional courses? Shall we introduce into this school offerings not heretofore found in the seventh and eighth grades—foreign languages, algebra, "vocational subjects"? Should we in the junior high school greatly modify the traditional staples of all schools—arithmetic, grammar, geography, American history, literature—or those newer subjects prized by progressive schools—manual training, household arts, music, drawing, civics, physical training, general science, and vocational guidance?

For the present the situation is one of confusion. The historic studies, deeply rooted in custom and, frequently, popular approval, exhibit as yet few changes, even in progressive junior high schools. The newer studies encounter opposition because their actual objectives are as yet so ill-defined.

Any serious discussion of the junior high school curriculum soon drives back to a number of fundamental questions of educational aim. What should be the primary purposes of the school education of normal children between the ages of twelve and fourteen or fifteen, having regard to American conditions and requirements and the fact that we live in the twentieth century? Is it desirable or expedient that we offer vocational training or instruction during these years? For what purposes, of what kinds, and under what conditions? Toward the attainment of what educational goals shall we offer or require Latin, manual training, grammar, geography, and vocational guidance? How can we ascertain that the goals ordinarily proposed for these subjects are worth while? Are they worth while to all individuals, or to society through all individuals, or only to some individuals? To what extent is it desirable that all pupils in the junior high school be required to pursue the same studies in order that the school may adequately meet its responsibilities as a "socially unifying" agency?

In numberless ways we are thus thrown back upon fundamental problems of educational aim which only more extensive and, in places, more intensive, knowledge of social needs than we now possess will enable us to solve. Especially good examples of these problems are found in connection with current attempts to reorganize and modernize high-school education.

5. Some new problems have here been brought to general attention by the recent development of definite demands that schools for vocational education be made available for youths from fourteen to eighteen years of age in those occupational fields in which suitable vocational education can be given during these years. The upholders of the traditional curricula of secondary schools, such curricula being composed largely of the classic and modern languages, mathematics, two or three sciences, English, and history, have taken alarm lest the competition of the "vocational" studies or courses drive out the old studies; perhaps, just as, according to Gresham's law, bad money drives out good! Certainly if the recommendations of the National Education Association Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education were carried out, such results might well be feared. That Commission's "Cardinal Principles" includes:

The work of the senior high school should be organized into differentiated curriculums. The range of such curriculums should be as wide as the school can offer effectively. The basis of differentiation should be, in the broad sense of the term, vocational, thus justifying the names commonly given, such as agricultural, business, clerical, industrial, fine-arts, and household arts curriculums. Provision should be made also for those having distinctively academic interests and needs. The conclusion that the work of the senior high school should be organized on the basis of the curriculums does not imply that every study should be determined by the dominant element of that curriculum. Indeed any such practice would ignore other objectives of education just as important as that of vocational efficiency.

Against such proposals as this, what shall we hold as to the historic studies? Latin has long been supposed to be a valuable "cultural" study and an unequalled means of mental discipline. Can we prove its value? What do we mean, specifically, by cultural studies? by mental discipline? Is it known that Latin makes

valuable contributions to these ends, or do we only believe so by virtue of long reliance on dogma and custom?

But what of mathematics? of history? of physics and chemistry? even of English literature? How do we know that as prescribed or elected, these studies produce valuable results? Valuable results for whom? for society? Do they serve to "integrate" society? to lift levels of general culture? to improve democracy?

6. We are thus forced back again to fundamental problems. What are the valid aims of non-vocational education? How are these aims best to be realized through youths from fourteen to eighteen years of age? What is the place of prescription in such education? Where and under what conditions is flexibility dangerous? We are accustomed to say, somewhat vaguely, that in a democracy good citizenship and moral character must be primary aims of all education and especially of secondary education. But how, with sufficient concreteness for purposes of framing programs of instruction and training, and of testing results, shall we analyze and define good citizenship? And how can we determine the means of realizing it?

It is vaguely assumed that the study of history contributes somehow to the appreciations, ideals, attitudes, and enlightenment which fuse into good citizenship. But our customary assumptions here are painfully vague. Is any one field of history equally good with any other for these purposes? Is the history of the Grecian states of equal importance with that of the thirteen colonies? The Franco-Prussian War with the Civil War? The life of Alexander the Great with that of Roosevelt? *Ben Hur* with *The Crossing*? The barbarian invasions with the westward movement?

Now, time is short and art is long. If we are to use history and other social-science studies as means of making good citizens we need to know much more about specific objectives than is now the case. Obviously, we must turn to sociology in increasing measure for light. Even now sociology can make important contributions through its knowledge of social control, social ascendancy, and social processes.

7. A fascinating field of study, in this connection, is the fine arts. Literature, music, the plastic arts, and dancing have obviously played a large part in bringing society to the levels of advancement it has, in certain countries, reached today. We are striving to develop art studies in our schools. Are we well advised? Can we deliberately train youth in those forms of appreciation of art that will elevate individuals and improve the group life of the future? It is sometimes said that art is necessary to give us "ideals." Ideals in what fields of activity—economic, religious, political, martial, domestic? What kinds of ideals? What kinds of art produce such ideals? In fields where scientific knowledge has rapidly accumulated, do the aesthetic emotions or appreciations play increasing or diminishing rôles? It would be interesting to know, in this connection, why so many sociologists seem to avoid areas of aesthetic activity in their analyses.

8. For reasons that need not be examined here, the mathematical studies early assumed a great ascendancy in America. Textbooks in mental and in written arithmetic were formerly voluminous indeed and on their study children of a generation ago expended a large proportion of available time and energy. Algebra and geometry were long the hardest and most rigidly prescribed staples of secondary education.

A part of this ascendancy, especially of mental arithmetic, algebra, and geometry was due to a belief, long held, that these studies rendered peculiarly valuable service as mental gymnastics. This belief having been undermined and largely wrecked by psychological studies in recent years, the entire question of the desirable and profitable aims of the mathematical studies is now in process of being opened up. The processes of "cut-and-try" have resulted in the elimination of much of the preposterous mental arithmetic of former generations as well as of antique topics in written arithmetic. But we have had as yet no adequate examination of the values, actual or potential, of the mathematical studies as a whole, and it is not clear how we can obtain such an examination until we shall have devised sociological methods of approach to the questions involved.

The present writer has suggested, as a means to this end, a classification of the supposed "values" resulting from the mathematical studies into "producers'" and "consumers'" values. It is a matter of common observation that mastery of some forms of mathematical knowledge and process plays an important part in certain vocational fields—those for example of the bookkeeper, electrical engineer, statistician, money changer, artillery officer, cattle buyer, machinist, and navigator. But in many other vocations it would seem that mathematical powers play a very small part—those for example of dentist, street-car motorman, kindergarten teacher, spinner, cook, shoe-factory hand, infantryman, and tailor.

Given the necessary means, it would certainly be practicable to ascertain, with considerable precision, the quantity and kind of mathematical knowledge and skill now required for the successful performance of the hundreds of vocations whereby men live. Given these foundations it would not be impracticable to develop a consensus of reasonably expert judgment as to what the next generation of workers in these various lines of work should have beyond the possessions (in mathematical powers) of the present generation.

But some mathematics functions in life otherwise than in vocation. As "consumers," that is, as buyers of commodities for consumption, as readers, as investors for future consumption, and as "appreciators" of the social inheritance in which we share, we need some mathematical knowledge and appreciation. As life is now ordered, perhaps this amount is not large; but such as it is, it is doubtless important. Now it is submitted that, by the application of suitable sociological methods, it is entirely practicable to discover the scope and character of mathematical knowledge now used in any given "standard of living," class or group, and, on the basis of the facts thus found and evaluated, to propose necessary or desirable improvements in processes of instruction and training to be applied to the rising generation.

The importance of some such procedure as that here indicated appears when it is remembered that men differ greatly in their vocations, but only slightly in their utilizations. Instruction and training in mathematics for vocational purposes will clearly have

to be highly specialized and taken only after the vocational destination of the learner has been determined with reasonable probability. (The only alternative would be to teach all mathematics to all learners, because of our ignorance of their vocational goals, just as we might insist on teaching trigonometry to a million youths who are to serve in a future army, since we do not yet know which particular 2 per cent of them will become artillery officers or navigators having acute need for trigonometry.) But mathematics of utilization (consumers' mathematics) may justifiably be made a common subject for all, at least within the stages decreed by prevailing standards of living.

But better methods of attack on the problems of aim or objective for mathematics in school than the one suggested above can probably be devised. Surely in view of the large part played by prescribed mathematics in elementary and secondary education and the inherent probability that existing aims and standards have been determined excessively by traditions and custom, such sociological studies of objectives are desirable.

So much for some of the possible objectives of research in educational sociology. What shall or can be the character of the study itself? Can it consist of well-organized bodies of knowledge, characterized by unique and well-defined method? There is an old feud between the devotees of pure and those of applied science. The artists, too, have their troubles as between pure and applied art. Will the sociologist recognize an "educational sociology"? Can the educator afford to?

It would seem that analogies from other fields should help here; but even cursory inquiry shows that clear precedents are not to be found. It is easy to recognize in the world of actual affairs such distinctive fields of practice as medicine, war, farming, transportation, nursing, manufacture, navigation, mining, and building. It is well known, too, that workers in each of these fields have to draw on certain "pure" sciences for help. Thus medicine draws conspicuously on chemistry, bacteriology, and physiology; war on mechanics, chemistry, mathematics, and, now, psychology (note how many scientific organizations have recently discussed

the topic, "The Part Played by the Science of —— in the War"); farming on chemistry, physics, and biology; transportation on physics and mathematics; nursing on biology, chemistry, etc; manufacture on mathematics, economics, physics, and chemistry, at least; navigation on astronomy and mathematics; mining on geology, chemistry, and mechanics; and building on mathematics, mechanics, and others.

In all of these fields where pure science and practical achievement join hands there seems always to have prevailed a deep-seated reluctance to define or bound the "liaison" topics. The academic mind seems always to have preferred to require the student to "get" the pure subject as a whole and then to make his "applications," however long, tedious, and unproductive the process. A good example is found in farming. Scientific tillage of the soil utilizes in important measure certain knowledge met with in pure form in physics. But the range of physics is very vast, whereas that of "soil physics" is very limited. But the usual academic theory requires that the student of agronomy should come prepared in physics—although manifestly optics, acoustics, magnetism, and probably many other topics have not the slightest relevancy to the farmer's work.

In all other fields similar conditions prevail. Only rarely is the student of engineering permitted to concentrate on those phases of mathematics that are functional in his profession. Physicians and nurses must take biology, although even that subject applies only in part to their prospective work. Miners study all of geology, war leaders all of chemistry, as these subjects are organized into introductory texts.

Now the prevailing tendency on the part of educators to require that "applied phases" of science shall be approached from the background of the science as a whole seems often to have prevented definite organization of the linking topics. It is true we have soil physics, agricultural chemistry, educational psychology, and medical biology. But these subjects only occasionally adhere with any precision to the fields apparently delimited. In fact it would appear that, seeking a logical organization, for which they are ill-adapted, they fail of all organization.

Education, like medicine and the other fields referred to, is also an ancient area of organized practical effort. It, too, can and should draw upon the sciences for guidance—especially upon psychology for method and upon sociology for objectives, but also upon biology and physiology, architecture and statistics, for help in particular needs. Indeed we already have numberless texts on educational psychology, and we may now expect many on educational sociology.

But can we require somehow that educators will go to sociology chiefly for those contributions that can actually assist them in solving problems peculiar to education? The idealist, of course, holds that all problems belong to education; but that is not a view that can prevail with the man who effectively plans or executes the day's work. Surely we shall waste valuable time and effort if we repeat for all our pedagogical builders the educational mistakes made in medicine, engineering, and other similar areas where even the prospective soldier of average ability has been forced to attempt to build the same foundations as the man quite certainly destined to be a general or field marshal.

And what shall we say to the study of educational sociology by those thousands of bright, wholesome girls, who throng the classrooms of normal schools, and who will give from three to six years to the vocation of teaching ere they embark on the long voyage of matrimony and homemaking? Must they, too, be expected to build on broad foundations? Not least, certainly, among the problems confronting educators, is that of determining the desirable and practicable objectives of vocational training for the various teaching callings. Here, certainly, we have need of all the leadership the professor of pedagogy can give us.

TWO REPRESENTATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY TO POLITICAL THEORY: THE DOCTRINES OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER AND LESTER FRANK WARD

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PART II: LESTER FRANK WARD (1841-1913)

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS SOCIOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Among all American writers there can be no doubt that Lester F. Ward has produced the most pretentious and comprehensive system of sociology. Mr. Ward was also the earliest important American sociologist. His *Dynamic Sociology*, which many critics consider his *magnum opus*, appeared in 1883, about midway between the publication of the first and last volumes of Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*. In addition to many articles in periodicals, Ward's sociological system was embodied in six considerable volumes.¹ Whatever may be the estimate of the future regarding

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, 2 vols., New York, 1883; *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, Boston, 1893; *The Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1898; *Pure Sociology*, New York, 1903; *Applied Sociology*, Boston, 1904. His *Pure Sociology* appeared in a reduced and clarified form in Dealy and Ward's *Textbook of Sociology*, New York, 1905. Ward's minor works and notices of his major contributions are brought together in his "mental autobiography," *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, 8 vols., New York, 1913 ff.

Of these works *Dynamic Sociology* is the best extended exposition of his social philosophy, a briefer and clearer presentation of which is to be found in the second part of his *Outlines of Sociology*. *Pure Sociology* is the authoritative exposition of his sociological system, which again is more clearly presented in Dealy and Ward's *Textbook of Sociology*. His social psychology is best brought together in *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, while his *Applied Sociology* is the classic exposition of his conception of social teleis.

His *Pure Sociology* is reviewed by H. H. Bawden in *American Journal of Sociology*, IX (1903-4), 408-15; is criticized in detail by A. W. Small, *ibid.*, pp. 404-7, 567-75, 703-7; and is critically analyzed by J. M. Gillette in *American Journal of Sociology*, XX (1914-15), 31-67.

Estimates of Ward's significance for sociology by eminent sociologists appear in *American Journal of Sociology*, X (1904-5), 643-53; XIX (1913-14), 61-78; XXI (1915-16), 748-58, 824.

the place of Ward in the history of sociology, it is certain that no other writer has approached the subject with a body of scientific knowledge which at all approximated that possessed by Ward. Herbert Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy* undoubtedly displays more profound reasoning powers and a greater talent for the logical marshalling of evidence, but his scientific knowledge was not at all comparable to that possessed by Ward. Ward's formal scientific career was passed as a government expert in paleobotany, to which he made contributions only second in importance to his work in sociology.¹ Ward's predilection for introducing his botanical terminology into his sociology often gives the latter as strange, technical, and repulsive a tone as is to be found in the writings of the extreme "Organicists." Some of his scientific terms, however, such as "sympodial development," "synergy," "creative synthesis," "gynaecocracy," and "social telesis," are rather felicitous and have been quite generally absorbed into conventional sociological thought and expression.

An extended or comprehensive exposition of Ward's sociological system within the scope of the present work is manifestly impossible. Attention will be confined to a few of his cardinal contributions.

As to the subject-matter of sociology, Ward says: "My thesis is that the subject-matter of sociology is human *achievement*. It is not what men are but what they do. It is not the structure but the function."² As nearly all of the earlier sociologists had been concerned almost wholly with an analysis of social structure, Ward's point of approach was novel and epoch-making in its significance. The divisions of sociology are two—pure and applied. Pure sociology is theoretical and seeks to establish the principles of the science. Applied sociology is practical and points out the applications of the science. Specifically, it "deals with the artificial means of accelerating the spontaneous processes of nature."³ Ward divides the body of his sociological system accordingly into

¹ His academic career was limited to lectures at several university summer-school sessions and six years (1906-1913) as professor of sociology at Brown University.

² *Pure Sociology*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 431.

genesis and telesis. The former treats of the origin and spontaneous development of social structures and functions and the latter of the conscious improvement of society. In the department of social genesis, Ward's most important contributions may be summarized under the headings: sympodial development, creative synthesis, synergy, the law of parsimony, the functions and biological origin of mind, social statics and dynamics, and the classification of the social forces.

The natural or genetic development of society is "sympodial." By this Ward means that type of development found in certain plants in which the trunk, after developing to a certain extent, gives off a branch or sympode, which from that point onward virtually becomes the trunk, until it is in turn displaced by another sympode.¹ The doctrine of "creative synthesis," which Ward adopts from Wundt, he explains as denoting that "each combination is something more than the mere sum of its component factors."² Every synthesis of nature is, like the chemical compound, a new creation. This is probably the most useful of the contributions of Ward's pure science to his sociology. "Synergy" is defined as "the systematic and organic working together of the antithetical forces of nature."³ This is one of the basic conceptions underlying the theory of the spontaneous development of society. Finally, the "law of parsimony," which is the basic law of social mechanics, is described as the tendency of natural forces to work along the line of least resistance or greatest attraction.⁴ The identity of this with Spencer's principle of motion along the line of least resistance is obvious.

With his characteristic daring and confidence, Ward describes the origin of life and the biological creation of the mind. Life originated through the process of "zoism," which was a creative synthesis taking the form of the recompounding of the highest known chemical properties.⁵ The mind was also a creative product of "zoism"; it originated in the fact of "awareness"; and its irreducible element is the capacity of detecting and differentiating painful and pleasurable stimuli which come from the environment.⁶ Feeling and desire, which are of an earlier origin than

¹ *Pure Sociology*, pp. 71-72.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-35.

intellect, are the dynamic and impelling forces of mind; intellect, which is a later and higher product, is the directive faculty.¹

Ward considers his distinction between social statics and social dynamics and his discussion of the nature of each of these aspects of the social process to be one of his most important theoretical contributions.² Social statics deals with social equilibration and the establishment of a social order—the building up of social structures.³ The development of the social order is a “struggle for structure” rather than a struggle for existence. The best structures survive.⁴ In the growth of social structures synergy is the most important principle. It is the force which creates all structures and explains all organization.⁵ Through this principle of synergy there is brought about a working together of the antithetical forces of nature in the following sequence of processes: collision, conflict, antagonism, opposition, antithesis, competition, interaction, compromise, collaboration, co-operation, and organization.⁶ Synergy, in the development of the social order, operates mainly through the process that Ward calls “social karyokinesis.” This is the social analogue of fertilization in the biological field, and is manifested in the contact, amalgamation, and assimilation of different social groups. All the processes enumerated in the foregoing sequence are exemplified in this process, which ends in the production of a homogeneous nation.⁷ Ward here follows the theory of Ratzenhofer and Gumplowicz regarding the “struggle of races” as the main factor in state-building.

Social dynamics deals with social progress or the changes in the structure of society.⁸ In social dynamics there are three fundamental principles—difference of potential, innovation, and conation. The difference of potential is manifested in the crossings of cultures which take place in social assimilation and amalgamation. Progress comes from a fusion of unlike elements.⁹ Innovation, which is the social analogue of the sport or mutation

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 99 ff., 124 ff., 142, 467 ff.

² Cf. Gillette, “Critical Points in Ward’s *Pure Sociology*,” *American Journal of Sociology*, XX.

³ *Pure Sociology*, p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 176–84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 231.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 175. This is, obviously, but an extension and elaboration of the Hegelian theory of development.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 205 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 231 ff., 237.

in the organic world, is the product of psychic exuberance.¹ Conation, or social effort, is that application of social energy from which achievement results. This achievement takes the form of the satisfaction of desire, the preservation of life, and the modification of the environment.²

Ward classifies the social forces as ontogenetic or preservative, phylogenetic or reproductive, and sociogenetic or spiritual.³ It is in connection with the discussion of the phylogenetic forces that Ward develops his famous theory of "gynaecocracy," according to which he holds that the female sex was the original sex in nature, and was the most important until subordinated by the social restraints imposed upon it after man discovered his relation to the child.⁴

In his exposition of the principle of social telesis Ward lays down the fundamental proposition that energy must be controlled if evolution is to result. There are two possible methods of control: the unconscious control of nature manifested in genesis, and the conscious direction by mind, involved in telesis.⁵ The conscious method of control by mind is manifestly superior to the unconscious control of nature. Nature is wasteful in providing an immense mass of raw material and leaving it to be improved very slowly through natural selection. The tendency of mind is to economize through foresight and the adjustment of means to ends.⁶ This control of the dynamic forces of nature and society through the adjustment of means to ends is what Ward designates as "telesis."⁷ In this process of conscious or telic control of the social forces, the development of the state was the most important step ever taken by man or society.⁸ Nevertheless, though the state is the chief agent through which the conscious direction of the social process is and will be carried on, society cannot perfect this conscious control through any organ until there is developed

¹ Cf. Gillette, "Critical Points in Ward's *Pure Sociology*," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX, 232, 240 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 247 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 296 ff., 336-41, 345.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 469-71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 467 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

an adequate and sufficiently diffused knowledge of the nature and manner of the operation of the social forces. Therefore an adequate development of a system of education which will make possible the universal diffusion of this essential knowledge is the indispensable prerequisite to the proper development of collective telesis.¹

In conclusion, one may safely say that Ward's outstanding contributions to sociology were his grasp of the relations between cosmic and social evolution, and his doctrine of the superiority of the conscious over the unconscious control of the social process. In neither of these respects has he been approached by any other sociologist.² Of these two cardinal contributions the latter is by far the more important, for the obvious reason that the former is at best but picturesque and eloquent guesswork, and must always be so until the range of human knowledge is greatly extended. The latter, however, is perhaps the most important single contribution of sociology to human thought, and Ward's significance must rest chiefly upon the fact that his presentation of this conception has been the most powerful that sociology has yet produced. Professor Giddings has summed up this aspect of Ward's system with characteristic clarity:

Throughout all Ward's work there runs one dominating and organizing thought. Human society, as we who live now know it, is not the passive product of unconscious forces. It lies within the domain of cosmic law, but so does the mind of man: and this mind of man has knowingly, artfully, adapted and readapted its social environment, and with reflective intelligence has begun to shape it into an instrument wherewith to fulfil man's will. With forecasting wisdom man will perfect it, until it shall be at once adequate and adaptable to all its uses. This he will do not by creative impulse evolving in a void, but by constructive intelligence shaping the substantial stuff of verified scientific knowledge. Wherefore, scientific knowledge must be made the possession of mankind. Education must not merely train the mind. It must also equip and store, with knowledge.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 573-75; *Dynamic Sociology*, II, chap. xiv; *Applied Sociology*, *passim*. With this outline of Ward's sociology based upon his *Pure Sociology* compare his own summary in the preface of his *Dynamic Sociology*.

² Cf. A. W. Small, *American Journal of Sociology*, XXI (1915-16), 752; F. H. Giddings, *ibid.*, XIX (1913-14), 67-68.

This great thought Dr. Ward apprehended, expressed, explained, illuminated, drove home to the mind of all who read his pages, as no other writer, ancient or modern, has ever done. It is his enduring and cogent contribution to sociology.¹

2. SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL THEORY

A. THE RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

The conception which Ward holds of the relation of sociology to political science is apparent from his view of the general relation between sociology and the special social sciences. The special social sciences furnish the data which the general social science, sociology, co-ordinates and uses as the basis of its generalizations.² But sociology is more than the mere sum of the special social sciences. It is a true creative synthesis, and like the chemical compound is a new, higher, and different product from the constituent units.³ Political science, as a special social science, furnishes the data for the generalizations which sociology offers upon political problems.

B. GENERAL DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

Ward's distinctions, if they may be called such, between the terms society, state, government, and nation, are very vague and unsatisfactory. He certainly does little to clarify the terminology of political science. He does not employ any of the above

¹ F. H. Giddings, *loc. cit.* It is hardly necessary to point out that this is essentially a contradiction of Spencer's thesis and it constitutes the chief mark of differentiation between the social philosophy of the two men who were to sociology what Niebuhr and Ranke were to history, and Turgot and Adam Smith to economics.

² Ward, *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1902, p. 636.

³ *Pure Sociology*, p. 91. Cf. Gillette, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36. Ward thus describes the relation of sociology to the special social sciences: "It is not quite enough to say that it is a synthesis of them all. It is the new compound which their synthesis creates. It is not any of them and it is not all of them. It is that science which they spontaneously generate. It is a genetic product, the last term in the genesis of science. The special social sciences are the units of aggregation that organically combine to create sociology, but they lose their individuality as completely as do chemical units, and the resultant product is wholly unlike any of them and is of a higher order. All this is true of any of the complex sciences, but sociology, standing at the head of the entire series, is enriched by all the truths of nature and embraces all truth. It is the *scientia scientiarum*" (*Pure Sociology*, p. 91).

terms in a consistent or uniform manner, nor does he in any place define any of them in an exact sense. Society is used as the generic term for associated life and also to describe advanced human associations.¹ That he does not regard the distinction between the terms state, government, and nation as fundamental is apparent from the following passage: "If anyone objects to the use of the word government, there is no reason why the word nation or state may not be substituted. The name is not essential."² But, however careless Ward may have been regarding his use of terms to describe the fundamental political organization of society, he was not in the least equivocal in regard to its importance. He invariably insists that the state, or the government,³ is the most important social institution. He repeatedly emphasizes the value of the organic analogy which represents the state as the brain of the social organism.⁴ The following paragraph, which is almost Hegelian in tone, best summarizes Ward's conception of the state:

We thus see that the state, though genetic in its origin, is telic in its method; that it has but one purpose, function, or mission, that of securing the welfare of society; that its mode of operation is that of preventing the anti-social action of individuals; that in doing this it increases the freedom of human action so long as it is not anti-social; that the state is therefore essentially moral or ethical; that its own acts must necessarily be ethical; that being a natural product it must in a large sense be representative; that in point of fact it is always as good as society will permit it to be; that while thus far in the history of society the state has rarely performed acts that tend to advance mankind, it has always been the condition to all achievement, making possible all the social, industrial, artistic, literary, and scientific activities that go on within the state and under its protection. There is no other institution with which the state may be compared, and yet, in view of all this, it is the most important of all human institutions.⁵

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 212 ff.

² *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 297. Cf. *Pure Sociology*, p. 188, where in opposition to the conventional view he argues that the institution of government by society required and produced the state.

³ He uses the term government chiefly in *Dynamic Sociology*, and state in *Pure Sociology*.

⁴ *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 107-9; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 297; *Pure Sociology*, p. 565.

⁵ *Pure Sociology*, p. 555. But Ward had no admiration for Hegel's metaphysical method; see *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, V, 128-32.

Ward does not enter into any formal discussion of the problem of sovereignty. Liberty, Ward defines as "the power to act in obedience to desire."¹ Liberty has always been deemed such a boon because happiness consists in this very freedom of acting in obedience to desire. The love of liberty thus has been instinctive and universal in mankind.² In theory, government is the necessary foe of liberty. In fact, however, government, by checking license, has prevented man from losing more liberty than government has taken away. The restraint of complete liberty by government has made possible the development of man's intellectual powers, so that ultimately he may be restored to the possession of his complete original liberty, but a liberty which is not based upon ignorance. The liberty of the future will be one that is founded upon an intelligent comprehension of man's relations to society and will not require crude artificial restraint to prevent its enjoyment from threatening the disintegration of society.³

Ward relates his interpretation of political parties very definitely to his theory of social mechanics. The fundamental principle underlying the sociological interpretation of the struggle between different political parties is that of "social synergy." Party antagonism, in reality, brings about a co-operation between these seemingly antithetical forces which secures their working together toward an end of which they are unconscious:

The vigorous interaction of the two forces, which looks so much like antagonism, strife, and struggle, transforms force into energy and energy into power, and builds political and social structures. And after they are constructed, the same influences transform them, and it is this that constitutes social progress. Political institutions—the laws of every country—are the product of this political synergy, the crystallized action of legislative bodies created by political parties.⁴

In the same way, therefore, that the struggle between races and groups creates society and the state, the struggle between political parties within the state transforms the state and secures

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 233.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 232-34.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-35.

⁴ Ward, "The Sociology of Political Parties," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1908, pp. 440-41.

political progress. Moral rather than technical questions are best adapted for political issues.¹ The progressive and liberal parties, which are distinguished by their advocacy of an extension of governmental activity, are the real friends of individualism and liberty. The "coming slavery," to use Spencer's term, has already arrived, says Ward, under the form of the plutocratic, laissez-faire control of society and political organization by the capitalistic conservative parties. The progressive parties, which stand for collective action, are the force which is attempting to secure emancipation from this slavery and exploitation.²

C. THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE AND THE STAGES OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION

While Professor Small has remarked with accuracy that Ward modified his sociological thought but little from the publication of his *Dynamic Sociology* until his death, this is decidedly not the case with his theory of the origin of the state.

The theory which he advanced in *Dynamic Sociology* was exceedingly archaic, being virtually a combination of Hobbes's view of a presocial state of nature with Rousseau's conception of the origin of the state through an artifice of the most powerful individuals.³ In the first place, Ward differentiates four broad stages of social development. The first was the solitary or "autarchic" stage in which man lived in solitude and in as far from a social state as was in keeping with the possibility of propagating and rearing his kind. The earliest condition of man was thus both presocial and antisocial.⁴ The second stage in social evolution was the "anarchic," or that of the "constrained aggregate." Social groups had developed through genetic increase, but being without government, they lived in a "state of utmost liberty and utmost license." The third stage he designates as the national or "politarchic" stage, which was distinguished by the origin of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 444 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 454.

³ As expressed in Rousseau's famous second *Discourse*. For Ward's own frank admission of the archaic and erroneous nature of his earliest theory of the state, see his "Sociology and the State," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1910, pp. 679-80.

⁴ Cf. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 208.

a crude form of government. The wars which have taken place between these first national groups have led to the formation of larger political societies and will ultimately lead to the development of the fourth or final stage in social evolution. This ultimate stage, which he designates as the cosmopolitan or "pantarchic," will come when social integration has produced the world-state.¹ In his specific account of the origin of the state in *Dynamic Sociology*, Ward starts with the utterly untenable theory of the anti-social nature of primitive man. He denies the validity of the Aristotelian tradition regarding the sociability of man. The passions of primitive man being intense and the means of satisfying them limited, the condition of life must have been one of continual conflict, and society could not have been possible until the development of political control and protection. The origin of society and government must have been coeval.² But mankind did not find its way out of this state of primitive anarchy through the social contract. The people as a whole never sought government; government always originated itself.³ Government was always initiated by a few especially ambitious individuals who were possessed of superior sagacity and who desired social power and position. They disguised their real intentions by claiming to intervene to protect the weak and oppressed. "The plan must have consisted in speciously claiming as the real object the protection of the injured and the punishment of the injuring. This, as the sagacity of the founders of government foresaw, would secure them adherents and confirm their authority."⁴ Owing to this insidious and oppressive origin of political authority, man has since that time been continually trying to escape from the burdens which government has imposed. But all the evils that have accompanied the development of government are not the

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, I, 464-68.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 219-21, 224. It should be noted that Ward never modified his contention regarding the antisocial nature of early man. Cf. *Pure Sociology*, p. 356.

³ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 223; cf. *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 230-32.

⁴ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 224. This tendency of the few to dominate in political control has been scientifically analyzed by Professor Giddings, who designates it as the principle of "protocracy." See his *Responsible State*, pp. 19 ff.

result of the application of the principle of political control; they are a consequence of the perversions of true government by mankind.¹

During the interval between the appearance of his *Dynamic Sociology* and the publication of *Pure Sociology* Ward became acquainted with the now generally accepted theory of Ferguson, Spencer, Bagehot, Gumplowicz, and Ratzenhofer, to the effect that the state, as it is defined by political science, originated through the process of group conflict, amalgamation, and assimilation. This doctrine Ward accepted with great enthusiasm. He says of it:

It furnishes the first scientific, or in the least satisfactory, theory that has been advanced as to the origin and true constitution of the state, so that, after grasping this principle in its entirety, all the old notions about the state become rubbish, and any work on the nature of the state that does not recognize and start from this standpoint is superficial and practically worthless.²

D. CLASSIFICATION OF THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

As the basis for a general classification of the forms of government, Ward proposes the terms: autocracies, aristocracies, and democracies.³ Within the general category of democracy Ward distinguishes three distinct variations: physiocracy, plutocracy, and sociocracy.⁴ Physiocracy is that type of government which developed in Western Europe as a result of the teachings of the Physiocrats and Adam Smith, and the individualistic writers like Humboldt and Spencer. It is that sort of *laissez faire* government which is based upon honest but wrong-headed individualistic

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-27.

² Ward, *American Journal of Sociology*, VII (1901-2), 762; cf. *ibid.*, XV (1909-10), 679-80; *Pure Sociology*, pp. 204 ff. As Ward agrees entirely with Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer upon the subject of the origin of the state, it will not be necessary to repeat his version of their doctrine. In addition to the reference to *Pure Sociology*, Ward's interpretation of the Gumplowicz-Ratzenhofer theory of the origin of the state is best summarized in *American Journal of Sociology*, II (1904-5), 643-53; *Pub. Amer. Econ. Assoc.*, 3d series, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 187 ff. The criticisms which can be directed against this group-struggle origin of the state are best formulated by J. Novicow in his *La Critique du Darwinism social*; and by E. C. Hayes, *An Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 538 ff.

³ *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 316-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-23.

political philosophy.¹ Plutocracy is the perversion of physiocracy which originated when, in the early nineteenth century, the corrupt and selfish vested interests appropriated the individualistic political philosophy for the purpose of maintaining themselves in their position. The exponents of this theory make a wide use of the individualistic appeal for governmental inactivity, and utilize the deep-seated prejudice of the masses against government, so that they may be allowed to continue their exploitation of society. This perversion of individualism, which originated a century ago, is still the current form of contemporary political theory and organization.² Sociocracy is the next logical stage in political evolution. It is in reality the ideal democracy from which the present partisanship, ignorance, hypocrisy, and stupidity have been eliminated. In short, it is administration of the government by society for its own interests, and not the present exploitation of society for the benefit of a particular party or group of interests. Sociocracy does not lay stress primarily upon the form of government but "goes to the substance, and denotes that, in whatever manner organized, it is the duty of society to act consciously and intelligently, as becomes an enlightened age, in the direction of guarding its own interests and working out its own destiny."³ Under a sociocratic form of government "society would inquire in a business way without fear, favor, or bias, into everything that concerned its welfare, and if it found obstacles it would remove them, and if it found opportunities it would improve them. In a word, society would do under the same circumstances just what an intelligent individual would do. It would further in all possible ways its own interests."⁴

¹ *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 318-19.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 319-21. See also Ward's incisive article, "Plutocracy and Paternalism," in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, V, 231-40. The elaborate analysis of this "plutocracy" has been the special work of the sociologist and economist, William Graham Sumner, and the progressive publicist, Walter Weyl. See especially Weyl's *The New Democracy*. Cf. also C. A. Beard, *Contemporary American History*, chap. iii.

³ *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 311, introductory note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

E. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

In his theories regarding the function and sphere of state activity Ward was the most vigorous and consistent opponent of Spencerian and Sumnerian *laissez faire* individualism among the strictly sociological writers of his time.¹ In fact, Ward's treatment of this subject is the most satisfactory and important division of his political theories. While no writer has been more scathing in his condemnation of the defects and evils in the contemporary political systems, Ward always distinguished carefully between the institution of government and its perversions. For the latter he had unlimited contempt, but he never lost his faith in the efficacy of the former as an agent of social reform, if it could be put on a scientific basis and purged of its corruption and stupidity.

Ward enumerates four chief functions of government: the restraint, protection, accommodation, and amelioration of society.² The first of these has never been a legitimate function; the second will be necessary as long as men do not refrain from injuring their fellows; the third is, and always will be, an indispensable function of government; while the fourth, which is the most important of all, has been scarcely put into action at all.³ The restraint of the citizens by the government is not conducted in the interests of the community, but is designed to allow the ruling classes to proceed with their exploitation. How long it will be before society divests the government of this function will depend upon the rapidity of the growth of general intelligence and enlightenment.⁴ By the protective function of government Ward means the "police" function, which is concerned with the prevention of fraud and violence. This cannot be dispensed with until the fraudulent and violent elements in society are eliminated by the general increase in enlightenment and intelligence.⁵ The function of accommodation, however, is never likely to be outgrown:

Man is neither ubiquitous, omniscient, nor omnipotent; hence he needs agents to transact business in localities where he cannot be; to acquire skill

¹ See in particular his "Professor Sumner's *Social Classes*," in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, III, 301-5; and "The Political Ethics of Herbert Spencer," *ibid.*, V, 38-66.

² *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 212-17, 231.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-41.

and dexterity in subjects with which everyone cannot afford time to acquaint himself; and to perform duties by means of organization which individuals, acting independently, would not possess the strength to perform. In short, society needs and must always have an organized agency to represent it.¹

In carrying on its restraining, protecting, and accommodating functions, government has not directly aided or promoted progress. But while possessing no directly progressive element it has been the indispensable prerequisite of all progress.² Government may directly improve the condition of society in a conscious telic manner if the legislators will only become social scientists. There can be no scientific government, no important development of the ameliorative function of government until the legislators have gained a knowledge of the nature and means of controlling the social forces in the same way that the applied scientist discovers the physical laws of nature and applies this knowledge in controlling them and adapting them to his needs.³

Ward's whole defense of government as the most effective instrument of society in promoting progress rests primarily upon his above-mentioned distinction between honest and intelligent government and its past and present perversions. As to origins, the extant governments almost universally arose in exploitation. They were established by, and have been conducted in the interest of, those who desired to govern. A rationally constituted government should be originated by, and conducted for the benefit of, those desiring to be governed.⁴ Again, whereas in our actual governments the people look up to the government as their master and the government regards the citizens in the light of subjects, in a perfect government the officers of government would be viewed in the light of public servants and would be compelled, upon the pain of removal, to perform their stipulated duties.⁵ In a model government the distance which separates the governing and the governed would be eliminated, and society would recognize that it is itself the source of authority and that the government is

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 241-42.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-50; *Pure Sociology*, pp. 568-69; *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 187-89, 268-76; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 309-12. Ward, then, essentially adopted the doctrine of Plato and Comte that perfect government could only come when society and government were controlled and directed by sociologists.

⁴ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 227.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

merely its agent.¹ Governments are at present analogous to large stock-companies conducted in the interest of the officers and not for the profit of the stockholders. Progress toward the perfection of government must first come "in the direction of acquainting every member of society with the special nature of the institution, and awakening him to a more vivid conception of his personal interest in its management."² In his essay on "False Notions of Government,"³ Ward points out the unfortunate results which have come about as a result of this failure to distinguish between the true principles and the actual practice of government. The deep-seated popular distrust of government was very beneficial in the earlier periods of despotism, but the modern democratization of government has removed the need for this suspicious and wrong-headed attitude toward political control and direction, and its persistence is detrimental. It keeps good men from entering public life. It perverts the notion of the true purpose of government. It intensifies party strife by emphasizing the aspect of spoil. It makes government worse than it really is by inducing the politician to live up to his unsavory reputation. Finally, it deprives government of much of its usefulness by weakening its protective function. The exploitation of society by organized wealth should require the intervention of government as much, at present, as the exploitation by individuals created a need for the origin of the protective function of government. These "false notions of government" must be removed. The people must be made to grasp the correct conception of government and take the proper steps to remove its abuses and use it for their own benefit.⁴ Accordingly, Ward severely criticizes as obstructionists those "Misarchists," of whom the most conspicuous examples among sociologists have been Herbert Spencer and Professor W. G. Sumner, for their strenuous attempts to perpetuate this "pernicious view of government."⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³ 1887; reprinted in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, IV, 64-71.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Cf. Ward's review of Sumner's *Social Classes* in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, III, 301-5; the Preface to *Dynamic Sociology*; *Pure Sociology*, pp. 551 ff.; *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 268; and *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, V, 38-66.

F. THE STATE AND SOCIAL REFORM

The basic principles of Ward's sociology are nowhere better displayed than in his doctrines regarding the solution of social problems and maladjustment through the agency of governmental activity—in other words, his treatment of government as the chief instrument in collective or social teleosis.

That the government must be the seat of control of the social process is evident from the fact that it alone can be viewed as the social analogue of the brain of the individual organism. The present stupidity of the personnel and activities of governments is no basis for the familiar argument that government can never give any evidence of some degree of intelligence. When the general level of social intelligence is raised, there is no reason to believe that the knowledge of those in control of the government will not be proportionately improved.¹

In his *Psychic Factors of Civilization*² Ward summarizes what he regards as the indispensable prerequisites for the successful operation of social or collective teleosis through the instrumentality of government. The legislators must either be social scientists or work in co-operation with sociologists. The prevalent confusing legislative methods and procedure must be eliminated. This can best be effected by an extension of the use of the committee system, and through conferring upon the executive a large degree of power to participate in legislation.³ Finally, there must be a greater use of statistics as the data upon which all scientific law-making should be based.⁴

Like Comte, to whom Ward was so greatly indebted for many of his political theories and much of his political terminology, Ward placed his reliance chiefly upon sociology as the source of

¹ *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 187-89, 268-76; *Pure Sociology*, p. 565; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 297.

² Pp. 309-12.

³ Cf. also *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 278-79.

⁴ Cf. Ward's article on "The Way to Scientific Law-making" (1877), reprinted in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, II, 168-71. This is one of the earliest and clearest statements of the value of statistics in scientific legislation and antedated by five years Jevons' classic exposition of this subject in his *The State in Relation to Labor* (1882). Cf. Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*, pp. 121 ff., 132 ff.

the information which is preliminary to any extensive development of scientific government. Ward's legislators, like the priests of the Positivist régime, were to be trained sociologists. Hence a diffusion of the knowledge of fundamental sociological principles must precede the scientific development and application of governmental activity in behalf of social reform. The legislators must be thoroughly acquainted with the nature of, and method of controlling, the social forces.¹ Unfortunately, however, sociological knowledge itself is as yet in a very imperfect and undeveloped stage. It is now [1903] in practically the same stage of development that physics and chemistry were in the fifteenth century.² This indispensable sociological knowledge must be imparted by an improved system of education. No other sociologist has approximated in emphasis or thoroughness Ward's treatment of the sociological importance of education. He takes as his point of departure the thesis that the social forces can only be directed into safe and useful channels if their nature and the manner of their control is understood.³ Education should thus be valued in proportion "as it gives to its possessor correct views of life, of his relations to society, and to nature."⁴ The educational system which embraces this useful type of information should be carried on by the state and should be universal.⁵ The whole sociological problem and significance of education he sums up in the following characteristic paragraph:

It is the question whether the social system shall always be left to nature, always be genetic and spontaneous, and be allowed to drift listlessly on, intrusted to the by no means always progressive influences which have developed it and brought it to its present condition, or whether it shall be regarded as a proper subject of art, treated as other natural products have been treated

¹ *Pure Sociology*, pp. 568-69; *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 545; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 309; *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 274; article, "The Science and Art of Government" (1891), reprinted in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, IV, 322-24; also "The Utilitarian Character of Dynamic Sociology," in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, IV, 309-15.

² *Pure Sociology*, pp. 568-69.

³ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 545.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 571, 593. One might legitimately ask the question as to how an unintelligent government is to organize and conduct, or be induced to organize and conduct, this system of education which is to produce its own enlightenment.

by human intelligence, and made as much superior to nature, in this only proper sense of the word, as other artificial productions are superior to natural ones.¹

When this revised and universal system of education is put into effect, government, which will be sociocratic in form, can be conducted on truly scientific principles, and it will then be in a position to promote progress by the indirect and telic method of "social invention" or "attractive legislation." True social invention "consists in making such adjustments as will induce men to act in the manner most advantageous to society." These adjustments must take the form of "attractive legislation," which will replace the wrong-headed and primitive repressive legislation of the present day.² This principle of "attractive legislation" Ward explains in the following manner. The "desires, passions, and propensities of men" are the great impelling forces of society. They have vast potentialities for both good and evil. Repressive legislation, which constitutes the vast majority of modern laws, simply curbs this energy without deriving any benefit from it. Attractive legislation would aim not to check or restrain this vital energy of society, but rather to divert it from harmful expression and direct it into useful channels of expenditure or, in terms of the new dynamic psychology, provide for a rational method of *sublimating* social energy. The scientific statesmanship of the future must attempt to guide and utilize social forces and energy in the same manner as the applied scientists of today control and utilize the physical energy of nature.³ Ward's best summary of the fundamental characteristics of the political régime based upon the principles of attractive legislation and collective telesis is contained in the following paragraph, which is, at the same time, a fairly adequate summary of his whole social philosophy:

As a scientific investigator, the legislator would then set for himself the task of devising means to render harmless those forces now seen to be working evil results, and to render useful those now running to waste. Not only would

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 632-33; cf. *Applied Sociology*, *passim*. . Ward's best brief statement of the sociological significance of education is to be found in his address, "Education and Progress," in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, VI, 333-40.

² *Pure Sociology*, pp. 569-71.

³ *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 272-73; *Applied Sociology*, pp. 337-39; *Pure Sociology*, pp. 570-71.

the present prohibitive legislation, which seeks to accomplish its ends by direct, or brute, method, be rapidly supplanted by attractive legislation accomplishing its purposes by the indirect, or intellectual, method, and thus fulfilling the protective functions of government at a saving of enormous loss through the friction of opposition, but the accommodative function would now be in condition to advance toward the position of a truly ameliorative one. Society, possessed for the first time of a completely integrated consciousness, could at last proceed to map out a field of independent operation for the systematic realization of its own interests, in the same manner that an intelligent and keen-witted individual pursues his life-purposes. Not only would protection and accommodation be secured without loss of liberty and at the least possible cost to society, but directly progressive measures would be adopted looking to the organization of human happiness. Fully realizing the character and mode of operation of the truly progressive agencies of society, government would not simply foster and protect these, but would increase and intensify them and their influence. No longer doubting that progress upon the whole must be in proportion to the degree and universality of intelligence, no effort or expense would be spared to impart to every citizen an equal and adequate amount of useful knowledge.¹

CONCLUSION

The preceding analysis of the political theories of Sumner and Ward indicates the sociological arguments for *laissez faire* and state activity, as they have been set forth by the two most conspicuous American adherents to these opposing positions. Both were the product of the same political environment, and lived through the age of the greatest corruption and inefficiency in American state and national government, for which both had equal and unlimited contempt. While agreeing upon the hopelessness of intelligent and constructive policies issuing from existing governments, there was a fundamental divergence between them upon the subject of the possibility of improving the level of political intelligence. Sumner insisted that governments were always likely to remain inferior to individual initiative and enterprise, while Ward contended that with the improvement of sociological knowledge and its wide dissemination through an adequate system of

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, II, 249-50. Ward's prophetic vein was not entirely exhausted by this eloquent picture of the scientific legislation of the future. He even dared to predict that in the still more remote future, with the perfection of the intellect and the completeness of knowledge, the state and government may disappear (*Pure Sociology*, p. 135). This seems to be a denial, however, of Ward's statement mentioned above, to the effect that society would never outgrow the accommodating function of government.

education, the state would become the chief instrument in advancing group welfare and in anticipating the natural course of political and social evolution. It may reasonably be doubted whether this difference of opinion was as much due to a superior optimism on the part of Ward as it was to the basic divergence of their views upon the nature of social evolution. Sumner was convinced of the accuracy of the Spencerian notion that it was an automatic process not amenable to social control and direction. Ward was equally confident that while social evolution began as a spontaneous development it reached a point ultimately where the human mind could comprehend its trend, could control it, and could thereby artificially direct and accelerate social progress. This fundamental dividing line between natural and artificial evolution would be reached when sociology had attained to the same degree of perfection as has already been achieved by natural science and when legislators could thereby be possessed of as great knowledge of social forces and processes as is possessed by the great natural scientists of the present day concerning the forces and processes of physical nature. It will readily be perceived that precipitate and promiscuous social legislation by existing political bodies receives as little justification from the doctrines of Ward as from those of Sumner, but Ward leaves distinctly more to be hoped for from the future and leaves a program designed to lead to the ultimate attainment of this goal, which is decidedly more optimistic and dynamic than the essentially fatalistic concepts of Sumner. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that while Sumner's views were much more characteristic of the generation in which the two men lived, the majority of sociologists of the present day adhere to Ward's opinions in their general implications, and the most profound of English sociologists, Leonard T. Hobhouse, has worked out a body of social philosophy which supports Ward's leading thesis of the ultimate amenability of the processes of social evolution to the control of the human mind. In a very real sense the divergence between the conceptions of Sumner and Ward represents the progress which systematic sociological theory has achieved in regard to the problem of the relation of the state to social progress.

INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

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The first impulse of any organization or institution on the appearance of a serious competitor is to *destroy competition*. The "trust" regularly cuts the prices of its products to a point below cost of production in localities in which an "independent" seeks to sell. A shipping combine will have "fighting ships" which are called into play when a new steamship line enters their trade. As soon as the competitor announces a sailing date the combine advertises a steamer to sail on or near this date and offers a freight rate below the actual cost of carriage. In this way the competitor is prevented from securing a cargo.

The highest social class hobbles by minute sumptuary regulations the classes which aspire to come up abreast of it. In feudal Japan, for example, one might not use his money as he pleased. The farmer, craftsman, or shopkeeper could not build a house as he liked or procure himself such articles of luxury as his taste might incline him to buy. The richest commoner might not order certain things to be made for him, might not imitate the habits or assume the privileges of his betters. Although urged on economic grounds, sumptuary restrictions are doubtless intended to protect the monopoly of prestige by the higher social orders.

The spread of anti-slavery feeling among the producing people of the North during the generation before the American Civil War was due to their perception that slavery is a menace to the free-labor system. In accounting for the early abolition of slavery in Massachusetts John Adams remarks: "Argument might have had some weight . . . but the real cause was the multiplication of laboring white people who would not longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury."

Monogamic marriage, tolerant enough toward monastic and Shaker celibacy, which put yet greater strain on human nature,

suppresses as a dangerous rival every laxer form of sex relation—"free love," the "complex marriage" of the Oneida community, Mormon polygamy, etc. Nor has it acknowledged any right of groups of men and women to order their relations according to their own convictions and judgment.

After representative government with its inevitable strife of parties has been established the parties controlled by the propertied strive to crush the rising party which asserts working-class interests. To avoid meeting it in the arena of public discussion they hypocritically denounce it as anti-patriotic and subversive, a movement with criminal aims led by scoundrels and assassins, which is not entitled to the belligerent rights of a legitimate political party but deserves only to be stamped out by suppressing its propaganda and hounding its leaders. Thus was outlawed the socialist party in Germany during Bismarck's ascendancy. On the other hand, labor organizations oppose all proposals looking to state health-insurance, because many of them have developed insurance schemes of their own and they fear lest their power to hold their members will be weakened under compulsory state insurance.

The whole history of religious persecution is the history of an organization trying to establish itself as a monopoly by ruthless destruction of the spokesmen of competing doctrines and movements. In Diocletian's time Roman religious beliefs were weak while the Christian beliefs were vigorous and spreading. In desperation the old system made a ferocious attempt to exterminate all Christians. A thousand years later the church stamped certain sects out of existence and strangled heresies in the cradle. Says Coulton:

. . . . What Darwin took at first for a smooth unbroken grass land proved, on nearer examination, to be thick-set with tiny self-sown firs, which the cattle regularly cropped as they grew. Similarly, that which some love to picture as the harmonious growth of one great body through the Middle Ages is really a history of many divergent opinions violently strangled at birth; while hundreds more, too vigorous to be killed by the adverse surroundings, and elastic enough to take something of the outward colour of their environment, grew in spite of the hierarchy into organisms which, in their turn, profoundly modified the whole constitution of the Church. If the mediaeval theory and practice of persecution had still been in full force in the eighteenth century in England, nearly all the best Wesleyans would have chosen to remain within the Church

rather than to shed blood in revolt; and the rest would have been killed off like wild beasts. The present unity of Romanism so far as it exists, is due *less to tact than to naked force*.¹

Instructive is the change of front of the church with respect to the Franciscans. The religion of poverty and love propagated by Francis of Assissi took possession of the whole church. The most beautiful chants of the Middle Ages and the greatest sermons originated among the Franciscans and the Dominicans closely related to them. New life was given to art and scholarship. All the great scholars of the thirteenth century—Thomas of Aquinas, Bonaventura, Albertus—were of the begging orders.

But the church which had granted authority to St. Francis and established the Little Brothers of the Poor as a monastic order turned against it when the ideal of poverty spread so far as to menace her power and riches. She declared what the Franciscans were preaching about the poverty of Christ and the Apostles to be heresy and demanded submission. All the "spiritual" Franciscans were condemned as heretics. Cardinals who still defended the ideal of poverty a few years before so popular fell into disgrace. There was a bitter struggle, but at the end of the fourteenth century the worldly church had crushed the propaganda of the poverty ideal. As a result the monastic orders lost in inspiration and influence and by the time of the Renaissance monasticism had fallen into "laziness and worthlessness."²

In 1660 the English Episcopal church became established and entered upon the same policy of persecution of which formerly it had been the victim. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed enforcing the use of the amended Book of Common Prayer. In 1664 the Conventicle Act made illegal all meetings for worship except according to the church. In 1665 an act was passed forbidding Nonconformist ministers to approach a borough. Not until 1689 was the endeavor to crush the sects abandoned.

The Puritan theocracy in New England in its persecution of Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers showed a like ruthless determination to crush every movement which might bring about its overthrow.

¹ *From St. Francis to Dante*, p. 40.

² See Harnack, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*.

In case the rival cannot be destroyed one seeks to *withdraw from competition*, just as an army which cannot whip the enemy retires behind fortifications. The rulers of Japan, discovering early in the seventeenth century that the Jesuit missions were disintegrating a society founded on communal custom and filial piety, slew the native Christians, expelled all foreigners save the Dutch traders, who were confined to a 3-acre isle, made it a capital offense for any Japanese to leave Japan, destroyed all vessels capable of long voyages, and attacked any European ships entering a Japanese port, excepting the vessels of the Dutch company. In like manner China in the sixteenth century sought to isolate itself from foreign influences.

In the third quarter of the last century, it became clear that the common American standard of living could not possibly survive the competition of the Chinese coolies' standard of living. The friends of the American standard finally erected a barrier against the oriental standard in the form of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The wide support of this policy outside the manual laboring class shows that it was the reaction of a threatened standard rather than of interested American wage-earners.

The endeavor of Chinese officials to restrain the Christian missionaries from going about preaching and teaching in China, as well as the violences which from time to time they have deliberately stirred up against them, sprang from the fear of the literary and official class lest the ideas the missionaries introduce should make it harder to maintain their system of governing and exploiting the masses.

A state with few economic opportunities open cannot hope to attract immigrants and therefore by every means in its power it binds its citizens to it. It argues "Once a Batavian always a Batavian," limits emigration or expatriation, cultivates the goodwill of its nationals whithersoever they may wander and frowns upon their naturalization in another state.

A church that cannot crush its competitors claims special protection from the state. In South America until recently the state has been used to protect the religious monopoly of the Roman Catholic church. Only since 1865 in Chile have non-Catholics

been permitted "to practice their religion inside private buildings belonging to them." Until 1907 the law decreed that any person conspiring "to establish in Bolivia any other religion than that which the Republic professes, namely, that of the Roman Catholic Apostolic church" is a traitor. The constitution of Peru declared "The Nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the State protects it and does not permit the exercise of any other." Not until 1915 was the last clause abrogated.

Throughout Spanish and French America the church secured and kept in its hands the control of schools, burial grounds, marriage, and poor relief. Until lately Russian Orthodoxy, unable by ferocious persecution to uproot the dissenting sects, had the state punish with great severity any proselyting among the Orthodox, whereas the latter might proselyte as they pleased.

If the state will not shield her, the church that shrinks from meeting competition builds for herself a citadel within which she can continue her life untroubled by the assaults from the outside world. The early church encouraged mixed marriages in the serene confidence that the Christian would convert, rather than be converted by, the pagan mate. But an edict of Louis XIV forbade marriage with heretics, because of the "continual temptation of perversion." An expanding church does not admit very young members and is willing that the children of its members should freely choose their religion; but a church hard pressed hopes to forestall the judgment of its young people by incorporating them at an early age and requires its members to rear their children straitly in the faith. It conducts its young through a tunnel of church schools and societies, lit by church lamps, instead of letting them into the broad daylight of the public school, the social settlement, the social center, and the public playground.

Great attention, too, is given to hedging the minds of the adult faithful. The church forbids them to read certain periodicals, patronize certain libraries, see certain plays, or follow certain university courses. Such maternal nervousness is a sure sign that the church, feeling the *Zeitgeist* to be alien, counts on surviving by holding on to her people rather than by winning new converts.

The college loath to modernize its curriculum and methods follows the same tactics. It cultivates assiduously its alumni and appeals to them to send their sons to "dear old Bokhara." Conversely, an institution like the West Point Military Academy is held to an antiquated type of military education because the "West Pointers" who send their sons there want the school to remain as they knew it.

Oxford University, in Adam Smith's day, was careful to curb competition lest it disclose weaknesses. Students enrolled in a college might not leave it for another without first securing permission of the college they sought to abandon. Academic discipline appeared to have the purpose of making the students attend worthless, distasteful lectures and behave toward the professor, whether he performed or neglected his duty, as if he had performed it with the greatest diligence and ability.¹

In the face of the growing interest in new studies, such as natural science and social science, the classics intrench themselves in the college curriculum as "required subjects," while the new attractions are kept in the inferior status of "elective subjects."

A party menaced by a new political movement it dares not meet in the open gets the weather gage by a law excluding from the official ballot a party which has not received a specified percentage of the ballots cast at the last election.

In business a means of holding competitors at bay is the "factors' agreement" which binds the dealer to handle only the goods of a certain producer. Again, an organization may require of the dealer the handling of articles upon which the patents have expired, as a condition of obtaining other articles, or the handling of a certain article or line of articles as a condition of the handling another article or line of articles.

A third means of surviving competition may be called *constrained adaptation*.

The government-led Westernization of Japan was not essentially a conversion to occidental thought but the reluctant taking over of certain Western institutions and policies in order to save Japan from absorption by some Western power.

¹ See Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, II, 348-49.

It can hardly be doubted that the Counter-Reformation within the church at the Council of Trent was an adaptation forced by competition.

In China the activity of the Christian missionaries is forcing the native faiths to assume higher forms in order to survive. Chinese scholars are reading into the Confucian classics elevated moral ideas which they have unconsciously imbibed from Christian literature. There is, indeed, a movement which frankly calls itself "Confucio-Christianity." In some parts, under the spur of missionary competition, the Confucians band together and send out wandering gospellers of their own to spread the doctrines of the sage at fairs and festivals.¹

The Ceylonese Buddhists speak of the "incarnation" and the "immaculate conception" of Buddha and comfort the dying by assuring them that the Lord Buddha will presently receive them into his arms. The Buddhists of Japan besides sending out missionaries of their own have adopted various methods of their Christian competitors. They have stated times for preaching. They have pastoral visitation, street preaching, Sunday schools, prison and army chaplains, and special organizations for young men, women, and children. They maintain charities, push temperance, and set up schools.

Partly from the soaking in of Christian ideas and partly as tactics for surviving missionary competition Hinduism is honey-combed with reform movements and crude doctrines and rites are rapidly being sloughed off.

Owing to competition among themselves American religious denominations have had forced upon them changes distasteful to the ruling element. The "amusement" clause of the Methodist Book of Discipline has in many places become a dead letter because its enforcement would be a serious handicap in competition with less strict churches. The success of the undenominational Young People's Christian Endeavor Society caused large denominations to organize young people's societies of their own. In like manner the churches develop "institutional" or social, or recreative, features, not because their members want them, but in order to attract or

¹ See Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, pp. 256-57, 279.

hold the young people, the men, or the unchurched. President Vincent says:

The prevalent manifestations of goodfeeling, brotherliness, and co-operation between ministers and churches are in large measure unconscious forms under which they compete for the approval of a public opinion which demands tolerance, friendliness, and unity. The minister and the church who hold aloof quickly feel the displeasure of the community and distinctly lose caste.¹

Competition may constrain an institution to adopt a line which lies quite outside its proper sphere. Early in the nineteenth century English Nonconformists founded the British Schools Society. Not to be outdone the established church, which hitherto had utterly ignored elementary education, entered upon the work of promoting schools. But it was natural enough for the Nonconformists to make a special effort in the direction of education because their adherents were largely of the English lower orders, which were at that time very illiterate. The established church, however, was in no such case and took upon herself altogether too heavy a burden of education. In the end a situation developed which led to the state taking over all the church schools.

The modern socialist movement has forced conservative institutions to concern themselves with the material welfare of the masses. In the 70's of the last century in order to check Lassalle's movement, Bishop Kettler of Mayence organized in Rhenish Prussia Christian trade unions which spread to Germany and Austria. In Belgium the socialists, in accordance with their principles, organized co-operative banks among the poor. In order not to lose influence over them the church started co-operative banks of her own. In the same way co-operative credit associations have been organized in Quebec in connection with the church.

No doubt the advanced social program of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ was adopted by most of the Protestant churches reluctantly and only because it was realized that "something must be done to win back the workingmen."

The whole German system of social insurance was in the first place urged by the Socialist party. Bismarck and his Junkers

¹ *Methodist Review*, January, 1906, p. 75.

hated the socialists and cared little for the welfare of the working class, but they took over these alien policies in order to make German wage-earners proof against socialism.

When wage-earners are enfranchised or organize themselves, political parties officered and run by the propertied class vie with each other in wooing them. Whether they shall gain anything from this competition depends upon their intelligence. The politicians run their man as the "log cabin" candidate, court labor with genial handshaking and barbecue, appease labor leaders with political jobs, scatter promises they do not intend to fulfil, give their policies a labor flavor (high tariff urged as the "protection of American workingmen"), pass measures which they know the courts will annul as unconstitutional, throw labor a few sops, or offer substantial benefits while at the same time providing capitalists with new benefits along other lines. Only in case all this does not avail is it necessary for the party to lend itself seriously to realizing a working-class program.

The competition of young American commonwealths for immigrants contributed to the spread of democracy in the United States by promoting the extension of the suffrage and the early adoption of a system of public education. The competition of ambitious cities for residents or factories obliges them to adopt policies respecting saloons, prostitution, parks, boulevards, schools, police, handling of labor troubles, etc., which may be wormwood to the majority.

Universities are loath to change, so that their adaptation to new conditions is usually forced by competition. The universities of the seventeenth century, incrustated still in scholasticism, adopted the principle of freedom of inquiry which prevailed in the newly founded scientific academies—only because in no other way could they attract the best scholars of their day. Americans are fortunate in having two types of university—endowed and state. Their competition for professors broadens academic freedom while their competition for students tends to modernize the curriculum by introducing such new subjects as economics, sociology, business administration, and journalism. The catering of corporate universities to the prejudices of possible donors would hamper gravely

the teaching of the social sciences, were it not that they have to meet the competition of the liberal state universities.

In public institutions and in private institutions there are elements of strength and elements of weakness, but they are not identical in the two types. Accordingly if the two types are brought into honorable competition within the same field each is stimulated to develop the kind of strength the other has, along with its own kind of strength, and to rid itself of the weaknesses peculiar to it. Fortunate therefore is the society which has both public and private high schools, both state and corporate universities, both state and private forestry, both state and commercial insurance service, both parcel post and express companies, both community and private agencies of poor relief, and both state and philanthropic institutions for dependents. In order that there may be true competition there should be no alliance of any sort between private societies or foundations and the government. The government should neither subsidize them nor be subsidized by them, but each should go ahead on its own resources and show the best it can do for the people.

Of course under constraint an institution adapts its manners and methods to the situation rather than its principles or policies. Instance the suppleness of the Jesuits who become "all things to all men," winning men of the world with their polish and lovers of truth with their zeal for science. Instance a Tory university reeking with oil-trust money which builds a huge stadium and dazzles young people with the splendor of its athletics. A political party camouflages its aristocratic principles with leaders or candidates who are extra-approachable and democratic in manner. The Russian bureaucracy tried to hold in check the radical labor movement by sending out its own secret agents to organize labor unions.

Finally an institution *eludes competition by specializing*. This is like the ingenious business man who keeps ahead of his imitative competitors by continually differentiating his product so as to meet a special demand. As people get used to it and more and more demand it, it passes from specialty into staple. But he has a fresh differentiation ready, slight, perhaps, but significant enough

to awaken a new demand or a modification of the original demand—another specialty.

Thus a college may snap its fingers at rivals offering courses in commerce and journalism and keep its halls filled by offering the best-framed and best-taught classical course of study. When yellow journalism seems to be carrying all before it, some journals save themselves by excluding blare and flare and offering the judicious a soundproof retreat amid the howling of Bedlam. Until lately the British navy refused to enter the common arena of competition among the professions. No one could become a cadet without a recommendation from some relation or friend of the family in the navy. This restriction might seem to limit fatally the talent the navy drew upon. But at a time when all such barriers about the professions were coming down, the prestige accruing to the navy from its social exclusiveness may really have operated to supply it with more than its fair share of talent.

A church which in its attitude toward science, morals, and social work is out of harmony with its time is not doomed to languish. It may win by specializing in religious aesthetics. With dusky and mysterious interiors, magnificent mosaics, wonderful Gregorian music, forests of lighted candles, and domes blue with incense smoke; it may attract those who are sensuous or mystic in temperament, and make headway while more rational faiths are losing ground.

So far we have considered the behavior of the *established* when threatened by the *new*. Now the new has its policies, too, but they will be quite other than the four I have described. Because it is young and weak, it will not assault its established competitor with intent to *destroy*. It cannot *withdraw from competition* because it has no intrenchments to withdraw to. It is not constrained to *adapt* itself because it is already adapted to the time that sees its birth. If it *specializes* there is no competition at all between it and the established.

On the other hand the new follows tactics of its own which are not open to the established. Unlike its competitor it can court support by *making extravagant claims and promises*. The old church, party, or education is limited in its promises by its past performance; but there is no such check on the claims of the young

aspirant and so it gives free rein to its imagination. The new remedy sets up as a cure-all. The untried reform poses as a panacea. When the Fourier phalanx, co-operative production, the single tax on land values, the "natural" system of learning foreign languages, or the monitor system, is first proposed, it is possible to paint glowing pictures of the blessings it will bring.

It is logical that the new should often strive to arrest public attention by *sensationalism*. The established has the prestige of antiquity and possession. The new covets prestige but it must gain it by other means. The new-rich in order to break the spell exercised by old families sets a pace in extravagance and ostentation which amazes and which the former social arbiters cannot stand. The leaders of new departures in art or literature excite curiosity and awe by long hair, flowing ties, unfashionable cut of dress, bizarre actions, and studied unintelligibility. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, made an immense sensation with his story of the Angel with its inscribed plates of gold. New religious movements are much readier than the old with claims of signs and wonders. Nor is charlatanry confined to the unworthy new. Even champions of the worthy new may stoop to it.

The new *appeals to the more easily aroused demands of human nature*. The demand for *freedom* is one of these and hence the new holds out the lure of release from some form of restraint. Jesus proclaimed, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." Paul preached "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law." Luther taught that the Gospel brought sweet relief from the onerous requirements of the Law. The Protestants offered Christians freedom from "prelacy." The Anabaptists threw off the gyves of private property and held "prophecy" open to all. Quakers rejected the sacraments and a paid clergy. The Free Methodists offered a free course for the expression of religious feeling. Philosophic individualism makes great headway for a time, and the doctrines of anarchism have a seductiveness of their own. The teaching of the superiority of the artist to all conventions including the Ten Commandments will always meet with response. "Free verse" is a rallying cry, while symbolism is welcomed as loosing the artist from the trammels of the actual. The "free election of studies" is a winning cry for an assault on the fixed curriculum.

Freedom is, however, not the only winning appeal of the new. Aside from real merit, *ritual*, *secrecy*, and *exclusiveness* are other means of gaining a following.

Thanks to these tactics, a new thing without merit may triumph over the time-tested old if the plane of popular intelligence be low. Among the ignorant, valuable institutions may be shaken by the imprudent and blatant competition of charlatans, fanatics, and false prophets. For a while people may turn from the hard-won and age-sifted truth to follow bubble promises and iridescent sophisms. That which is suited to man's deep and lasting needs may be abandoned for that which chimes with his fitful and passing desires.

When, however, the plane of intelligence is high, the competition of the new is to be welcomed, because it is chiefly competition that keeps institutions adapted to the conditions they face and the people they serve. Without this spur the institution stands still or even degenerates. Since this is so, no institution ought to be shielded from competition by any special privilege or advantage. The youthful sect, party, college, doctrine, or ideal ought to have the same freedom to agitate, advertise, proselyte, and organize that the established enjoys. Moreover, individuals must be free to detach themselves from old organizations without unreasonable forfeiture and join new ones or none at all. Inter-party migration tends to liberalize parties; inter-denominational migration to liberalize churches; inter-university migration to liberalize universities; inter-state migration to liberalize governments.

An institution that has the children of its members for nothing need not cater to them and, if it will content itself with such following, it may petrify in its tracks. It is not good, therefore, that the sons should inherit creed, party allegiance, college allegiance, local allegiance from their fathers; they should choose in freedom. The parent that fastens unescapable bonds upon the child before it has reached the age of choice confiscates the child's personality.

If, instead of inheriting their adherents, organizations had to win them, they would accommodate themselves to today. The contrasts between organizations would connect less with differences of origin and history and more with the actual contrasts of type in contemporary society. In religion, for example, Methodists and Catholics, Friends and Christian Socialists, Dunkers and

Salvation Army, would, no doubt, find each a type they were best suited to, but certainly some of the one hundred and fifty sects in the United States rooted in distant European conditions or remote centuries would vanish from the scene.

The competition for public favor between parties, sects, schools, universities, governments, manners, and ideals produces democratic society. The competition of manners for adoption makes them direct and expressive instead of stiff and formal. The competition of ideals for favor humanizes them and brings them into accord with the real soul of man. As organizations and institutions compete, their line of development becomes subject to the general trend of opinion and feeling. With *status*, institutions make the character of their people; with *competition*, the people make the character of their institutions. When everyone chooses his religion instead of inheriting it, the people make the religion instead of the religion making the people.

SUGGESTION AND SUGGESTIBILITY

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The words "suggestion" and "suggestibility" are the playthings of the tyro. He flourishes them as the key to most of the situations presented by human behavior as exhibited in crowds, mobs, and audiences. The reactions of one to another, as those of salesman and purchaser also, are often "explained" by the application of one or the other of these words.

In this article we (1) discuss two definitions of suggestion and suggestibility, and (2) describe the conditions that affect both. This should enable us (3) to understand the limitations of suggestion and suggestibility as means of arriving at large social unities.

Titchener defines suggestion as "any stimulus, external or internal, accompanied or unaccompanied by consciousness, which touches off a determining tendency."¹ For example, in the simple reaction experiment the instruction to react on a given signal sets off a determining tendency which releases the reaction movement. What made the reactor ready to accept instruction? What brought him into the laboratory? What brought him to the university? What brought him to seek an education in any university? In each case a previous suggestion. The reaction to this train of previous suggestion, each in its turn, has developed a complex disposition because of which the reaction is made as a matter of course, once the stimulus is presented.

This definition makes suggestion no different from a command or a sensory stimulus. To understand the response to a command or a sensory stimulus we must assume that a tendency or a disposition has already been prepared which is of such a nature that it may be touched off by the appropriate word, gesture, or other stimulus. We would not command an ox to attend to the demonstration of a geometrical proposition because we assume that the

¹ *A Text-Book of Psychology* (New York, 1910), p. 450.

animal has no disposition favorable to such a reaction. Nor is suggestion in this case different from any stimulus in the technical sense. A certain visual impression awakens the train of processes which ends in the emotion of fear. But the visual stimulus occasioned by the presence of a serpent, e.g., could have no relation to fear were there not already a determining tendency to be touched off by it. It is difficult to conceive of any reaction that is not a response to a suggestion according to this definition.

Again we have suggestion defined by Bunnemann, not as an external condition or stimulus, but as a mental state of expectancy or emotional disturbance: as an unusual working of the function of interpretation due to expectancy or emotional disturbance.¹

If we accept the view that expectancy is a state both of mental and physiological readiness or preparedness for response—more or less definite response according as attention is more or less sharply focused in a particular direction—then this definition confuses suggestion in Titchener's sense with the "determining tendency." But Titchener's "tendency" is as substantial as human nature. Bunnemann's, on the other hand, is temporary. It is as fleeting as any emotion or state of expectancy. Titchener emphasizes the usualness of suggestion and response; Bunnemann describes it as "unusual."

Nearly all definitions of suggestion now in vogue closely approximate one or the other of the foregoing. There is, moreover, the intolerable popular definition of suggestion as the transmission of a conviction or an idea from one person to another.

An adequate treatment of suggestion and suggestibility must recognize the functioning of the stimulus and the more or less stable dispositions or tendencies of human nature. Nothing is gained by overlapping the command and other methods of obtaining response in the behavior of others. It should recognize suggestibility as a condition of readiness to respond to suggestion: as usual and normal, not as unusual and abnormal; as sharpened temporarily by fleeting expectation and by emotional disturbances. But suggestibility is not a wholly temporary emotional condition. On the other hand, a stable background of dispositions or com-

¹ G. Bunnemann, "Ueber psychogene Schmerzen," *Monatschr. für Psychiat. W. Neur.*, XXXIV (1913), 142-71.

plexes in our organization accounts for a certain degree of constancy in our readiness to accept suggestion. The sensitiveness of this background and its freedom from inhibitions determines our degree of suggestibility.

We will think of suggestion, then, not as a direct appeal such as a command issued by one person to another, nor as a sensory stimulus other than a command which immediately awakens a reflex motor response or a mental reaction, but as an indirect appeal which awakens a determining tendency in such a way that the subject has more the sense of acting on his own initiative than of responding to external influence. He appears to be acting on his own initiative because, as in the hypnotic state, there is a degree of dissociation between the tendency or disposition that is then active and others that would ordinarily hold its activity in check. It is not meant to be implied that in response to suggestion one is altogether passive. Indeed, in one aspect, active expectancy and desire is a determining tendency such as we have in mind.

Suggestibility is understood, therefore, as that condition of the organism in which one or another determining tendency or disposition may express itself with relative freedom. In extreme suggestibility this freedom of expression is most marked. It is untrammelled by the inhibitions that normally control. The active disposition or tendency has been, partially, at least, dissociated from others, to use a phrase that is current among students of the abnormal mind. In other words, it functions at least in a considerable degree of independence of the whole system of dispositions that make up the personality. This is the point of view that is represented by Sidis.¹ "Abnormal suggestibility is a disaggregation of consciousness, a slit, a scar, produced in the mind, a crack that may extend wider and deeper, ending at last in the total disjunction of the waking, guiding, controlling consciousness from the reflex consciousness; from the rest of the stream of life." In normal suggestibility

the lesion effected in the body of consciousness is superficial, transitory, fleeting. In abnormal suggestibility, on the contrary, the slit is deep and lasting—it is a severe gash. In both cases, however, we have a removal, a dissociation of the waking from the subwaking, reflex consciousness, and suggestion

is effected only through the latter. It is the subwaking, the reflex, not the waking, the controlling consciousness that is suggestible. Suggestibility is the attribute, the very essence of the subwaking, reflex consciousness. . . . Suggestibility varies as the degree of disaggregation, and inversely as the unification of consciousness.

If this is the correct view of the case we are prepared to understand that there are two large types of background for suggestibility. One is in our natural, the other in our acquired, dispositions.

There is our superstitious nature which is never quite held in leash by our scientific and professional habits. Signs and portents, shadows in the moonlight, etc., affect our attitudes and our behavior more than we are often willing to acknowledge, and bring into the foreground of consciousness images and fears with their appropriate reactions which appear to the observer, in view of the occasioning shadow or what not, to be very far-fetched. They produce their effects by reason of the existence in the organism of a disposition fostered in us by years of wondering at phenomena which we are unable to understand. This disposition is never fully integrated with our acquisitions; it is always more or less dissociated from those dispositions that would control it, and it is, therefore, so to speak, upon a hair trigger and ready to be touched off upon slight provocation.

Rarely has suggestibility, resting upon this background of superstition-disposition, been so well illustrated on a large scale as in the witchcraft craze. Stoll,¹ commenting on the atrocious witch trial at Zug, Switzerland, in 1737, shows how completely even some learned judges of the time suffered a dissociation between their superstition complex and other complexes, which we usually think of as exercising control or restraint. They were under the spell of the universal witchcraft belief of the times. They did not recognize how perfectly the accounts that the accused gave of themselves tallied with the circumstances. One of them, Kathri Gilli, had a small bag of white powder. Her accuser declared it was a poison for the destruction of cattle. She explained that it was oat flour, showed that it had no ill effect upon a dog when a portion was fed to him, and she offered to prove it harmless by partaking

¹ *Suggestion und Hypnotismus*, Zweite Auflage, p. 416.

of it herself. Nevertheless the witchcraft idea so obsessed the mind of the court that Kathri was found guilty and sentenced to the rack.

A similar illustration is found in the great Kentucky religious revival of 1799-1800.¹ The same disposition-complex to stand in wonderment and awe before what is not understood and the natural disposition to seek alliance with a real or imagined stronger power in times of uncertainty or imagined distress compose the sensitive background which needs but to be touched to make it respond in the form of religious frenzy.

Again, it is the native disposition to follow after the strong, or those who show evidence of strength, that makes us peculiarly susceptible to the men and women of prestige, whether their prestige is due to social or economic, or professional position; to physical or mental qualities for leadership, or what not. The reports concerning testimony offered by children show how fatally the replies of the young are determined by the character of the questions that are put to them in court. Note, for example, a very striking case in Belgium in 1910: three little girls, aged nine and ten, had been playing by the roadside. In the evening they separated; two who were sisters went together to their home and the third set off in a different direction to her home. The next morning this girl was found by the roadside, murdered. The two sisters were awakened and asked of the whereabouts of their companion of the day before. They replied, "We do not know." Nevertheless the detectives in the case succeeded in putting into their mouths the statement that they had seen a stranger on the previous day, a man who stopped to speak with them. He wore a black mustache a slouch hat, and black clothing. Such a man was then arrested and brought to trial. There was additional incriminating testimony by the two sisters: questions and answers aggregated hundreds of pages in typewritten form. The defense sought and obtained permission to try an experiment in testimony. He brought a group of school children into the courtroom and plied them with questions concerning the man who, on that morning, had crossed their school yard and engaged their teacher in conversation at the door of the school. The children's answers built up a

¹ McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II, 578-82.

detailed account of the appearance of the man, even to his necktie, and they spoke of their teacher's agitation when the stranger had gone. As a matter of fact no stranger had been seen on the school premises on that day. The questioner had been able to play upon their sensitive complexes and to stimulate spontaneous expression. The whole performance illustrates the play of suggestion upon a suggestible make-up.¹

Children have not the advantage of acquired disposition, the results of experience, to hold in check their tendency to ally themselves with the apparently strong, and consequently they give assent whereas they would otherwise withhold it. The effect would be the same if these experiences had in fact been acquired but had been dissociated from more primitive tendencies.

The race and sex factors as determinants of the degree of suggestibility may very easily be overdone. It is true, as Ross says,² that the American Indian, far from being a thoroughly impassive creature, is extremely susceptible to suggestive influences. He cites the instance of the ghost-dance religion that spread among the Indians from 1889 to 1892, and took possession of probably sixty thousand souls. The central features of this phenomenon were a sacred dance and hypnotizing operations upon the dancers who had begun to show signs of ecstasy. "They kept up dancing until fully one hundred persons were lying unconscious. They then stopped and seated themselves in a circle, and as each one recovered from his trance, he was brought to the center of the ring to relate his experience."

This is a case in which a superstitious disposition, or a crude religious nature, unhindered by the checks that prevail among most cultured people, has been able to express itself freely. It is probable that a member of any other race, brought up from infancy in an American-Indian environment, would behave in like fashion.

The often-quoted data from Starbuck³ to the effect that women are much more susceptible than men to religious influence; that

¹ See Varendonc, "Les témoignages d'enfants dans un procès retentissant," *Arch. de Psychol.*, XI (1911), 129, 171.

² *Social Psychology*, p. 14. See also the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 917.

³ *American Journal of Psychology*, VIII, 271.

in religious revivals "men display more friction against surroundings, more difficulty with points of belief, more doubt arising from educational influences, more readiness to question traditional beliefs and customs, more pronounced tendency to resist conviction, to pray, to call on God, to lose sleep and appetite" lend further support to the principle stated above—that suggestibility is to be explained on the ground of the degree of dissociation of a complex disposition, or system-complex from controlling dispositions. Practically such a dissociation is illustrated in the suggestibility of woman. Compared with man she has been in relative isolation from the affairs of practical life outside the home. Outside that sphere she has not acquired the disposition, therefore, to examine narrowly before judging or acting. She does not possess those complexes, normal among active men in contact with the world, which express themselves in the control that characterizes the conservative. As Ross says,¹

They are, in a sense, a social class shut out from many of the bracing and individualizing experiences that come to men. "Nowhere in the world," declares Thomas,² "do women as a class lead a perfectly free intellectual life in common with the men of the group like the modern revolutionary party in Russia." Hence *woman* is by no means synonymous with *human female*. Almost everywhere propriety and conventionality press more mercilessly on woman than on man, thereby lessening her freedom and range of choice and dwarfing her will. Individuality develops through practice in choosing. If women are mobbish, it is largely for the same reason that monks, soldiers, peasants, *moujiks*, and other rigidly regulated types are mobbish. Much of woman's exaggerated impressionability disappears once she enjoys equal access with men to such individualizing influences as higher education, travel, self-direction, professional pursuits, participation in intellectual and public life.

As women mingle more and more freely in the life outside of the home they will gradually build up those complexes which in time will undoubtedly place them on the same level with men in point of suggestibility.

Iago's deft handling of Othello when he and his master were left alone after Desdemona had intervened with her husband, Othello, in Cassio's behalf is an excellent instance of a suggestion

¹ *Social Psychology*, p. 17.

² *Sex and Society*, p. 311.

tapping a native suspicious disposition that had been aroused by events immediately preceding:

Iago: My noble lord, —

Othello: What dost thou say, Iago?

Iago: Did Michael Cassio, when you woo'd my lady, know of your love?

Othello: He did, from first to last: why dost thou ask?

Iago: But for a satisfaction of my thought;
No further harm.

Othello: Why of thy thought, Iago?

Iago: I did not think he had been acquainted with her.

Othello: O, yes, and went between us very oft.

Iago: Indeed!

Othello: Indeed! Ay, indeed; discern'st thou aught in that?
Is he not honest?

Iago: Honest, my lord?

Othello: Honest, ay, honest.

Iago: My lord, for aught I know.

Othello: What dost thou think?

Iago: Think, my lord!

Othello: Think, my lord!

By heaven, he echoes me
As if there were some monster in his thought
Too hideous to be shown. Thou dost mean something;
I heard thee say but now, thou likst not that,
When Cassio left my wife: What didst not like?
And when I told thee how he was in my counsel
In my whole course of wooing, thou criedst, "Indeed!"
And didst contract and purse thy brows together,
As if thou hadst shut up in thy brain
Some horrible conceit: If thou dost love me,
Show me thy thought.

Iago: My lord, you know I love you.

Othello: I think thou dost.

And for I know thou'rt full of love and honesty
And weigh'st thy words before thou givest them breath,
Therefore these stops of thine fright me the more:
For such things in a false disloyal knave
Are tricks of custom; but in a man that's just
They're close dilations working from the heart,
That passion cannot rule.

Iago: For Michael Cassio,

I dare be sworn I think that he is honest.

Othello: I think so too.

Iago: Men should be what they seem;
Or those that be not, would they might seem none!
Othello: Certain, men should be what they seem.
Iago: Why then I think Cassio's an honest man.
Nay, yet there's more in this;
I prithee, speak to me as to thy thinkings,
As thou dost ruminate, and give thy worst of thoughts
The words of words.

It is by no means wholly the native disposition which determines the degree and direction of suggestibility when it is partially or entirely dissociated from controlling complexes. The acquired disposition or the product of education is potent also. You seat yourself before a bank of electric lamps and place your fingers upon a coiled wire which is apparently in circuit with the lamps, and when these are lighted the coil will seem to the unsuspecting observer to grow warm, even though a secret switch beneath the table may be so thrown as to allow the current to pass only through the lamps and not through the coil. Here is a suggestion that indirectly produces a thermal sensation. But the subject could not have been suggestible in this respect had he not acquired a certain disposition (an electricity-complex, we may say) in the course of his experience up to that time with electric currents and hot wires. Likewise, the professional disposition or complex of the physician renders him suggestible in the face of situations that leave the carpenter untouched. The physician, for example, responds with enthusiasm to a movement for paving the streets because it "suggests" to him what never occurred to the proposers—the improvement of sanitary conditions.

It is not necessary here to discuss the hysterical condition in which, if we may trust the most approved theories, a pronounced dissociation has occurred among the higher centers for control by reason of which the individual so afflicted responds more or less readily to a suggestion, depending upon the completeness of dissociation or isolation of the complex stimulated. Suffice it to say that those who suffer from the hysterical constitution are especially suggestible.

Evidently if we have correctly analyzed the concepts of suggestion and suggestibility, the possibility of successfully employing

these means alone to build up large social unities is limited by three factors: (1) racial and other native differences, (2) prejudices due to social and economic position, (3) inequalities in education and want of uniform experience among sections of the population.

Wherever there is a group of people with so much in common that they constitute a crowd, a mob, an audience, the readers of a particular periodical or the disciples of a particular *ism*, there is opportunity for a fairly wide-sweeping interplay of suggestion and suggestibility. As the means and frequency of communication among men increases, and as localism becomes swallowed up in nationalism and more, we should expect an increase in the waves of suggestive phenomena were there no counterbalancing factor. Such a factor is provided, however, more and more generously as the years come and go, in our institutions for higher learning, in industry and commerce, in as far as they cultivate a disposition to seek first-hand data and weigh the evidence.

INDUSTRIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE PRESENT WORLD-CRISIS

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Our aim at this time is not to call attention to new or unobserved conditions or facts, but rather to suggest an interpretation of a well-known situation that logically follows a recognition of the larger industrial intelligence discussed in our previous article.¹ In this article we will leave to the reader the citing of instances, as these are so numerous and well known as to be common knowledge.

It is a generally understood law of nature that a power developed will find some means of expression or action. To know that modern industrial activities have developed the intelligence of the workers is to know that this intelligence will find means of expression. Naturally the path of expression will be along lines reaching out from the usual occupations. The man whose intelligence has been quickened by the operation of one machine feels a desire to learn to operate another. The mere routine of operation leads to acquaintance with and a desire to set up, repair, and, with the more industrious, the desire to improve or invent radically new machines or devices. This leads on and on through all the various stages of industrial activities to that of group oversight, the relations of machines to their surroundings, foremanship, and general management; while the whole body of workers is led by many avenues of approach to general social, industrial, economic, and political relations and activities. Even more, the occasional individual desire is expanded beyond the limits of its original occupation to that of entering an entirely new field. This principle, perhaps more easily recognized in mechanical lines than elsewhere, is applicable to all lines of industrial occupations.

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIV, 643.

This continual enlarging of the industrial vision, continued year after year and generation after generation, must inevitably lead to an industrial type with its tendencies. Continued long enough it must assert itself in taking over more or less of those related activities that are within its reach. In this advance it has all the essentials of success in the increased intelligence and ambitions of its mass, supported to a greater or less extent by individuals who have entered other lines, yet retain a sympathy for and working interest in their former associates.

To circumscribe this development indefinitely is as impossible as to circumscribe racial advance, because it is not the result of an individual effort or of a predetermined effort on the part of anyone, but rather it is a tide of progress for which the workers are no more responsible than those who, by demanding a constantly higher standard in industrial tasks, have forced an advance in industrial intelligence.

It is, therefore, not a problem growing out of labor's efforts for which labor is to be held responsible, but a racial condition for which all are responsible—the capitalist, the consumer, and the worker, the latter least of all because in this advance the worker has proceeded under compulsion from others. This places the duty of satisfying this larger intelligence upon those best able to grant it: the employer and consumer. The facts recited give to the call of the industrial masses for larger opportunities to exercise their intelligence, all the force of justice aside from any demands which industrial workers may make. They also constitute a demand for change of our entire social philosophy from that of aiding the industrial masses to that of affording them their rights by the restraint of others.

That some larger recognition of the worker's intelligence is desirable is evidently the belief of many, as shown by some recognition in various examples of profit sharing, welfare work, and by other more or less effective means, including recent cases of actual participation in the management granted to laborers by the controlling factor. That few, if any, of these attempts at profit sharing, welfare work; etc., have proved satisfactory may indicate to us that some fundamental factor has been disregarded. Should

it prove true that the rising intelligence of the workers is the cause of this discontent, then we may readily understand that all attempts along such lines must fail, not because no profits are shared, neither because conditions are not improved nor the workers greatly benefited; but because the working people realize no enlarged opportunity or just recognition of their increased mental abilities.

No doubt it will be suggested that those who have up to the present exercised no primal authority in industrial enterprises are incapable of maintaining the present high standard of industrial efficiency. Perhaps this is the case. If so, it affords the most emphatic reason for a careful consideration of the problem, to the end that justice may be established by evolution rather than by revolution. That we are facing one of these alternatives seems evident from present conditions. Which will be chosen depends very largely upon the consideration which is given to the problem by our present industrial masters.

Whether an enlarged participation of labor in the control of industry will increase or decrease industrial efficiency is not the primal question. If labor has reached an intellectual standard that feels a desire for larger opportunities, that alone is evidence of the justice of the demand. The problem cannot be that of deciding whether the demand is to be granted or not, but how it may be accomplished with justice to all.

Whether by neglect or by an unprecedented combination of circumstances for which we are not at fault, we are face to face with the problem and must find a proper and peaceful solution, or accept the inevitable alternative of disorder and direct action. That we have greatly minimized the advance in industrial intelligence with the consequent suppression of activities seems unquestionable. To look for the source of present world-disorder in this improper ranking of the world's workers seems to offer some hope of a just and peaceful and immediate solution.

The natural development is for each individual to be given such opportunities as he is capable of using rightly, as rapidly as he advances in intelligence. Suppression means first discontent, then organization to relieve the suppression, and then, by a mass

action, the breaking down of established lines with little or no regard for individual interests or individual capabilities. This method is always fraught with injustice to both sides, whether resulting in concessions or in revolution. The remedy for all sorts of abnormal organizations that have arisen to develop mass action is a granting of justice through enlarged intellectual opportunity. There then follows a rational and co-operative progress that is always within reasonable limits and without need of formal control. In fact, human nature is so constituted that it will always accept less than justice if offered promptly, although it often takes far more than justice when suppression finally results in organization and force.

The immediate question resulting from this first general opportunity for release, as a result of a world-conflict, is how to formulate logical and workable methods of permitting or aiding this industrial intelligence to function freely, yet within its proper, though expanding, limits. The first primal factor in this adjustment is a full and frank recognition and admission that such intelligence does exist and does have inalienable rights that are superior to tradition and invested interests to which our legal enactments and social ideals must be made to conform.

With this basic principle well understood and conceded, there ought not to be such a delay in adjusting conditions and modifying our national and state laws as to afford even a remote excuse for industrial disorder of any kind. To realize fully the extent of industrial intelligence as a whole and the capabilities of the more advanced types of industrial workers in particular is to have unlimited faith in the patience and forbearance of these people, so long as there is held out to them a reasonable hope of intellectual freedom by the course of peaceable, social, and legal progress. To attempt to forestall this demand by schemes of profit sharing, however liberal, or to attempt to bribe it into submission by wage increases, however frequent, must only aggravate the situation, with the problem of solution becoming more and more difficult.

Neither is it a nominal intellectual freedom that is to be given but a complete and practical freedom, made so by all necessary encouragement to rightful use, with complete protection from

encroachments by the stronger members of society. In all sorts of industrial undertakings that result from a recognition of this intelligence, the weak must have ample protection to initiate enterprises and carry them on, under absolute protection from the stronger members of society or from the larger enterprises. This in no sense means paternalism or favoritism of any class. It simply extends to the intellectual sphere of activity the same principles that are now universally considered as right, and as the duty of society in the physical sphere. It is no less important that the strong shall have full protection in their rightful activities against petty annoyances and any combination against them. Simple plain justice, that is so simple as to be recognized by all right-thinking members of society, is all that is needed and less will not satisfy.

The driving of sharp bargains with the intellectually weak must be treated the same as the driving of sharp daggers by the physically strong. We already have many laws approaching a recognition of this principle; we must extend them to a full protection against superior business strength and the wrongful use of any business or industrial enterprise. With a full recognition of the principle, the protection would be greatly simplified over present attempts at regulation.

Fundamental in the securing of this larger opportunity for the industrial workers is a full recognition of the unchanging law of progress, that all rightful activities and all members of society are benefited by orderly progress. No just requirement in the advance of any class can injure another in its rightful activities. The vision of the larger life which capital may experience when relieved of present stress and uncertainty by free and contented labor cannot be doubted. That the free exercise of this enlarged intelligence, brought about by orderly evolution, will supplement rather than supplant present industrial management, to the improving of all desirable industrial enterprises, is also a reasonable expectation. That capital is the loser quite as much as labor, by suppressing or by refusing to co-operate in giving larger opportunities for the exercise of industrial intelligence, has already been demonstrated in individual cases.

The world has long realized that a slave in bondage and ignorance cannot render the most helpful service. We were many centuries in reaching the broad-minded view that the master was a loser as well as the slave. Today we have the same problem, although on a higher level, and it demands an even broader and more humanistic view. This brings us to the usual task of all reforms—that of convincing one element that to yield to a proper readjustment will, in the end, be beneficial to all. This in turn places before the philanthropist and sociologist the problem of securing justice rather than that of evolving schemes of philanthropy or paternalism.

That this effort at intellectual freedom is the real basic cause of the present world-crisis, rather than that of a desire for physical concessions or political control, seems evident. That much of the discussion is in terms of physical possession or political action seems only incidental to the nature of the situation. It follows from the necessity, under present conditions, of physical support and political opportunity as a means to intellectual activity.

This being the case, although this demand is often in terms of wages, wages spent in living or placed in the bank, or even invested in the industry when no opportunity for active participation results, afford no permanent satisfaction to the desire for intellectual freedom. It therefore results that demands for wage increases pile up with apparently no place for stopping, and with most unreasonable wage standards being demanded in certain cases. No doubt but that in many cases the workman does not realize just what impulse is behind his demand. He feels an unsatisfied craving that takes possession of him, and not knowing what else to do he goes through the formal and habitual process of applying for an increase in wages or of demanding some change in time or working conditions. With the proper opportunity for intellectual activity denied, he wastes his wages in fruitless efforts for intellectual satisfaction, only to find disappointment and an ever-increasing feeling that he is not receiving his share of industrial benefits, yet not realizing just what that lack is. Thus this constant demand for wage increases may easily continue, to the

destruction of industry and the injury of the workers as well as of capital, for satisfaction can never come by this means.

It would seem that the solution of this problem lies only in a change from present attempts to satisfy industrial workers by wage increases to that of recognition of increased industrial intelligence and the necessity for granting proper opportunities for the exercise of this intelligence. That this recognition has been given in certain instances and with marked promise of success is indicative of the correctness of this thesis.

Reduced to its final analysis, the problem in the present world-crisis is not the giving to the industrial masses a larger share of product, nor of turning over to them either political or industrial control, but of recognizing the advance in intelligence by co-operation in affording opportunities for the exercise of that intelligence in all lines of human endeavor in which it may properly function, while restricting it within its rightful limits that no injustice may be done to other members of society.

With labor holding its rightful place, and fully protected in all rightful activities, paternalistic enterprises and combative organizations of all forms must cease, and with them all industrial disorder, because there would then be no one who would care to give up his larger freedom in order to become a subject of such limitations as these organizations necessarily impose. In a free industrial society each would get his full share of wages and opportunities and know that he has a square deal; in any other system he must receive less.

THE ETHICAL BASES OF DEMOCRACY

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"Making the world safe for democracy," we are discovering, means more than merely winning the war on the battlefields of Europe. If we are content to suffer events at this juncture of the world's history, rather than (following the advice of Marshal Foch) create them, our victory will be of little value; for the old impulses—greed, hate, rivalry, self-assertion, pugnacity—will continue their domination in the affairs of men and nations. The world will be safe for democracy only when love and sympathy, properly guided by intelligence, are the controlling motives of society; and for this reason the ethical bases of democracy cannot be overemphasized. They are the living principles which in recurring ages give life to the institution, though its outer form be crushed to earth. Like the ancient phoenix, democracy may burn itself on the altar; but as long as its spirit lives, it, like the sacred bird, will rise from its ashes.

Democracy is in its essence a movement rather than an accomplished fact. We speak of the Athenian democracy not so much because a real democracy was actually achieved, as for the reason that in certain of its aspects the government was a movement in which the spirit of democracy was present. Actually, notwithstanding the political freedom of the twenty-five thousand Athenian citizens, three hundred thousand slaves lived in Attica, women were not enfranchised, and the relation of the central governments to the dependencies was imperialistic. In the instance of modern democratic governments also, the best claim they have to be called democratic is in the direction they are taking and in the spirit which pervades them. In one of her aspects England is a democracy; in another—specifically in certain of her colonial relations—she is the vitalizing center of an empire. The United States of America is in a real sense a leader among democracies, having made

the cause of democracy her chief international interest; but withal wealth has been the dominant factor in America's industrial and social life, and in a real sense also in her religion and politics. Some of the more naïve political philosophers of the past may have believed in the dictum, "Vox populi, vox Dei"; the typical modern plutocrat views the people as something to be exploited, and in this he is unsocial and undemocratic.

Our forefathers, when they laid the foundations of our country, thought of democracy as something essentially negative—the absence of political oppression and of taxation without representation. Dissatisfied with their home government across the sea, they insisted upon the right of self-government. They held the truths to be self-evident "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness"; but at the same time (1776) one-sixth of the population were chattel slaves. South Carolina disfranchised all but free white men believing in God, Heaven, and Hell, with a freehold of fifty acres or a town lot, or who had paid a considerable tax. "In Delaware the candidate for office was obliged to 'profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, one God blessed evermore,' and to 'acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by divine inspiration.'"¹ In New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, the right to vote was based on the ownership of property or upon the payment of equivalent taxes. He who aspired to become governor of South Carolina had to be worth £10,000, for only well-to-do Christian men could enter the gubernatorial contests.

The America of 1776 was a democracy in the sense of freedom from the oppression of the mother-country: the colonies were no longer subject to the king, and were self-governing. But mere external freedom is vastly different from effective freedom, especially when formal freedom pertains to only a portion of the population, those measuring up to the religious and property qualifications imposed.

¹ Walter E. Weyl, *The New Democracy* (Macmillan, 1912), p. 9.

Nor was the United States of 1787 democratic in any but the most general sense. The constitution was framed by men who differed widely in their attitude toward the common people, some of them harboring violent distrust. Alexander Hamilton, who was a leading spirit, "desired a life-elected president with an absolute veto on all legislation, appointing governors with absolute vetoes over all the states."¹ The constitution as finally adopted inaugurated a republican form of government, securing the election of government officials by the enfranchised persons in the different states. The ten amendments, guaranteeing certain civil and political rights, were added to gain the good-will of the common people.

Our country was passing through a serious crisis during the decade or more subsequent to the close of the war of independence. The immediate problem before the founders of the new republic had a twofold aspect: to form a stable union and to devise means of restoring the credit of the country. That these might be secured, it was above all necessary to enlist the interest and loyalty of the wealthier citizens; and for this reason provision was made for a national bank, a protective tariff was levied, and payment of state debts was assumed. Thus at the very beginning the American government was democratic only as representing a democratic tendency.

Since that time much progress has been made in the direction of further democratization. The emancipation amendment prohibited slavery; the fourteenth made provision for the equal protection of all citizens of the United States; the fifteenth enfranchised the negro; the seventeenth placed the election of the senators into the hands of the people. The Supreme Court, originally instituted to serve as a check to the people and the several states, has in these latter days become more interested in promoting human welfare than in the preservation of the *status quo* of legal and political organization. The development of American democracy has steadily taken the direction of government by the people, until today it may be said that the chief checks to effective freedom and complete democratization are economic. Except for the restrictions placed upon women citizens and upon the negro in certain

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

portions of the South, all normal and law-abiding citizens of the United States may participate in the government upon reaching majority.

There is no adequate reason for discouragement: the past should serve rather to encourage the social reformer and stimulate him to greater endeavor in the future. On the other hand, this is no time for blind optimism. Formal political freedom, unless supplemented by effective industrial and educational freedom, is but a "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." It is here that the David of moral reform takes his sling in hand, gathers smooth stones from the brook, and goes forth to meet the Goliath of corruption and involuntary economic servitude.

There are those who believe that, notwithstanding the degree of political democracy which has been acquired, society is rapidly moving forward into a servile state, or a condition of slavery in which the common people will be legally compelled to work for the capitalist, receiving in exchange a security of livelihood. Hilaire Belloc believes that England, Germany, and the United States are traveling in this direction, citing minimum wage laws, employers' liability, and other forms of so-called social legislation as positive evidence for his theory. Nor is it entirely improbable that his diagnosis may prove correct; for there is no inherent incompatibility between a republican form of government and this state. It would be an advance upon social legislation of the paternalistic type as found in modern autocracies; for in Belloc's servile state the proletariat may itself be party to the contract in so far as it actively agrees to work for capital, receiving as compensation social and economic security. Here is doubtless a source of danger for the democratic movement, a *cul-de-sac* which may stay its progress, though we hope not.

The center of social gravity must be human welfare, not property: this is the most fundamental ethical principle of a democracy.¹ To achieve this it is essential to inculcate a point of view, to develop an attitude, to build up an *esprit de corps*. While primitive groups are held together by the bond of kinship, and autocracies are maintained through authority and blind obedience, democracies

¹ See R. W. Sellars, *The Next Step in Democracy* (Macmillan, 1916), p. 15.

are welded through the principle of citizenship. The early history of the United States affords an example of citizenship emanating very often from instinctive tendencies which were dominantly individualistic in implication. One need only read the constitution up to the twelfth amendment to realize this. Beginning with the emancipation amendment (1865), the motive is definitely social; benevolence as a principle of democratic government becomes outstanding. Prior to the Civil War, the rank and file of American citizens were largely interested in promoting their own individual well-being. Apart from the preservation of the Union, slavery was certainly the greatest issue of the war; and the freeing of the slaves was essentially a benevolent enterprise.

At no point in the realm of government has progress been more fundamental than in this shift of motive. Its significance is enhanced by the fact that it involves a *volte face* in political theory and practice. Democracy has reached the point where "promoting the general welfare" means no longer the greatest good of a number of citizens, but the greatest good for all the citizens. Surely from this exalted position to active participation in the program, "On earth peace, good-will toward men," is no unreasonable or unnatural step.

The underlying structure of objectified real democracy is a properly educated citizenry. By this is meant nothing less than that the people as a whole and individually must apprehend in a general but vital way the nature and function of a democracy. "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" cannot endure unless this is true. When ignorance attempts to set up a democratic form of government, civil war and chaos ensue. The mere intention to promote liberty, commendable as this is, is not enough. To make it really adequate, the purpose must be motivated by a genuine love of fellow-men, the spirit of brotherhood, and in addition it must be in a position to avail itself of the technique which will make it operative. While an autocracy is apt to be self-centered in internal organization and in its international relations, it is inconceivable that an enduring democracy should be anything but socio-centric in its internal and external relations.

Efficient churches and good schools are indispensable where the greatest good of all is the chief consideration. Religious leaders are needed who will see to it that the church does not exist merely to preserve intact the religious traditions and forms of the past; who on the positive side are faithful transmitters of the social spirit, and add thereto diligence in making benevolence effective in every aspect of human endeavor. And the schools will rise to the occasion only when they develop a type of personality which in thought and action is thoroughly social. Efficiency in the sense of shrewdness in exploiting the welfare of others in business, of making a success of life at the expense of future generations, may fit well into an autocracy; but in a democracy it has no place. The ideal citizen is characterized by stability of purpose, openness of mind, acuity of judgment, faith in human nature, humility of attitude rather than a sense of impeccability, loyalty in his devotion to righteousness, untiring zeal in furthering human welfare. These are the qualities that the schools in a democracy should cultivate on the motive side of life. The content of education will be adjusted to the mental and physical aptitudes of the child and the youth, after science has done its best in discovering them. Thus the individual, while always a means to a high and noble end, is never a means only; for the value of his personality is recognized and his place in society is adjusted to this end. While he is a servant of all in some particular capacity, his fellow-citizens are equally much his servants.

The term democracy may be viewed as having a double connotation. In its first aspect it is self-government, this the founders of the United States had in mind primarily; in its second aspect it refers to equality, the latter the colonists took less seriously. These two aspects of the term are very intimately related: equality depends upon self-government, and in practice self-government depends upon equality. Written under the influence of the prevailing political philosophy of the day, the Declaration of Independence states that "all men are created equal." From this it quite naturally follows that all men are entitled to self-government. Since those days human nature has been subjected to much closer scientific study, and it is now quite patent that the equality upon which

self-government is based and which government recognizes is not of the eighteenth-century type. Democracy does not mean an equalization of men, but of opportunity. It implies that the same avenues of development and of activity are open to all men. The only thing that limits them is their natural capacity and the common welfare.

Here we come upon a great problem of democracy—special privilege—since in democracy it almost invariably tends to “invisible government,” and thus is apt to terminate in a financial oligarchy “camouflaged as a democracy.” This sort of thing can usually be traced to the door of “Big Business.”

Though some of our large fortunes may be accounted for through financial brigandage, most of them were made in open daylight under the tutelage of our laws, institutions, and philosophies; and the men who took advantage of what appeared to be their rights and privileges are scarcely to be condemned. In general, it may be said that the chief source of our stupendous trusts and monopolies has been some great special privilege or monopoly advantage. The ethical implication of these privileges was not apprehended by the eager business men who made use of them. As time elapsed, the fortunes grew larger and larger, partly through progressive accumulations of the unearned increment, and partly through the development of corporation technique, until now we have a well-organized system of plutocratic economy. “A large and increasing portion of the income of society flows into great reservoirs (usually natural and legal monopolies) which are pre-empted and controlled by private corporations.”¹ Nowadays we hear of billion-dollar corporations. The larger these get, the more rapidly they develop. As far as human wisdom can forecast, there is no practical limit to the amount of wealth a corporation may manage. It is quite conceivable that a few well-regulated corporations might in time control nearly all the wealth of a country like the United States or Great Britain, and thereby a few men become masters over the multitude. Thus we come again upon the possibility of the development of the servile state.

¹ Weyl, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

"Big Business," by virtue of the many property interests involved, as well as because of the relation it sustains to its employees and to the public in general, is interested in the political affairs of the state. To this should be added the influence of the instincts of acquisition and self-assertion. The conditions are peculiarly favorable under these circumstances for the operation of these instinctive tendencies; and as their implications from the standpoint of morality are quite apt to be unsocial, the outcome often is that undue influence is brought to bear upon the government, whereby the common welfare is seriously menaced. In order to promote business interests it becomes necessary to pass and enforce certain laws; but this can only be accomplished by influencing the men who have immediate relations to legislatures and courts.¹ If all men were readily capable of being attracted by the allurements of advanced social and economic position, the task would be relatively simple; but since such is not the case, the interests of business demand that "invisible government" work, not only in state and national legislatures, but at the source of political power among the people and the petty officials in city, town, and country. In this way graft, corruption, chicanery, intrigue, and a thousand forms of social injustice take their origin in special privilege.

Some have asserted that the abolition of special privilege would soon restore things to a social condition. This obviously does not take into consideration that the privileges of the past have given certain individuals a permanent advantage over the citizenry as a whole. To resort to confiscation of property and start, as it were, at the beginning, would doubtless result in civil war; and even if it were possible to effect an equal distribution of property among the citizens of a democracy, it would not take long under any system of private property before inequalities in native ability would make it possible for a few to outstrip all the others in the race for the acquisition of additional property. Thereby inequality and special privilege would again appear on the scene.

The escape from the dilemma is to be found in another direction. The present cannot be successfully dissociated from the past. The

¹ The recent testimony of a prominent packer to this effect is a case in point. See *New York Times*, January 26, 1919, p. 8.

light of knowledge on the part of the people will do much to counteract the pernicious effects of special privileges of the past, for it will tend to socialize them in their present-day working. After all, the real objection to privilege is its unsocial effect; socialized privilege is advantageous to all. Is not this socialization of privilege just the direction in which the democratic movements leads us? Paradoxical as it may appear, socialized privilege and equality of opportunity have the same meaning when properly interpreted.

In its practical bearing, the next step in democracy is the creation and application of a new system of privileges (social in implication) intended for the wage-earning rather than a property-owning class, a system whereby the wage-earners of the nation will secure the protection they so much need in the struggle for higher standards of living.¹ Capital will no doubt continue by virtue of its very nature to be accompanied by certain privileges; but, on the other hand, powerful trusts will be put more and more into a position where they deal, not with helpless individuals who can be brought to time by the use of the mailed fist, but with great and much more independent unions in many fields. It is not improbable that the recent prediction of Mr. Charles M. Schwab may come true, that "the time is coming when the men of the working classes, the men without property, will control the destinies of this world of ours." To some the new system of privilege, together with the modifications it will entail in the present system, will appear no solution, perhaps rather as fuel for the smoldering fires of class struggle; but it should be remembered that democracy is a movement charged with the spirit of enhancing human welfare, and that if the people are not ready inwardly no outer constraint can force it upon them. He who has no faith in human nature and its potentiality should not take up the cause of democracy.

Since there is not infrequently sharp antagonism between the property-acquiring interest and public welfare, government stands at a fork in the road, either private property must be abolished, or the mass of the people must be put into a position where they can successfully protect themselves against the baneful operations of unscrupulous financiers. But of these two ways, the former is

¹ Herbert Croly, *Progressive Democracy* (Macmillan, 1914), p. 119.

utopian. If in the course of time the path of democracy should lead in this direction, it will be because the people are ready for it.

There is one further phase of modern life, the impact of which upon democracy has been so forceful that it will in the near future be one of the great issues which modern democracies will be obliged to settle, the United States of America not excepted. It may be put into the form of a question: Is militarism advantageous to democracy? The question, interpreted, is not, Shall a democracy defend itself when attacked, or when its rights have been infringed upon by foreign powers, and these threaten the very existence of democracy? Rather, the question is, Shall a democracy launch out upon a military program similar to that of Prussia; shall it inaugurate a system of universal military training; shall it progressively increase its military equipment until it is in a state of military preparedness at all times?

Though this problem does not at first glance appear to be one of privilege, it really is; and unless it can be proved that militarism is genuinely conducive to the enhancement of human life it has no place in a democracy. That militarism is essentially a matter of unsocial privilege is shown by its intimate relation to property and by its ardent espousal on the part of emperors, crown princes, and the nobility. Autocracies view an efficient army and a powerful navy less as measures of defense against a foreign foe than as instruments of expansion. The craving for expansion does not exist among the people; dynasties wage war for the purpose of acquiring new territory and gaining more power; they view every war as a step to another war.¹ Plans for disarmament that have originated in autocracies have proved themselves mere "phrase-making and deception"; for autocracies owe their place in the sun to militarism, and because they know this they promote war with every effective device they can contrive.

The working people are inclined to view militarism as the pillar of all reactionary forces opposed to the laboring class in its struggle for liberation. "Here it shows itself purely as a weapon in the class struggle, a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes serving . . . the purpose of obstructing the development of class-consciousness

¹ See Hermann Fernau, *The Coming Democracy* (New York, 1917), chap. viii.

and of securing, besides, at all costs to a minority the dominating position in the state and the liberty of exploiting their fellow-men, even against the enlightened will of the majority of the people."¹

This point of view may be considered extreme, but considerable evidence can be marshaled in its support. As the wage-earners constitute a large proportion of the population of a democracy, any institution that limits them in the achievement of that which rightfully belongs to them as human beings violates the fundamental principles of democracy. Since militarism does this, it *ipso facto* stands indicted as unworthy of serious consideration as an internal policy of a democracy.

Moreover, the expense and sacrifice involved in being a military nation is so enormous that a democracy, whose supreme interest is in human welfare rather than in expansion and prestige, cannot afford to adopt such a program. During the decade preceding the recent war, both France and Germany had from 600,000 to 900,000 of the strongest and most productive men permanently in the army and navy. If we assume that the productive value of each man was one dollar a day—a low estimate—it figures up to a lost productive value of from \$600,000 to \$900,000 daily, or from \$180,000,000 to \$270,000,000 per annum for each nation, in addition to the actual monetary outlay for keeping up the institution.² What marvelous social effects—effects that would have made the people worthier and happier and the entire world better—might have been produced if the money thus expended had been invested in socializing agencies!

One of the great economists of England some forty years ago, it is reported, contrasted the percentage of young men in the armies of Europe as compared with those in schools with the relative proportion of young men in the army and the schools in the United States. The difference was so striking that he made the forecast that the large percentage of men in the military service in Europe as contrasted with those in schools would give the United States

¹ Karl Liebknecht, *Militarism* (New York, 1917), p. 38.

² The militarism of Germany cost the world \$134,000,000,000 during the four years of war. There were 8,509,000 men killed and 7,175,000 permanently wounded.

the economic leadership of the world within half a century.¹ Today America has the social and economic leadership of the world, and she has accomplished it by devoting her energies chiefly to the arts of peace. When, however, she was needed in the Great War, she demonstrated the fact that a democracy can within a few short months build up an efficient national army for purposes of defense.

At the present time, indications are not lacking that an attempt will be made to introduce militarism into American life. Recently an army officer predicted this outcome, using the argument, "Every war ends in peace, and every peace ends in war." If this statement is meant to imply a causal connection between peace and war, as the superficial observer might infer, it is about as accurate as concluding that day is the cause of night, and night the cause of day, because the one follows the other. If it is intended to convey the idea of an invariable sequence, it stands open to direct challenge; for prior to the recent attempt there has never been a serious concerted effort made by powerful nations to establish an ultimate peace. The reason is obvious: autocracies do not purpose to negotiate permanent peace, nor can they if they would. "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they are property."² "The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing government on the one hand and a group of free people on the other?"³

The specious argument that even a democracy must commit itself to militarism does not take the fact into consideration that man has the ability to create events, and that the spectacular collapse of the German Empire has put it within our reach to establish a peace founded on justice (tempered with mercy) and righteousness, projected upon a background of fraternity and motivated by

¹ See James W. Bashford, *China: An Interpretation* (New York, 1916), p. 401.

² President Wilson's Address to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

³ President Wilson's Reply to Pope Benedict's Letter to the Belligerent Governments, August 27, 1917.

benevolence. Militarism is for autocracies "a part of God's world-order"; for democracies it is the arch-enemy of domestic tranquillity and world-peace.

And men will wonder over it—
This red upflaming of the Pit;
And they will gather as friends and say,
"Come, let us try the Master's way.
Ages we tried the way of swords,
And earth is weary of hostile hordes.
Comrades, read out his words again:
They are the only hope for men!
Love and not hate must come to birth:
Christ and not Cain must rule the earth!"¹

¹ Markham, *Peace Over Earth Again*.

GARBAGE

NEWS AND NOTES

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held in Chicago, December 29 to 31, 1919, in conjunction with the meetings of the American Economic Association, American Statistical Association, and other organizations.

The general subject for discussion at the annual meeting will be "The Problem of Democracy." Monday night, December 29, a joint session will be held with the American Economic Association. The program will include the addresses of the presidents.

The remainder of the time of the meeting will be devoted to addresses, papers, and discussions of democracy in its various angles of contact, with present problems of social and political and industrial life as related to the democratic life of the people. The purpose of the program will be an attempt to establish a program for the realization of a working democracy in the world, particularly in the United States.

The papers and discussions will be included under the following subdivisions of the subject: "Democracy as a Working Program in the Political Life of the People"; "Democracy and Industrial Relations"; "Realization of a Social Democracy"; "Modern Education as a Preparation for Democracy"; "Modern Philanthropic Movements in Their Relation to Democracy"; "Will Democracy Thrive in Reconstructed Europe?"; "Democracy in International Life"; "The League of Nations as a Democratic Opportunity."

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The Social Science Association of Southern California at its last meeting appointed a committee to work for the establishment of a social science journal. The aim of the committee is "to reach individuals and organizations through the country, in an endeavor to encourage some interested group to undertake the project."

In order to stimulate interest in this effort the committee has formulated a tentative statement of aims for a social science journal. Among these are the following: (1) to study the whole field of social education in the elementary and secondary schools; (2) to determine the aims and

formulate the principles for the teaching of all the social studies; (3) to present suitable materials and sources for material; (4) to encourage working out of both minimum and comprehensive courses of study connected with the social development of the child; (5) to improve the aims, content, and methods in the training of teachers for the social field; (6) to make schools through the country centers of fearless, independent, wide-ranging discussions of social, economic, and political problems.

Communications of persons interested in this movement may be sent to the secretary of the committee, R. L. Ashley, head of the department of social science, high school, Pasadena, California.

THE BRITISH BOARD OF EDUCATION

The British Board of Education recommends, among other things, the teaching in continuation schools of such elements of sociology as may prove suitable for the education of wage-earners and future citizens.

ADRIAN COLLEGE

Mr. Joseph N. Sletten, M.A., University of Chicago, December, 1916, recently returned from overseas service in Italy, has accepted a position in the department of sociology and economics for the coming year.

BETHEL COLLEGE

Mr. C. C. Janzen, who has returned from reconstruction work in France, has been appointed professor of social science. In 1917 Mr. Janzen was instructor in the sociology division of the extension department of the University of Colorado.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon Dr. Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge, assistant professor of social economy, at the recent convocation of Oberlin College.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Professor G. S. Dow, of the University of New Mexico, offered courses in social pathology and remedial and correctional institutions during the second term of the summer session. In connection with this course a trip was made to the Kansas State Prison at Lansing and the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, the party taking dinner in the penitentiary at Lansing, eating the regulation prison dinner for that day.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Dr. E. H. Sutherland, professor of sociology in William Jewell College, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology in the university. Dr. Sutherland offered courses in sociology in the summer school.

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

At commencement, the degree of Ph.D. was conferred upon George Ware Stephens, professor of economics and sociology, who has resigned to accept a similar position in Washington University, St. Louis.

Dr. John H. Ashworth, of Ohio Wesleyan University, has accepted the appointment of professor of economics and sociology.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

Mr. H. H. Beneke has resigned from the faculty of North Carolina College to accept the position of associate professor of economics and sociology.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Associate Professor Bernard delivered a course of lectures on rural welfare problems in the course in public health nursing conducted by the Minnesota Public Health Association at St. Paul in June and July.

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

Dr. Lorenzo D. Weyand of the University of Chicago has been appointed professor of sociology to succeed Dr. Edwin H. Sutherland who resigned to accept an appointment in the department of sociology in the University of Illinois.

REVIEWS

The Mulatto in the United States. By EDWARD BYRON REUTER.
Boston: Badger, 1918. Pp. 417. \$2.50.

The case of the everlasting negro again intrudes itself on public attention in the form of a scientific treatise upon the mulatto in the United States. The author has brought together much interesting and valuable material bearing upon mixed-blood races in all parts of the world.

At the outset the author informs us that his treatise deals "with the sociological consequences of race intermixture, not with the biological problem of the intermixture itself." The mulatto in the United States has no sociological status; the Eurasian, the half-caste product between the European and the Hindu, constitutes a *tertium quid*, an outcast by both parent types. But the mulatto in the United States is socially stratified with the mother-race. His case constitutes one of ethnological interest rather than of sociological significance. The three most conspicuous Englishmen produced by the world-war are Lord Kitchener, an Irishman, General Haig, a Scotchman, and Lloyd George, a Welshman. No comparable names have arisen of purely English blood, but the basal English idea predominates, and the racial identity of these illustrious names has not the slightest sociological importance. Moses, the renowned leader of the Israelites, might have been Egyptian, but it was his mighty works rather than incident of blood that counts through all the years. In the United States all negroid elements of whatever blood composition are forced into one social class by outside compulsion. The quantum of different bloods coursing through the veins of distinguished individuals in this class is, practically speaking, a sociological negligibility. The author is, therefore, discussing a theory which he eagerly advocates rather than a condition that actually exists.

The scientific pretension of this treatise is vitiated by the vagueness of fundamental definition. The word mulatto is used as "a general term to include all negroes of mixed ancestry regardless of the degree of intermixture." This definition is not only unscientific but practically meaningless. A careful observation of negro schools, churches, and miscellaneous gatherings in all parts of the country convinces the reviewer

that three-fourths of the negro race have some traceable measure of white blood in their veins. It is, therefore, not the least surprising that practically all eminent negroes in the different walks of life are classified as mulattoes. One is reminded of a famous historian who proved conclusively that the Caucasian race alone had made valuable contributions to civilization by claiming that all people who had made such contributions were Caucasians. At the expense of great labor and pains, the author has analyzed numerous lists of eminent negroes and by some unexplained process has separated the mulattoes from the blacks. Frederick Douglass tells us that genealogical trees did not flourish among slaves. It is indeed a wise negro who knows his own ancestry. Any negro can claim some degree of mixed blood without successful refutation. There is no scientific test of blood composition. The utter worthlessness of his classification is disclosed by a casual selection of four consecutive names arranged in alphabetical order on page 206. Monroe N. Work, R. R. Wright, Sr., R. R. Wright, Jr., and Charles Young are classified as mulattoes. Both in color and negroid characteristics these names would rank below the average of the entire negro race. To rank Nannie Burroughs and Mrs. C. J. Walker as mulattoes certainly evokes a smile. When William Pickens and Colonel Charles Young are so described, the smile breaks into uncontrollable laughter.

The treatise is evidently based upon preconceived theory and purpose. The undiluted negro element is supposed to accept with satisfaction the status of inferiority, and the mulatto, who is lower than white and higher than black, would or should dominate the lower section of the biracial division, but must not so much as lift up his eyes to the higher world of white opportunity and dominion. The author is unable to control his temper in denouncing the attitude of the northern mulatto because he insists upon a platform of equality.

The provincial spirit of the author is everywhere portrayed. His range of vision is limited to southern bias and tradition. He fails to grasp the universal human impulse. Julius Caesar tells us that all men hate slavery and love liberty. The negro is no more satisfied with servility than the poor is with poverty, the ignorant with his ignorance, or the sick with his disease. Seeming hopelessness of relief causes the unfortunate to sink into slothful yielding to an unfortunate lot apparently unescapable.

The normal human passion yearns for freedom and equality. The negro forms no exception. The most picturesque and spectacular

efforts put forth by the enslaved African in the Western world were under the marshalship of Touissant L'Overture, Denmark Versey, and Nat Turner, leaders of undiluted negro blood.

The author really proposes a triracial rather than a biracial division. The utter impracticability of this scheme would be found in the impossibility of identifying the so-called mulatto class. The mixed race always represents physical instability. I have known twin brothers who were so diverse in racial characteristics that the one easily crossed the color line and withheld all recognition from his brown brother who could not follow whither he went.

The dual caste system is undemocratic and un-Christian enough; to add a third would be inexcusable compounding of iniquity.

The first fruit of contact of two races of ethnic or cultural diversity is a composite progeny. There exists no biological dead line. Social custom and priestly sanction have never been able to control the cosmic urge to multiply and replenish the earth. The sons of God in their supercilious security never fail to look lustfully upon the daughters of men, while shielding their own females from the embrassure of the lower order of males. The composite progeny is generally the offspring of the male of the stronger race and the female of the weaker race. There is no discovered race repugnance or antipathy when it comes to the fundamental principles of reproduction. Political pronouncements, religious inhibition, social proscription, operate only upon the controlled sex. The first laws regulating slave relations were made to prevent intermarriages of negro males and white females. In the long run it makes no difference whether the races are mixed through the relation of the higher male and the lower female or by the reverse process. The social stigma against the bastard progeny dies out with the third and fourth generation. Intermingling of Norman and Saxon took place largely through bastardization, which has not the slightest influence or effect upon the pride of the Anglo-Saxon today.

The Germanic races advocate a brotherhood of blood rather than of culture. Other sections of the white race show less racial intolerance. In the one case the offspring is made to follow the status of the mother and in the other that of the father. The effect of the one is to mix the lower race by keeping the upper race pure, while that of the other is the reverse.

We see the contrasted effect of these wide-apart policies in Richmond, Virginia, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The mulatto in the United States received every initiatory advantage over his black half-brother.

He had the sympathy of his father-master. In many instances he was educated and sent to the free states where he would have a man's chance. Hon. John M. Langston recounts in his autobiography the paternal regards of his white father who personally superintended his education and left in his will a large sum of money for his removal to Ohio and a good start in life. As the author more than once states, the free negro before the war was more or less of mulatto element. Small wonder then that they became the first leaders of the negro race of the generation immediately following freedom. The author fails to notice or note the rapid increase of leadership on the part of the unmixed negro under the stimulus of education and opportunity since the war.

Whether succeeding generations of the mulatto element maintain the vigor and aggressive spirit of the first-fruit of race intermixture constitutes an interesting thesis for some keen-minded social student who may have no better use to make of his time.

The case of the mulatto fails to prove the doctrine of the transmission of mental and moral quality. While it is true that the mulatto has more numerously risen to places of distinction, it does not appear in any instance that they have reached a higher level of renown than the pure black. Phyllis Wheatly and Paul Lawrence Dunbar mark the highest literary genius of the African in America.

In organizing ability, W. W. Brown, author of the *The True Reformer*, laid the basis of subsequent negro enterprise. Granville T. Wood leads the race in inventive genius. Robert E. Elliot is conceded to be the ablest negro who had a seat in our federal Congress.

While it is true that no American negro or mulatto has reached the highest pinnacle of renown, this is no discredit or discouragement to their just aims and aspirations. The emergence of genius depends upon social opportunity and not upon inherent capacity. The white race of Mississippi has produced comparatively few illustrious names as compared with Massachusetts, although they justly lay claim to the same underlying racial capacity. Their environment has not been conducive to the emergence of genius or talent of the highest order. Neither negro nor mulatto has had the opportunity for the exhibition of transcending genius. For but half a century he has been playing in the back-yard of civilization. The few men of eminence who have risen under these circumstances are hopeful indications of what may be expected as the area of opportunity and privilege is enlarged.

The cause of the negro regardless of blood equation before the American people is one and inseparable. The cleavage which grew up

under slavery is rapidly dying away under the more enlightened policy of freedom.

The author is again fundamentally mistaken in presuming that the mulatto constitutes a self-continuing class without intermingling with the mother-parent group. If this contention were true, there would be no mixed blood less than one-half white.

On the other hand, the amount of white blood already injected in the negro race is not likely to be greatly increased by further fresh infusion. The rapid growth of the mulatto element as shown by the federal census is due to the wide diffusion of white blood already injected in the negro race.

The laws of a great majority of the states of the Union prohibit intermarriages between the races; this absolutely prevents legitimate mulatto offspring. The growing sense of self-respect and decency on the part of the black has checked almost to the point of stoppage the illegitimate progeny. Even where illicit relations between the races are indulged in, it is not likely to result in issue.

On account of the "sage femme" and the practice of race suicide, such issue arising from the process of the old-order complacent concubinage will not be prolific in the red-light district and city slums. The segregation of the races, making relationship less easy, tends to the same end.

As an illustration of the infrequency of the direct mulatto progeny, the student body of Howard University, about 1,500 in number, is composed largely of the mixed element. There are probably not a half-dozen children of white parents in this entire number. On the other hand, the first pupils in this institution a generation ago were very largely the offspring of such parentage. The ones who are of lightest hue and show closest physical similarity to the white race are known to be the legitimate children of a colored co-parentage. Of the more than two million so-called mulattoes in the colored race, an overwhelming number, especially of the younger generation, are offspring of colored fathers and mothers. It is safe to say that they average about one-fourth of the full-blooded white men who have become absorbed in the colored race. This European blood cannot remain in any one compartment of the race but will tend to diffuse itself throughout the entire mass until it has assumed an approximate oneness in color and physical likeness. The process of diffusion will be facilitated by the well-known tendency of the male to mate with the female of lighter hue. There are comparatively few monochrome marriages within the negro race. The colored male

of all shades is prone to mate upward and the female downward on the chromatic scale. The poet Dunbar speaks of the swarthy maid with her swarthier swain as typical of this tendency.

The hundred thousand quadroons and the sixty-nine thousand octoroons together with numerous thousands of the nine hundred thousand mulattoes returned by the census of 1890 are crossing and are still likely to cross the great social divide and incorporate into the white race, in order to escape the lowest status of the despised fraction of their blood.

In some states a person with only one-eighth negro blood is given the legal status of white. The transition of the quadroon, octoroon, and lighter mulattoes will widen the physical margin between the two races. The male more easily crosses the social dead-line than the female. This gives a darker male a wider area for his well-known propensity to mate with a lighter female and will thus facilitate the rapid diffusion of white blood throughout the race.

Negro schools, especially in cities and towns, show few children of unadulterated negro type and very few of the other extreme which cannot be detected from white. Both extremes, however, are a rapidly diminishing quantity, while the average of the race is approaching a medium yellowish-brown rather than black. Under this tendency, within the next three or four generations, a pure negro will be hard to find outside of the black belts and remote rural regions of the South. Leadership within this group will be determined by those who evince the capacity and enterprise without reference to hue or complexion. The sociological problem of the mulatto is merely the sociological problem of the non-white element of our population.

This treatise bears the date of 1918, but was probably worked out before the world-war had injected a new spirit in the human race. This titanic struggle has given tremendous impulse toward the universal sanction of common standards, aims, and ideals.

The great vice of American slavery was that it strove to identify the color line with the cultural level. This is the crowning evil of the prevailing method of dealing with the race question today. The dominant word of civilization today is that culture, and not color shall constitute the world-standard. Japan has put the world on warning that there must be no race or color line in the relationship of men. The Germanic element of the Peace Congress, who had just united to overthrow a logical embodiment of racial arrogance in the German nation, defeated, for the time being, the acceptance of Japan's proposition. A

distinguished senator bases his objection to the League of Nations upon the ground that the majority of its constituent members are not disposed to obliterate the color line on the world's affairs.

The human race is moving rapidly toward the adoption of universal laws, which, like the laws of science, admit of no ethnic deviation. There never can be peace and good-will on earth or in any part of it where the color line prevails. It is the author's misfortune that the appearance of this treatise might not have been delayed until he had time to reshape it in harmony with the new democratic ideas. As long as men take counsel of color rather than of conscience, there will be turmoil and confusion in the world.

A biological civilization can only be local and temporary. The equilibrium of the world must be based on the universally acknowledged and accepted scientific ethnical, social, and spiritual laws, not subject to variation to meet the pride and arrogance of men. Those who argue otherwise tend to frustrate the fulfilment of the universal longing of the human heart for peace on earth and good-will toward men.

Those who profess Christianity as the world-wide religion and yet justify the operation of a color line disprove and discredit their pretension. If Christianity is to be a biological religion, it cannot be universal. The ideal of Christianity is that all of its devotees, regardless of ethnic deviation, are baptised in one spirit. Spiritual kinship transcends all other relations among men. Unless Christianity can overcome the color line, the universality of its claim will be discredited, and the world must still repeat the query propounded by the rugged teacher of righteousness to his august relative and rival.

"Art thou he that should come or do we look for another?"

KELLY MILLER

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Cultural Reality. By FLORIAN ZNANIECKI, PH.D., Lecturer in Political History and Institutions in the University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1919. \$2.50 net, postage extra.

In these days of impressionism and half-baked generalizations it is a rare treat to come across a book like this, with its splendid mastery of materials and its closely knit argument. Unfortunately we can here give only the briefest summary.

Empirical reality consists of individual interests as actualized in individual experience, but also as transactual in the sense of being the

results of past individual creativeness, whether of this particular individual or other individuals. The relation between knower and known is never the relation of a subject to an object independent of experience and prior to it, but the relation of the present interest to the cumulated results of past experience. Since reality primarily means functioning in active experience, the degree of realness depends upon the relation of an object to actual activity. An object may, however, *exist* without being experienced, since it may be the result of past creativeness, which must now be taken account of as independent of a particular experience, though it must have some reference to it in order to be real. Except present creative individual experience or the results of former activity, there can be no reality. Reality is primarily human, though the author admits some sort of reality in the pre-human stage, i.e., so long as we can predicate experience, impossible though it is for us to understand it. Thus when the mollusc was the highest type of life, reality consisted of the experience of the mollusc and the types of life below it. Since experience is always creative whether it is productive or reproductive, therefore, even allowing for destruction, reality is always growing. The individual stream of experience is a chaos of interests which have no other unity than that they are part of creative activity. The individual objects of interests, however, become extended so as to be objects of other *here's* or individual centers. They also have a relative duration in different *now's* of individual experience. But since reproduction always means creation, we cannot but approximately know the past.

While the historical stream of interests is always more or less chaotic, creative thought is busy producing some kind of organization. This shows itself in the practical realm in the situation, which uses instruments in realizing its trend, the aim being in part realized at the outset in that it is constituted by the dynamic stream of thought, striving for more concrete fulfilment. Again the situation is extended by the scheme which gives the situation greater definiteness in showing its relation to its contexts; and the scheme in turn is extended by the dogma which is a synthesis of schemes and shows the total attitude, conscious and unconscious, of the creative individual. Thus the modern farmer, when the food situation is involved, includes in the realization of that particular need the use of instruments, schematizes the situation in terms of labor, soil, climate, seed, and other factors, and synthesizes the food satisfaction with other satisfactions—economic, social, religious, aesthetic, etc.

The historic chaos is further in a process of being unified by theoretic activity which superimposes certain systems, which are abstractions

and elaborations of historical reality from different points of view. Such elaborations are found in the physical order, the psychological order, the sociological order, and the ideal order. Each supplements the preceding, the psychological order being an attempt to explain the facts of individual experience which have been ruled out as subjective by the physical sciences, the sociological order trying to show the relation between the facts which concern various centers of individual experience, and the ideal order aiming at final unification of facts within a system of knowledge. But theoretic activity at best is artificial in its isolation of orders of fact, in the presuppositions which it adds to concrete experience, and in its efforts at final unity. Reason neglects the element of creative thought, which makes reality fluid and individual and which defies any final synthesis. We must also recognize that the construction of reality based on appreciation has an equal claim with that of reason and independent of it. At best science has an instrumental place in creative thought, the very reality of which it ignores and must ignore in order to establish its abstract uniformities. The aspect of creative thought is or should be the field of philosophy.

The author's account throughout is an attempt to state reality in terms of cultural interpretation. The stone may be taken as part of a physical system and subject to physical laws. But it may also be taken as an object of worship in some religious system, it may figure in a system of economic valuation or of aesthetic appreciation. One system is no more real than another and all the systems are constituted by the creative activity of thought and owe their meaning and existence to their cultural context. So much is clear. But we may have some difficulty in subscribing to the thesis that the objects of nature have no other existence than that of the cultural context. It is hard to believe that the environment of the amoeba or the microbe, at a time when it was the highest form of life, had no other reality than that included in the consciousness (if there was any) of the amoeba or the microbe. It is true that the environment which the geologist gives to these early forms of life owes its *meaning* to cultural history. But does it also owe its *existence* to cultural history? And what about the geologic changes previous to the existence of life? Do they owe their existence, as well as their meaning, to the later-appearing creative thought? As regards the author's theory of social relations, I find it difficult to agree that we know other individual minds and they us, only by results, the mark of creative activity left upon objects. How can we distinguish between present active minds and past minds in that case? In our moral rela-

tions, is it not precisely these active minds that we confront, that we value and react upon? Furthermore, how is it that the products of mind can exist when we are not conscious of them—the civilization of ancient Egypt, long buried from human ken—if there is no order of reality except conscious experience? The author deserves credit for discarding such assumptions as an absolute consciousness and placing himself squarely on an empirical basis. But valuable as the book is as an account of cultural reality, I do not feel that it meets the whole problem of reality. Finally, must we believe that there is no order in the stream of reality except that contributed by individual creative activity? Is all discovery really creation? Perhaps the author has overdone the creative contribution of the human mind. Why should the author assume cumulative growth in a world of chance where destruction would seem to be as probable as construction? When conditions on earth become again unfavorable to the higher types of life, will the amoeba carry the cultural cumulation of the past? But on the author's theory of creative thought, there is no guarantee that the philosophy of one individual shall be coercive over another. So his philosophy can claim no more weight than that of others. In any case his interpretation of culture merits the closest study and we shall look with interest for the sequel.

J. E. BOODIN

CARLETON COLLEGE

Proposed Roads to Freedom. Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism. By BERTRAND RUSSELL, F.R.S. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919. Pp. xviii+218.

In this volume Mr. Russell has set himself a somewhat limited task, but has accomplished it brilliantly and made a valuable addition to the literature of sane radicalism. In Part I (85 pages) he surveys historically the three leading divisions of radical thought, and in Part II discusses the main issues involved in social regeneration. The following are the topics: "Work and Pay," "Government and Law," "International Relation," "Science and Art under Socialism," and "The World as It Could Be Made." The whole treatment is remarkable for the clearness and charm of its style as well as the sweet reasonableness of its spirit, a familiar characteristic of the author but unusual in men of his views. The position which he takes is nearly that of the English-Guild Socialists. Though he repudiates anarchism as impracticable—he admits it as the theoretical ideal—his emphasis is strongly

on the side of individual freedom in opposition to the proclivities for centralization and beaurocracy of the older "orthodox" socialism. He pins his faith in small groups "jealous of their privileges and determined to preserve their autonamy." Critical readers will be likely to find Mr. Russell over-sanguine in his estimate of the amount of authority which it will be necessary to exercise over individual human nature and of the intrinsic difficulties of the unescapable problems of social organization, the amount and the complexity of the machinery probably requisite for securing any fairly effective direction and co-ordination of human activities under the conditions of modern life. The book is probably the best place to which the busy general reader may turn for a brief, sympathetic presentation of current social movements, and is well worth anyone's while to read for its literary value.

F. H. KNIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Deficiency and Delinquency; An Interpretation of Mental Testing.

By JAMES BURT MINER, LL.B., Ph.D. Educational Psychology Monographs, No. 21. Baltimore: Warwick and York, 1918. Pp. xiv+355.

This book is undoubtedly one of the best that has yet appeared dealing with the relation of mental deficiency to delinquency, and it can be strongly recommended to students of the social sciences, particularly to those who are interested in the newer movement attempting to introduce more exact methods of measurement into those sciences. If they are to be called sciences, they must describe in quantitative terms. How this can be done with reference to mental deficiency is well illustrated by our author, and although the sociologist who has been brought up on qualitative description may find the book hard reading, it will unquestionably merit a close and careful study by the earnest student. The method of attack by means of correlation is one that will be used more and more in the interpretation of social data.

The book is divided into two parts. Part One deals with "Practical Considerations," and Part Two with "Theoretical Consideration." In the first part the author's chief contribution is his percentage definition of intellectual deficiency, which the author proposed in 1915 and which is now more systematically developed. This proposal is to the effect that a certain percentage of the population can be regarded as

intellectually deficient and by this means the lines of demarcation for the deficient can be arrived at on our scales of mental measurement. After a very thorough examination of the estimates of feeble-mindedness made by different workers in different countries, he arrives at the conservative estimate of 0.5 per cent clearly deficient and an additional 1 per cent border line. If, therefore, we determine the point on our scale reached by the lowest 0.5 per cent and the lowest 1.5 per cent, we shall then have the diagnostic points for the clinical psychologist.

The author cautions us, however, that mental deficiency as tested on our scales is not synonymous with feeble-mindedness. The latter term is much broader and contains the concept of social incompetency. The author then makes the best compromise yet attempted between intellectual deficiency and social deficiency, in order to retain the twofold meaning that is implied by the term "feeble-minded." We have mental deficient who are socially incompetent, and also social incompetents who do not test mentally deficient. The latter group is characterized by "weakness in the volitional, or conative, aspect of mind." The only doubt in the reviewer's mind is whether this group suffering from volitional defect ought to be called feeble-minded at all. They would seem to be the unstable, the psychopathic, the constitutional inferiors, the hysterics, the pre-dementia praecox types, and to be classed rather with the insane than the feeble-minded. However, it is unquestionably true that such defects, existing in children especially, have in the past been called feeble-mindedness and children of this type may perhaps best be taken care of in our feeble-minded institutions. This being the case, the practical plan suggested by our author, of calling feeble-minded all testing below a certain point and in addition all borderline cases having a definite history of social unfitness, is undoubtedly the best compromise between the psychological and sociological concepts implicit in the term "feeble-mindedness," as at present used.

Having fixed the limits for tested mental deficiency, the author gives us an excellent summary of the mental tests of delinquents, showing that his criterion is very conservative, and pointing out the exaggeration as to the amount of intellectual deficiency that has been claimed by many workers. His table showing the summary of results of many workers is valuable. His chief conclusions are that intellectual deficiency is "most serious among women and girls who are sex offenders," that "institutions which care for the same type of delinquents show pronounced variation in the amount of tested deficiency," that

the percentage of juvenile delinquents who are deficient has been grossly exaggerated and that probably the real percentage of such is about 10.

There are three chapters dealing with school standing in relation to deficiency and delinquency, and the author lays much stress on the possibility of bad school adjustment as a possible factor in delinquency. This is not very convincing to the reviewer, particularly when we suspect, as we do at present, that the most poorly adjusted child in school is the very bright child, and we have no reason to believe that such children predominate among delinquents. However, the bad effects of poor school adjustment are well worth investigating more deeply, as our author suggests, not only for the sake of the delinquent but also for the non-delinquent child.

One of the most valuable chapters in the book is chapter x, "Deficiency as a Cause of Delinquency." Here the author brings to the notice of the American reader Goring's important work on *The English Convict*, and shows in a masterly way how the method of correlation is helping to solve the eternal dispute as to the relative importance of heredity and environment in the causation of the delinquent. Goring's coefficient is $+0.65$ for adult delinquents, and Miner's for juveniles from $+0.16$ to 0.29 . "In this complex criminal diathesis, which means greater susceptibility to temptations, there is little doubt that mental deficiency is the main factor."

The second part of the book has no particular reference to deficiency, but is a valuable contribution to the theoretical implications of mental measurement; indeed it is one of the most thorough and sound discussions that has so far appeared. The various possible forms of distribution curves and of developmental curves are discussed, and the percentage or percentile method of describing mental ability is shown to be the best quantitative statement and also to be the safest, at least until we are absolutely certain as to the form of distribution of tested capacity at each age and of the developmental curve in general.

RUDOLF PINTNER

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The British Revolution and the American Democracy. By NORMAN ANGELL. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919. Pp. 319. \$1.50.

Next to John A. Hobson's *Democracy after the War* this is the most pessimistic book which it has been my lot to look through recently.

Both books are cast in somewhat the same mood. Both reflect a grave fear that the war has so cut up the roads to freedom that nothing short of miraculous democratic Ford could surmount the ruts and shell-holes or survive the shocks. The book is frankly not a defense or justification of the various revolutionary social programs which it discusses. It is simply a statement of the issue and the facts. The issue, in short, is the "future of the institution of private property, and the degree and kind of industrial democracy which we intend in future to permit" (p. viii). The mission of the book is to convince Americans that we are vitally concerned whether or no in European democratic movements, particularly because to Americans democracy means usually political democracy, while to Europe the word has taken on a wider meaning and includes industrial democracy. America is at grips with the problem, not because of Bolshevik or socialistic propaganda, but because of our governmental war measures. We have been brought, so the author insists, face to face with real, fundamental principles for the first time since the Civil War. Hence we must know the facts.

The book is largely a welding together of various newspaper and magazine articles published within the last four years. The meat of the book is an analysis of the British Labor Party and its program, with differentiation between them and syndicalism or "absolute" socialism. The author clearly indicates how the war has forwarded these very ideas, how it has made possible the impossible. It is very clear from his discussion that the author, while recognizing the drift in the direction of socialism, is perfectly aware of the fact, and says so, that socialism is not synonymous with democracy or freedom, for it may mean *Étatism*. Nor does he believe that socialism will necessarily prevent war, for, as he clearly indicates, "war in capitalistic society does not arise from the mechanism of capitalism, but from the state of mind which a capitalistic society engenders" (p. 151). Therefore, "if the Socialism of the future is merely to mean a transfer of ownership in land and capital from the individual to the State preserving the type of mind and feeling which we now know in western society, the Socialist organization of nations is likely to give us a condition even more susceptible to bitter military conflicts than is the capitalist and individualist economy."

Nevertheless socialistic thought, he contends, does help through creating a diversion of motive and interest, partly by way of substituting an interest in the quality of democratic life for the old nationalistic rivalries. As to the method of realizing a socialistic goal the author

shows his genuine, conservative spirit by making it perfectly clear that if conscription of wealth is to come about it will not come by expropriation but through taxation; but that he is also a constructive liberal is shown by his support of the spirit of adventure in place of former economic fatalism, or as Walter Lippman has phrased it, he holds for mastery versus drift.

The pessimistic part of the book is concerned with the problem of a society of free men versus the servile state. The author asks the question whether we really believe in freedom of discussion or toleration, and answers, "No," and it must be admitted that he has gathered a good deal of evidence from the Anglo-American Prussians. The new inquisition which has been put into operation during the war, the repression of freedom of thought, the menace of men like Lord Northcliffe, the remartyrdom of Socrates, all of these indeed are threatening, and there is little to choose between the methods of Northcliffe and some of our self-appointed inquisitors in the United States and the crushing repression instigated by the Bolshevik régime in Russia. It is difficult to disagree with the author that the political heretic is the saving salt of democracy. Whether there is the sharp antithesis which he draws between the wisdom of the common folk and the expert is more debatable. It sounds suspiciously like *vox populi vox dei*, yet at the same time we must admit the truth which he has perhaps somewhat overstated, that one of the great lessons of the war has been the tremendous reserves of capacity lying latent in the common man. It is for that reason more than any other that the reviewer finds it possible to shake off the weight of pessimism which this book fastens upon him; and in answer to the concluding note of the book, to the effect that the modern state is likely to kill political heresy even more successfully than the church state killed religious heresy, we would call the author's attention to the fact that heresy finally triumphed, as it always does. This book should be particularly valuable to the American Bourbon or to the average citizen who is not aware yet that the British Labor Party's program was issued over a year ago and is already contributing strongly to the formation of a new social order. Attention should be called to two slight slips: on page 14 the printer has substituted "casual" for "causal"; on page 15 the author has allowed himself to indulge in a perhaps unconscious bit of sarcasm where he refers to the "particularly sober and moderate New York NATION"!

A. J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Redemption of the Disabled. By GARRARD HARRIS. With an introduction by Colonel Frank Billings, U.S.A. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Pp. xxvi+318. \$2.00.

This book is an attempt to present in popular form an account of the remarkable advances made in the new field of the economic rehabilitation of men disabled in war and industry. The opening chapters discuss the social philosophy underlying the new attitude toward those disabled in war and sharply criticize the evils of the old pension system. America's debt to European countries in planning for its disabled soldiers is clearly shown. Seven chapters are given over to a brief review of the rehabilitation systems in Belgium, France, England, Germany, Austria, Italy, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and India.

The War Risk Insurance and Vocational Rehabilitation Acts are described, together with the plans of the Federal Board for Vocational Education for the administration of this work of re-education. The concluding portions of the book deal with some of the problems involved in the economic rehabilitation of the disabled, such as choice of occupation, placement in industry, attitude of employers toward the crippled, development of public opinion, and the application of the methods of rehabilitation to those crippled in industry.

The book, while written in an attractive style, does not show evidence of being a critical study of the important problems with which it deals. The author, who was a member of the publicity staff of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, seems to take the attitude of a propagandist rather than that of a scientific student. No effort is made to give a critical estimate of the various systems of rehabilitation in different systems. Since the author has not had actual experience in the work of rehabilitation, he does not write as an expert in this field. The book, therefore, contains much information for the general reader, but is not of great value to the specialist.

A more complete statement of the work done on behalf of disabled soldiers would have included mention of such agencies as the After-Care Bureau of the Department of Civilian Relief of the American Red Cross, which has been closely co-operating with the Federal Board for Vocational Education. In the chapter on "Salvaging the Disabled of Industry" it is unfortunate that no statement is made of the pioneer work done in this field by the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men in New York City.

A more serious criticism has to do with the author's use of sources. In the Preface it is stated that "much of the material was obtained from original sources opened to the Federal Board for Vocational Education in its studies on the subject of vocational rehabilitation of the disabled in Europe." As a matter of fact, a close study of the portion of the book dealing with the systems of rehabilitation in foreign countries shows extensive and unacknowledged borrowing. A concrete instance is the use made of Bulletin No. 15, *The Evolution of National Systems of Vocational Re-Education for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors*, published under the signature of Douglas C. McMurtrie, by the Federal Board of Vocational Education in May, 1918. This book, which is based on a study of original sources, seems to form the chief basis of Mr. Harris' discussion of rehabilitation in European countries. Whole paragraphs are paraphrased and in some instances there is but a slight change in wording. A typical example of his use of this material is the following. From Bulletin No. 15, page 40:

In many schools wages are paid, beginning with 50 centimes or 1 franc a day and reaching later 4 to 6 francs a day. In others the product of the workshop is sold and the proceeds, less the cost of the raw materials, are divided among the workmen. This is the case at Saint-Maurice, where a half of the sum thus earned is paid out at the end of every fortnight, and the other half saved by the school and paid to the man in a lump sum when he leaves. At Tourvielle the value of the labor put into the articles made in the shops is paid for whether the articles are sold or not, the money being divided among the workmen at the end of every month according to their productive capacity. Men are encouraged to save at least a part of it so that when they leave they will have money to buy needed tools or equipment.

From *Redemption of the Disabled*, page 86:

In some of the schools wages are paid, beginning with 50 centimes or one franc a day and later reaching four to six francs a day. In others, the product of the workshop is sold and the proceeds, less the cost of the raw materials, are divided among the workmen. At St. Maurice, half the amount earned is paid out every fortnight; the other half is retained and paid to the man when he finishes. At Tourvielle, the value of the labor on the articles made is paid for whether the articles are sold or not, the money being divided among the workmen at the end of the month, according to their productive capacity. The men are encouraged to save half of this in order to have a small capital on leaving.

Such use of material prepared by others deserves severe condemnation. It is, to say the least, unprofessional and at once raises doubts

as to the quality and authoritativeness of the other portions of the book.

The volume contains no bibliography of the voluminous periodical and pamphlet literature issued on this subject in this country and abroad during the war.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

The Ethics of Co-operation. By JAMES H. TUFTS. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. 73. \$1.00.

In this suggestive and readable lecture, delivered at the University of California on the Weinstock foundation, Professor Tufts has outlined a social ethic in which the discussion turns upon the three types of solutions for the problem of human association, namely, dominance, competition, and co-operation. "The greatest of these is co-operation," which provides "the touchstone for the others." The problem is approached from the point of view of certain goods dear to humanity, such as liberty, power, justice, rather than "from the formulations of philosophers." It is argued that a social order based upon co-operation best promotes these goods.

The writer then sketches the rôles of dominance, competition, and co-operation in government, religion, commerce, and industry in the past in order to throw light upon co-operation in relation to the international situation. He thinks that "co-operation has asserted itself step by step" in the past. The low ethical standards accompanying co-operation in business at present are due to the fact that such co-operation as exists, being the product of selfish motives, is largely unintentional and unmoral. Furthermore the unequal conditions under which competition has taken place have made difficult any extension of real co-operation. On the ethics of business the author takes high ground. "I cannot see," he writes, "why it should be thought unworthy of a statesman or a judge to use the political structure for his own profit, but perfectly justifiable for a man to exploit the economic structure for private gain" (p. 41). These are brave words and true. Co-operation is the only solution of international issues. Its greatest enemies here are survivals of dominance, non-social competition especially in trade, and narrow nationalisms. International co-operation implies free trade or the elimination of non-social competition in foreign relations.

In a single lecture, covering so much ground, a certain amount of formalism is of course to be expected. Dominance is used with a bad and co-operation with a good connotation, for which undoubtedly critical support would be provided in a more extended discussion. In reality both are relative terms. What differentiates the dominance of Kaiser from that of Demos? Is the dominance of the will of the majority in a democracy an evil? Is there not a very real sense in which the dominance of public sentiment is even more fundamental in a democracy than co-operation? Co-operation is a relative term. During the war Germany excelled the allies in co-operation. The most brilliant illustrations of co-operation in American society appear in corrupt politics and the questionable creations of big business. It would almost seem as though in sheer skill in organization and co-operation the forces of evil have had the better of the forces of righteousness. Not so much co-operation as the principles involved, the ends sought, is the important thing. Co-operation abstractly taken is exposed to the criticisms that have been levelled at the term upon which Royce sought to build his ethics, namely, loyalty.

In his closing section on the interaction of ideas and institutions Professor Tufts has suggested how this formalism might be eliminated by a psychological analysis of the social situation. He has wisely eschewed "the formulations of the philosophers" in this short essay but obviously some theory of society is needed before we can give to these general terms exactness of meaning. It is to be hoped that Professor Tufts will expand this sketch into a social ethics or perhaps a social philosophy. Certainly few among the philosophers are better equipped than he to give us this much needed interpretation of modern life.

JOHN M. MECKLIN

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Jewish Contributions to Civilization. By JOSEPH JACOBS. Philadelphia: The Conat Press, 1919. Pp. 334. \$1.50.

A main purpose of the present volume is a defence of the Jews against alleged facts and conclusions as pointed out by historical writers and critics of the race. To adequately meet these critics it is not sufficient merely to answer the arguments advanced: it is necessary to present an affirmative statement showing the capacity of the group to contribute valuable elements to Western civilization. In last resort,

the value of the Jews, or of any other group, lies in their ability to contribute indispensable elements to the advancement of world-culture. This capacity, according to Dr. Jacobs, can be demonstrated only on the basis of past and present achievement. So he turns to history and attempts a determination and an evaluation of Jewish achievement during the past two thousand years. The general trend of the discussion is to show that the Jews of the present time are, in capacity to produce intellectual genius, superior to any other group. Further, this intellectual superiority is a racial and biological thing; in the words of Dr. Jacobs, a superiority of germ-plasm.

Along these lines, Dr. Jacobs fails to convince. Aside from the probable untenability of the thesis, the failure seems to lie in the assumption that racial and individual accomplishment is an infallible index of racial and individual capacity.

But this innate superiority in mental capacity is supplemented by the superiority of certain Jewish institutions, especially the religion of the people. To religion and especially to the Bible Dr. Jacobs gives the credit not alone for Jewish accomplishment but for the whole of Western civilization as well. "The Jews have been made what they are by the Bible." "The Jews are a creation of the Bible." It was because of this book that they retained, in spite of their dispersion in many lands, the cohesive elements which go to make up a people. Not only that; the Bible "in large measure, laid the foundations of European civilization." It was from the Jewish Bible that Europe learned the fundamentals of social justice and righteousness. "Without the Bible and Bible religion Europeans would, so far as we know, still be worshipping the gods, probably with animal sacrifices." All of this is so at variance with simple, objective fact that it is only the constant reiteration of the idea which convinces the reader that Dr. Jacobs desires that it be taken seriously.

To the student of social science, however, the chief interest in the volume lies in the theory which it advances to explain the anti-Jewish sentiment. This prejudice seems to have existed in Persia, in Greece, and in Rome, and to have been due in these places to the fact that the chief bond of union in the ancient city-states was the common worship of a local deity. The Jew with his one-god system could not share the worship and remain a Jew. As a result of this he was "regarded with disfavor by the ruling classes and, as a consequence, with contempt and hatred by the mob." The same principle of explanation is used to account for the more modern expression. Bismarck,

in the latter days of his career as Imperial Chancellor, revived the prejudice in order to use it as a tool to discredit the National Liberal Party in the Reichstag. This revival tended to center around the newer doctrines of race and nationality but otherwise did not differ from the earlier expression. The prestige of Prussia made her an example to be imitated in this as in other respects by the remainder of the German Empire. Germany being the ideal for the reconstruction of the most of the other European states, her Jewish hatred was imitated by the others. Even in England and America there was a revival of the anti-Jewish feeling.

The peculiar practices and beliefs of the Jews, the fact that they are aliens in most Western lands, and the fact that their characteristic physical appearance makes their identification as of a different race comparatively easy, are important, in Dr. Jacobs' opinion, only in accounting for the ease with which anti-Jewish sentiment spreads. These things form a nucleus about which the sentiment can crystallize but are in no sense an explanation of the sentiment itself. That is a creation of the upper and ruling classes and persists among the people because it is supported by the opinions of men above them. It is not due to any difference in racial temperaments. It is a purely artificial thing and throughout the ages has been propagated "as a part of political and ecclesiastical policy."

As disguised propaganda designed to foster a nationalistic or racial sentiment in a disintegrating religious sect the book is particularly well done. As a side-light on Jewish psychology it is not without its points of value to the student of social and race psychology. As a scientific study the book is not valuable.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The Gary Schools, a General Account. By ABRAHAM FLEXNER and FRANK P. BACHMAN, General Education Board, New York, 1918.

Careful study of this summary of a searching but dispassionate survey of the Gary schools will have a sobering effect on the rapidly increasing group of persons who turn to educational reforms for effective means of reconstructing a war-wrecked world. The demand that a fine equipment, an ingenious organization, and an exceptionally sound adjustment of the curriculum to social needs and to child psychology shall be supplemented by a capacity for "taking infinite pains" in caring

for administrative details is a challenge to perfection which must prove stimulating to conscientious educators.

Credit is given, in this audit of the Gary school system, for the development of a type of organization which permits the instruction of a maximum number of children in a plant having modern facilities, and for consistent efforts to develop through school life the characteristics desirable in citizens of a democracy. A person familiar with the deadening round of the average public school class room will find high praise in the authors' declaration: "Gary appeals to the co-operative spirit, relies on it, believes in it, gives it something to do—at times perhaps unwisely and to excess. In any event the schools are rich in color and movement, they are places where children live as well as learn, places where children obtain educational values, not only through books, but through genuine life-activities. The Gary schools make a point not only of the well-known measurable abilities, but of happiness and appreciation which cannot be measured even though they may be sensed."

Is it possible to retain this spontaneity and freedom for personal initiative on the part of both teachers and pupils and at the same time to give the disciplinary supervision which will result in a mastery of the tools of learning, exactness in the execution of details of necessary tasks, and such perfection of output as will be demanded in the world's markets? Here we have the familiar problem which has been the central theme of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* and of innumerable other educational treatises. The Gary experiment has attracted attention largely because of the belief that no previous scheme adapted to conditions in our public schools has offered such possibilities for balancing these conflicting interests. Weaknesses revealed by the investigation are charged to failures in execution rather than to lack of soundness in the plans of organization.

Greater central control is proposed as a remedy for the dead and mechanical classroom instruction, for the failure to teach thoroughly the common branches, for the slovenly standards in industrial work, and for the wasteful irregularities in details of school administration. Discretion in applying this remedy will be necessary, since in dealing with teachers as with pupils care should be given to the preservation of democratic ideals, enthusiasm, and personal initiative. A sounder but less immediate remedy is suggested by the reports of the investigators of satisfactory results obtained by teachers with an intelligent grasp of the educational principles of the plan, and with ability in applying

them to existing conditions. The reform of a man must begin with his grandfather; until our schools and colleges raise up a new generation of teachers accustomed to more vital relationships with their social and natural environments, we must strive toward, but cannot hope to realize fully the educational ideals set forth in this stimulating report of an experiment whose theoretical basis entitles it to the enthusiastic endorsement of sociologists.

LUCILE EAVES

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Forced Movements, Tropisms, and Animal Conduct. By JACQUES LOEB. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1918. Pp. 209. 1918. \$2.50.

Loeb develops in his work his well-known theory of tropisms, discussing seven different types of forced movements, but giving most space to heliotropisms. Examples are drawn almost wholly from lower animal forms. He makes instincts and tropisms identical. Tropisms are the result of the directive influence of the hormones and the associated memory images. The implication, therefore, would be that instincts may be acquired as well as inherited. There is a strong insistence everywhere in the book upon the biophysical and the biochemical viewpoints. The illusion of free will is due to the multiplicity of associative memory images in man which constantly modify or reconstitute his tropistic equipment and thus make long-time prediction of activities impossible. His explanation of the method and function of associative memory makes it easy to indicate the acquired elements in activities formerly held by the biologists and many sociologists to be matters of inheritance. Thus the so-called reproductive instinct in action represents a combination of the effects of hormones (inherited) and associative memory (acquired) working out tropistically. He also shows that opposition to incest and sex perversion are the results of associative memory images. Consequently, they must be acquired rather than inherited dispositions, contrary to the older popular views. Even the complex "instinct" by which the wasp stings the caterpillar and returns with it to a hole previously prepared—one of the triumphant examples of the biological interpretationists or instinctivists—is based upon associative memory and therefore cannot be an inherited mechanism.

These interpretations are of very great importance to the social psychologist of the future. Two consequences of Loeb's reasoning

deserve passing comment. Does he wish us to understand that instincts as well as tropisms are acquired, as inevitably they must be if they may be constituted in part or wholly from associative memory? This view of the acquired nature of instinct has been dispensed with among scientists and in the better literature of the social and mental sciences. Does he desire to revive the old popular definition of instinct, or would he consider it preferable to find some other terminology to cover activity complexes built upon associative memory? Secondly, we now have from a distinguished biologist an explanation of the automatic but apparently purposive movements of the lower organisms which is not based on inheritance. The old view of the biological or inheritance determinists was that we must choose between inheritance (instinct) and rational thought as the explanation of these apparently purposive acts of the lower organisms, and obviously it could not be the latter. Loeb gives us a third possibility, which is unfavorable to the inheritance assumption.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Naval Officers, Their Heredity and Development. By CHARLES BENEDICT DAVENPORT. Assisted by MARY THERESA SCUDDER. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1919. Pp. v+236.

Davenport's study employs the methods characteristic of its author. By means of brief studies of the family histories of sixty-eight distinguished naval officers he seeks to discover what traits in the young are most likely to result in successful careers in the navy. These traits are in the summary surprisingly (?) like those required for success in numerous other professions and callings. One might sum up the findings by saying, "Choose active, resourceful, intelligent, adventurous boys for future naval officers." With this wise, if commonplace, conclusion no one would disagree. The inheritance of these traits is assumed, as also is the love of the sea, which is treated as a definite instinct. One who has read Loeb's volume will probably find as much causal connection in the child's early environment, especially that of ideas, as in his inheritance. This probability is also borne out by the fact that the family charts by no means display regular Mendelian ratios. That naval officers would tend to recur in families is probably more credible from the environmentalist's point of view than from that of the eugenicist. It is to be regretted that the compilers of the biographies did not make a

study of environmental pressures leading to choice of profession. Has the Carnegie Institution no funds for this more valuable type of investigation? As a contribution to the technique of mental testing this volume is negligible. As a classification of inherited or instinctive traits it is naive and outworn. As a cyclopedia of biography it is too fragmentary and omits the most valuable material—that on the determining influences in the environment. As an example of pedantry it is entirely satisfactory.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Land and the Soldier. By FREDERIC C. HOWE, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919. Pp. 196. \$1.35.

The American people are faced with many domestic problems—and none more important than those relating to the ex-soldier and the new agriculture. In *The Land and the Soldier* Dr. Howe presents a solution dealing with both these problems somewhat after the plan outlined by the Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane. However, Dr. Howe believes the farm colony, which is the heart of his plan, should be established upon land never properly cultivated and located near markets rather than upon waste lands—swamps and stump.

The farm-colony plan has been successful in England, Germany, Denmark, and Austria. That it is adapted to this country is indicated by the successful farm-colony at Durham, California, established by the state government. The essential features of the plan are: (1) promotion by state or local authorities; (2) the purchase of large tracts of land; (3) their subdivision into farms of proper size; (4) supervision by experts; (5) some form of control to prevent exploitation or speculation.

The purpose of the farm colony "is to create a community of home-owning, farm-loving people, who will look upon the colony as a permanent place of residence and a home for their children." It is to be the means of making "farming a profitable profession" for wealth and life. It is in "effect a proposal to socialize agriculture." It "means community provisions for the comforts and amenities of life."

The book is rationally practical, presenting an understanding of the present and plotting the development of the future, socially and agriculturally.

FRANK W. HOFFER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social and Religious Life of Italians in America. By ENRICO C. SARTORIO. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1918. Pp. xi+149. \$1.00.

A contribution to the better understanding of the Italian immigrants, and a new interpretation of Americanization.

"The Future Belongs to the People." By KARL LIEBKNECHT. Edited and Translated by S. ZIMAND. New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. 144. \$1.25.

A translation of speeches made during the war, with editorial comments.

The Crimes of the Oedipodean Cycle. By HENRY NEWPHER BOWMAN. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. Pp. 62.

An attempt to interpret the tragedies of Sophocles in terms of the Freudian "dream-wish."

Right and Wrong after the War. By BERNARD IDDINGS BELL. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. ix+187. \$1.25.

While making no pretense of a scientific study, here is a stimulating statement of attitudes which the church may assume toward certain present-day problems.

Sex-Lore. A Primer on Courtship, Marriage, and Parenthood. By MRS. S. HERBERT. London: A. & C. Black, 1918. Pp. xi+147.

This book is intended as a means of introducing children to matters of sex and as a guide to parents. It does not, however, seem adapted to either purpose. Much of the material included appears ill-suited, some is of trivial importance, and its statement is quite unsatisfactory.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Den eneste vei til verdensfred (The only way to world-peace).—This article is most interesting as a criticism of the Peace Conference by a citizen of one of the neutrals, Norway. He views the Conference as a race between bolshevism and socialization. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk realized Lenine's ambitions in that it freed Russia from the necessity of continuing the war, and could thus turn the bolshevistic energies toward realization of socialistic-communistic plans. The Paris Conference has not had the practical insight hitherto to wage a war against world-bolshevism. Clemenceau is too occupied with revenge and hopes that France will become immunized against bolshevism by means of those annexations and indemnities to be forced from Germany. Wilson, the idealist, lacks political insight and does not realize that world-bolshevism is a greater menace to world-peace than militaristic and imperialistic Germany ever was. Lloyd George is not a disciple of Wilson, and is not a colleague of Clemenceau. Neither does he permit himself to become ensnared by the imperialistic policies of the "Northcliffe Circle." Lloyd George is the politician of the Conference, employing all the tactics known to skilled parliamentarians: his decisions are always compromises between the right and the left. Bolshevism will win at the Conference unless the leaders have the desire and the courage to give up their selfish interests for the sake of socializing the world. Now that the work of the Peace Conference has been concluded, can we class the writer of this article as a true or a false prophet?—Inge Debes, *Samtiden*, May, 1919. J. N. S.

Folke-erneringen i fremtiden (Feeding the population in the future).—A Norwegian writer has in this article given food for thought in this problem of food-supply, which every nation has had to face since 1914 especially. Most nations have laws enforcing compulsory education, and yet what nations have laws which enforce feeding of children? Governments have long wrestled with mail, telegraph, telephone, and educational problems. Is it not proper that governments should now seriously attack the problem of securing food for its citizens? It is, after all, food which keeps a people alive. Each country should have its Food Department just as well as its State Department. The head of the Food Department should not be a lawyer; he must be a dietitian, a man trained in agriculture, and a merchant, all cast into one mold. Experiment stations should be established for the sake of determining all food values, preparing recipes and menus for housewives, and for training future housewives. It is not necessary for the state to place a restraining hand upon the production, distribution, and consumption of food—all that is needed is a guiding hand to regulate the food-supply in such a way that there will always be enough food for all, food in the right form, of the right kind, and available at a reasonable price. Who doubts that well-fed children will make better citizens than puny victims of under- and malnutrition?—Sopp, *Samtiden*, March, 1919. J. N. S.

The Problem of the Age.—The individual needs which have asserted themselves against the existing social order fall into two categories—one material and strictly economic, the other psychological and extending beyond economic conditions, the most prominent in industrial life. They are summed up in the words *comfort* and *liberty*. The first connotes a larger share of the aggregate wealth of the community, the second a less subordinate place in it and a higher personal status. Of the two the latter is more important because the former has been greatly mitigated by economic and social developments during many decades, while the personal grievance has been rather aggravated by them, and has been brought into sharper relief by the material improvement. Marxian class war is no solution. Nationalization or state ownership

and control is more practical, but its applicability is limited. It may promote comfort but is inimical to liberty. If applied universally it would destroy all liberty. Syndicalism would be too individual and not sufficiently social. Guild socialism corrects defects of state control and of trade-union ownership but also has its defects. There is no single key to unlock the situation, for the evolution of life is all in the direction of multiplicity, diversity, and complexity. This is conspicuously true of industrial life. No single system can be applied, for the conditions are infinitely varied. What workmen want is to be treated as intelligent participators. The trade unions have at present great power without responsibility. The remedy is not to fight them but to confer responsibility by taking them into consultation.—A. Shadwell, *Edinburg Review*, April, 1919. F. O. D.

Sociology: Its Successes and Its Failures.—The history of sociology shows that considerable success has been obtained in building up an ordered knowledge of social structure and development, especially if we consider that sociology had to await the growth of the simpler sciences on which it rests. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that its present state has, reasonably or unreasonably, given rise to much disappointment. The causes that have hitherto retarded the progress of sociology may be ranged under six heads: (1) the complexity of the science; (2) the abuse of specialism; (3) materialism; (4) the failure to distinguish between science and its practical applications; (5) the close connection of the subject-matter with human interests and ambitions, feelings, and prejudices; and (6) in great part as a result of this, the neglect of what has been done already, the resolve to start anew from the beginning. These causes are analyzed as follows, keeping the same numerical order: (1) In sociology, which is the science which deals with societies, the atoms of which are themselves living beings of a highly complex race of animals, you have the new social complexity superimposed on the complexity of animal organization. (2) It is necessary, above all, that all special studies should be compared and brought into relation with the science as a whole. (3) Materialism is here used in the sense given it by Comte, viz., the attempt to treat a more complex science as a province of a simpler one, already more fully developed, or at least to use only the methods of the earlier science. (4) The student of sociology often approaches his subject, not with the hope that the discovery of sociological laws will give a basis to social action, but in order that he may directly solve some practical problem. The result is that any unity or any real advance in building up a science of society becomes impossible, and the treatment of miscellaneous questions absorbingly occupies the attention. It is bad for science and bad for practice. (5) Truth may be as much prevented by the sophistries of stubborn and opinionated social feeling as by the high-handed action of ambition and power. (6) It is partly at least as a result of the preceding, of the desire of so many investigators to discover not what is true, but what is useful to support their plans, that sociology suffers from this peculiar feature, that everyone proposes to start a sociology of his own. There has been another danger, in addition to those previously enumerated, of giving up all thought of generalization and of allowing science, and especially social science, to become a mere matter of the collection and docketing of facts. To collect facts without generalization when possible is to run the risk of being smothered by one's accumulations.—S. H. Swinny, *The Sociological Review*, Spring, 1919. J. N. S.

Recent Advances in the Psychology of Behavior.—As introspective psychology developed, it recognized three aspects of the human mind. The first was the cognitive aspect, or the mind as an organ for thinking. The second was the affective aspect, or the mind as capable of feeling. The third was the conative aspect, or the mind as the will or as an instrument of the will. In its recent development, psychology has adopted many objective methods of research, and has displayed a strong tendency to become an objective science like the other sciences. The most objective manifestations of mind are the actions of organic beings, in other words, behavior. Consequently the study of behavior furnishes the most feasible starting-point for psychological investigation, while, indeed, a thoroughgoing analysis of the causation of behavior involves a study of most if not all kinds of mental phenomena. The study of behavior counteracts two tendencies which appear frequently in the discussion of mental and

cultural phenomena and which give rise to much confusion of thought. These are the ideological and teleological tendencies. The ideological tendency manifests itself in the manner in which such words as "instinct," "emotion," "intellect," "reason," "mind," "personality," "society," and so forth, are often used. These phenomena are usually described as if they were distinct entities. They cannot be regarded as such because it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines between these closely related phenomena. The teleological tendency appears sometimes in psychological and more frequently in sociological writings. The most fundamental form in which this fallacy displays itself is in the exaggeration of the functional point of view. This takes place whenever structure is subordinated to function and is conditioned upon it. It is obvious that a function cannot exist independent of its organ, and the notion that an organ can come into existence in response to the demand of a pre-existing function is one of the idlest dreams of the theologian and the metaphysical idealist. After functional processes come into existence they may have an influence upon other organs, or even upon the organs which condition them. But this fact does not justify the assumption that function is prior to structure in time or superior in influence. Such an assumption is a *post hoc* teleological interpretation imposed upon these processes.—Maurice Parmelee, *The Sociological Review*, Spring, 1919. J. N. S.

A Possible New Source of Food Supply.—The white man took over corn and potatoes as food from the Indians but has neglected some equally nutritious products, one of which is the common cat-tail (*Typha*). This is a plant with prolific growth, rich in starch and other products of food value, growing in situations now regarded as waste lands. There are in the United States 139,885 square miles of swamp land practically all adapted to cat-tail cultivation. Studies recently made at Cornell University showed a harvest possibility of 5,500 pounds of flour to the acre—a flour which analyzed as follows: moisture, 7.35 per cent; ash, 2.84 per cent; fat, 0.65 per cent; protein, 7.75 per cent; carbohydrate, 81.41 per cent. Half an hour's digging and peeling the rhizomes yields three or four cupfuls of flour, these operations being much like similar processes with the potato. The flour makes very palatable biscuits and serves also as a substitute for cornstarch in puddings.—P. W. Claassen, *The Scientific Monthly*, August, 1919. C. W. C.

Our Iron-Clad Civilization.—In each country the material expressions of civilization are governed by the materials which are available—the peerless marble of the Greek quarries made the expression of Greek genius in sculpture possible. Civilization in its material aspects is directed by the metal sufficiently abundant to be the determining factors—iron. Its extensive use is not an essential of either a high or a powerful civilization. Yet it is the one thing above everything else which has directed the course and dominated the character of the present epoch on its material side. None of the highly civilized nations either of antiquity or of the earlier middle ages contained important deposits of iron, save China. Five-sixths of the iron ore is mined at present from small portions of four countries, the United States, Germany, England, and France. The influence of the abundant metal, iron, and the abundant fuel, coal, by their abundance, has played a large part in determining the trend of civilization and in fixing the centers of wealth and of political and military power. The world has come under the domination of the peoples that have great reserves of coal and iron and know how to use them.—R. H. Whitbeck, *The Scientific Monthly*, August, 1919. C. W. C.

Significant Movements in the Middle West.—The most significant agricultural development of the Middle West is the County Farm Bureau Movement, under which special agents are employed for the instruction of the people in agriculture and home economics. This movement is fully developed in the entire country, but it originated in Missouri as a voluntary effort, and has been prominent throughout the Middle West. This interest has led to the inauguration of state conferences on country life. Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Minnesota all hold such state conferences annually. In Illinois an Illinois Federation for Country Life Progress, similar to the Massachusetts Federation for Rural Progress, has been initiated, having regard to the state as a unit, with a state policy and program for rural progress so as to

minimize duplication, friction, and waste on the part of the various state organizations and institutions. Another movement to be noted is the working out of the principle of state aid to education; this aid is generally accompanied by state control which, as in the case of Minnesota, will cause but little concern because the system is not forced. The Middle West gives hearty support to education for the reason that the schools are successfully striving to meet and serve the needs of the modern community life.—Mabel Carney, *Education*, June, 1919. C.W.C.

The Psychiatric Thread Running through All Social Case-Work.—Our relations to our environment are caused by mental, physical, and economic factors existing in our experience and in the experience of others, yet in the last analysis the adaptation of one to the environment depends upon mental make-up; hence the study of the mental life is fundamental to any activity having for its object the better adjustment of the individual. If all men were of the same order, psychology would sufficiently establish the form for our guidance, but since human nature is subject to innumerable variations, it is necessary to understand the peculiar character of the individual before applying the principles of psychology. This finds illustration in the fact that 50 per cent of the cases cited by Miss Richmond in *Social Diagnosis* present clearly psychopathic problems, and another 15 per cent strongly suggest a psychopathic condition. Most social agencies find that their files are full of cases that would have received different treatment if the psychiatric problem had been discovered earlier. The loss to the client as well as the waste of effort on the part of the agency caused by misdirected treatment in such cases suggest that routine inquiry into the mental condition is of prime importance as a basis for social treatment, for as in medicine correct diagnosis is essential to adequate treatment.—Mary C. Jarrett, *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1919. C.W.C.

Mental Disease and Delinquency.—The startling and depressing facts of recidivism stand out as a proof of the complete breaking down of the social security furnished by the state, in that it has failed to repress crime through the rehabilitation and readjustment of the criminal. This situation calls for attention to the fact that while the recidivist is the real problem in the prevention of crime, in him we have failed to accomplish that which we set out to achieve; yet we are now aware of probably the most important underlying causative factor in this failure which is the defective mentality by which the recidivist is so commonly handicapped. In this connection, recent studies of the Psychiatric Clinic in collaboration with Sing Sing Prison discovered that "of 608 adult prisoners studied by psychiatric methods out of an uninterrupted series of 683 cases admitted to the prison within a period of nine months, 66.8 per cent were not merely prisoners but individuals who had shown throughout life a tendency to behave in a manner at variance with the behaviour of the average normal person, and this deviation from normal behaviour had repeatedly manifested itself in a criminal act. In fact 28.1 per cent possessed a degree of intelligence equivalent to that of the average American child of twelve years or under." Similar facts recently obtained in a group of 100 immoral women and a group of 100 drunken women showed that of the immoral women 37 per cent of first offenders, 47 per cent of second offenders, and 84 per cent of recidivists were suffering from some form of mental or nervous handicap; that among drunken women, 35.4 per cent of first offenders and 82.2 per cent of recidivists exhibited some nervous or mental abnormality. The relation between the mental condition of these persons and the frequency of their offense is obvious. After a careful survey of the situation the special committee report that there should be clearing-houses established at Sing Sing prison for men and at Bedford Hills for women, that mental clinics be attached to the city courts, that preventive methods follow up the findings of a school clinic.—Report of a Special Committee of the New York State Commission of Prisons assisted by V. V. Anderson, *Mental Hygiene*, April, 1919. C.W.C.

The Sickness of Acquisitive Society.—A society which aimed at making the acquisition of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations, which sought to apportion remuneration according to service and denied it to those by whom no service was performed, which inquired first not what men possess but what they

can make, or create, or achieve, might be called a functional society, because in such a society the main subject of social emphasis would be the performance of functions. Such societies do not exist in the modern world. Modern societies aim at protecting economic rights. They leave economic functions, except in moments of abnormal emergency, to fulfil themselves. The motive which gives color and quality to their public institutions and policy is not the attempt to secure fulfilment of tasks imposed for public service, but to increase the opportunities open to individuals of attaining the objects which they conceive to be advantageous to themselves. The right to the free disposal of property and the exploitation of economic opportunities is conceived to be absolute, and this volume of interest and opinion rallies instinctively against any attempt to qualify or limit the exercise of their rights by attaching further conditions to them. Such societies may be called "acquisitive societies" because their whole preoccupation is to promote the acquisition of wealth. It is common to talk as if man existed for industry instead of industry existing for man, as the Prussians talked of man existing for war. Individualism has been perverted to imperialism, as nationalism has been perverted to imperialism. The practical expression of the idea of purpose would be a change in the prevalent conceptions both of economic activity and of property.—R. H. Tawney, *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1919. O. B. Y.

The International Conscience.—The problem of international peace is not materially different from the problem of peace in the individual, the community, or the nation. It is a question, in part at least, of a state of mind. We can never be sure of world-peace until we get an organization of international sentiment that will make for peace. The international conscience is therefore the ultimate guarantee of international peace. The obligation to obey international law rests upon international sentiment and is just as binding as the obligation to obey law based upon the sentiment of the community or nation. International ideals, whether expressed in law or lying fluid in public sentiment, are the result of the slow habituation of the thought of the average man under the discipline of his own national institutions. There are two ways in which the problem of securing an international mind may be approached. One is the objective, materialistic, and autocratic way which looks on peace as something to be maintained through coercion, by means of leagues, armaments, and international police. The other is the subjective, psychological, and democratic way which would subordinate leagues and armaments, as well as the entire disciplinary effect of domestic institutions and the national way of life, to the organization of a mode of sentiment which will give to peace a substantial moral basis.—John M. Mecklin, *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1919. O. B. Y.

How Are Moral Judgments on Groups and Associations Possible? A Neglected Chapter in Ethics.—Few of us hesitate to pass judgment upon peoples and states. Yet underneath this moral certainty is an undertone of intellectual skepticism which demands to know how these judgments are possible. Moral judgments upon organizations, social classes, etc., although among the most frequent and most significant in actual moral life, are scarcely recognized in ethics itself. The old individualistic ethics is said to be inadequate. Yet a social ethics is scarcely possible without recognition of social conscience and collective wills in some real and not merely figurative sense. The possibility of a social ethics, to say nothing of a genuine ethics of states, requires the development of certain ethical conceptions of which as yet there is scarcely a trace. It is easy to explain how such moral judgments are psychologically possible. Moral judgment on groups as though they were "real personalities" is one of the most genuine facts of practical morals. But difficulty is encountered when attempts are made to fix responsibility. Thus we meet with such phenomena as limited or divided or "receding" responsibility when attempts are made to deal with certain groups. The difficulty is not entirely due to "defects of mechanism." It arises from our refusal to sanction the fictions which a purely individualistic conception of responsibility must employ. The full moral judgments are yet to be validated, and this can only be done by creating the realities which will validate them.—Wilbur M. Urban, *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1919. O. B. Y.

Emigration Scare Unfounded.—Recent statements issued by the press, that our emigration records show an alarming exodus of foreign-born aliens to Europe, are

exaggerated. The author, during his long service in the Immigration Bureau of the port of New York, has found that there is a peculiar normal balance of those outgoing and incoming for many years. During the war alien departures nearly ceased because of the difficulty of securing passports and transportation. After the signing of the armistice emigration began to increase. As early as December, 1916, the alien departures from New York were 10,263. Since then they have been fewer in number until March, 1919. Last June 27,998 emigrants sailed from New York to Europe, the largest number since 1916. During the last two fiscal years the departures were considerably in excess of the arrivals, but the conditions which govern these figures reduce their potency as an argument for alarm. Since April of this past year immigration has really increased beyond that of any year since the United States enter the war. In normal times an emigrant carries about \$500 in cash, having forwarded the larger amount of his savings abroad. Since the war bottled up all financial exchanges with Europe the emigrant has been forced to hoard his money, which may account for the reports of large sums carried out of the country by recent emigrants. Although immigrants also bring into the country considerable sums of money we do not regard the newcomers as a financial asset to the money power of the United States in cash, but we welcome them for the industry and artisanship they may bring with them.—Byron H. Uhl, *Forum*, August, 1919. O. B. Y.

Men and Arms: A Study of Instincts.—Modern warfare may seem upon a superficial view to be the outcome of forces that are purely rational, as distinct from instinctive. It often appears to be initiated by political leaders who look forward to clearly defined ends. But these leaders know that great masses of the people will support them. The group-emotions of war are no more than the emotions of individual men. They become nationalized, but gain the force they display merely in the fact that they are stimulated in the individual by social contact with others of his kind. The "drive" remains in the individual who wills to fight—and therefore the necessity of maintaining what we call the morale of the common soldier. This morale is sustained by the joy of success and by the recognition that failure will mean ruin. Morale gives way when defeat seems certain and when the pain and distress that war entails are pressed upon the combatants' attention. The horrors of war have led to avoidance of fighting during brief periods, but revivals of painful experiences tend to disappear, while the fighting instinct remains. In nature modifications of structure and of functioning have resulted, not from obliteration of instincts but from alterations of the end they subserve, or from their atrophy through disuse. (1) They have occurred through the building up of new instincts on top of those already existing, the old instincts being used as instruments to further the ends to be gained by the new. The maternal instinct of the animal thus employs its individualistic flight instincts or its fighting instincts to gain its racial end in the protection of the young. (2) They have occurred through the use of the instinct to attain ends different from those which led to its establishment. (3) They have occurred through the cessation of the stimuli necessary to the functioning of their behavior expression. Notwithstanding the fixity of instincts which involves a certain fixity of functioning, changes of structure and corresponding changes of functioning have appeared in many a race of which we have a certain record. Hence it is not impossible to look forward to a time when man can no longer be properly described as a fighting animal. If the inciting causes to international war can be removed, the fighting instinct of man, though it may not be eliminated, can at least be brought under control and made to subserve other ends than destructive warfare.—Henry R. Marshall, *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1919. O. B. Y.

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SOME STRUCTURAL MATERIAL FOR THE IDEA "DEMOCRACY"

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INTRODUCTION

At the joint session of the Economic and Sociological societies in Minneapolis, December, 1913, the present writer delivered the presidential address of the latter society on the subject "A Vision of Social Efficiency." The speaker frankly confessed:

I shall take the liberty this evening of throwing science to the winds, and of installing imagination in its place. I do not call what I am to say *Sociology*. It is that better type of thing than can be produced by any strictly cognitive process whatever. It is the composite outlook upon life projected upon the background of the thinker's total knowledge, with the assistance of all the intellectual processes at his command, but at last frankly toned and colored by his own personal estimate of all the values involved. . . . Without committing sociology or the American Sociological Society to the slightest responsibility for what I am saying, I shall allow myself the luxury of sketching the picture of a relatively rational society which my own judgment projects. As a vanishing point for the picture, let us suppose that the occupants of the cabin of the "Mayflower," when the famous pact was drawn and signed, were not the historical company, but the present members of the American Sociological Society. Suppose further that by some preternatural discernment these adventurers were able to bring before their view our present national domain, with its present population, its present technical equipment, its present

accumulations of wealth, its present scientific methods and results, yet without an inkling of the present political and economic organization, or of the social stratification. Let us suppose also that the company had not the Pilgrims' type of social consciousness but ours . . . with our present criteria of social values as our standard, what would be our idea of the quality of relations fit to form the social framework of the millions who should succeed to these national resources, and accomplish the aggregate results that are visible to us today?

During that same academic year, 1913-14, the present writer was conducting a seminar on the subject "The United States Considered as a 'Problem-Situation.'" In the course of that study he expanded six of the less obvious propositions out of the fifteen which made up the framework of his "vision."

Meanwhile there has occurred what has occurred. Never before have so many people as today, all over the world, been engaged simultaneously in trying to work out or to think out utopias. In the United States the most frequent name for the heterogeneous types of utopias in different peoples' thoughts is *Democracy*. What arrangements is it conceivable that Americans can unite upon as the plans and specifications that will come the nearest possible in the next future to satisfying their conceptions of *Democracy*?

The following pages reproduce the seminar notes just mentioned. They are printed just as they were written up to June 14, 1914. They were intended at the time of writing as contributions to the answer to the question just proposed. The writer hopes that in some respects their value will be enhanced by the fact that in other respects they are out of date. They represent a sort of calm which was possible before our minds were disturbed by war-shock, possibly a stability of mental adjustment which we may not soon recover.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE TASK OF SOCIETY

After a generation of attention to abstract sociology, it is surely not precipitate if the sociologists begin to indicate some of the lines of action which the implications of the social process, as they have so far made it out, seem to demand.

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, XIX, 433; and *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, VIII.

As I have said, "If it were not commonplace, it would be astonishing that, after so many thousands of years of human history, we have no consensus as to why we are living at all."¹ The sociologists will have turned out to be a futile folk, if their work does not make powerfully for the formation of such a consensus. Analysis of the process of life, as it has gone forward so far, is by no means complete, but it has penetrated deep enough to yield some credible insights into the trend of the process. These insights are authentic guides to further pursuit of the process. It is in order for the sociologists to interpret these insights in such a way that they will become actual social forces, and will acquire recognized influence in shaping the controlling policies of society.

That is, materials for a distinctly modern view of life have been delivered to the present generation by the practical and the scientific experiences of the past century, and particularly of the past half-century. No one is more naturally indicated to take the lead in organizing these materials for general use in shaping general ideals and purposes and policies, than the social scientists. In plain words, the common-sense business of every man who can think about social relations is to join with every similar man in asking the question, What is the best we have found out about the meaning of life, and what does it show us about the wisest policies in carrying on the life of society?

It is now more than thirty years since Lester F. Ward, speaking as a physical scientist, an evolutionist, with his whole scientific interest converging upon social problems, puzzled the few people who heard of his book by the confident way in which he rung the changes upon the theme that we are about to emerge from the stage of *unconscious* progress into the era of *artificial* progress. His meaning was, in brief, that hitherto very few individuals have tried to take knowledge of life in a large, connected way. On the whole, men have pursued relatively trivial purposes, with relatively little attention to remoter aspects of what they were doing, and especially to general tendencies produced by the sum of these uncorrelated actions. We are arriving at ability to perform social surveys, to understand social cause and effect, to see that the actions

¹ *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XIX, 442.

of minor groups and of individuals are affected, for weal or woe, by the ways in which they work into the large scheme of action carried on by people in general. Common sense will accordingly force us more and more to take notice of all that experience has taught about social wisdom, and to lay plans accordingly.

In sociological language this is expressed in variations of the proposition that *social* consciousness is due for enlarging influence, as compared with irresponsible individual consciousness.

Since Ward first wrote, much has occurred in the way of verification of his prophecy. The thing which seemed so preposterous when he published it, now seems to many people a matter of course; and many more people who would not accept the abstract proposition have been falling into habits which are in line with his formulation.

On the basis of the partial survey which we have made of American conditions, nothing is more evident than that the underlying task of Americans in the immediate future is to develop an intelligent and efficient social consciousness. This judgment is affirmed, in one way or another, by everyone who has spoken of late for a progressivism of any sort that really rings true. Implied in all the more specific programs is a certain degree of perception that this general condition must be satisfied.

In what follows I am going to develop what seem to me elements of social knowledge, valuation, and purpose for which our present social experience vouches, and which present Americans may be credited with capacity to assimilate. To express it in another way, if we think of American life for a moment as a graded school, and of ourselves as a commission authorized to prescribe the curriculum for the grades that will be taking their schooling in the immediate future, among the things which belong next in the school curriculum are those now to be discussed. They are not obscure and subtle mysteries of highly specialized sociology. We may have to talk about them occasionally in academic terms, but the ideas themselves are breath and blood and food of better life for all the people. The essential task of our immediate future is to get these elementary social conceptions familiar in the minds of all the people as plain citizens. The individualistic outlook of our

ancestors found it expedient to make the three R's the substance of the common-school curriculum. They were supposed to constitute the technique of that career of each making his own fortune which was the earlier conception of the human lot. Our present conception of the human lot has so changed that we find a necessity for a grade of schooling after the three R's have been acquired. Somehow or other it will, on the one hand, presuppose all that science has learned which has a discoverable meaning for the human lot, and on the other hand, by virtue of that fact, it will indicate the program for which vital religion should furnish the most dependable motive.

By a *purely secular ethic*, I mean a conception of *ends* which are within the range of the visible career of men, and which are the most convincing correlation of the lesser and the larger purposes that are found to have a place in human life. This secular ethic need have no collisions with religious conceptions of what is larger and longer than human life, namely, with those transcendental conceptions in which mundane life is merely incidental; unless those religious conceptions assume an authority within mundane relations to displace positive knowledge and rational evaluations of the knowledge.

As I have said:

It looks to me altogether probable that men will one day be substantially agreed in this—that efficiency in living involves as a minimum the utmost correlation of human powers in endeavor after those concerted social achievements which prove by experience to do most toward placing physical resources at the disposal of all the world's people; and which at the same time do most toward inclining all the world's people so to use those resources that they may become progressively admirable people.¹

This proposition illustrates what I mean by the phrase "a purely secular ethic"; that is, a comprehensive notion of what human experience is all about, what it is making for at its best, and how this conception of it, at the largest and best which we can discover in it, becomes a test, and a measure and a guide for all the conduct of life which is continually putting itself under judgment as promoting or retarding this largest conceivable best.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 442.

Life without such a controlling conception is sure to be confused at best. It may be chaotic and self-contradictory at worst. In sheer desperation for some ethical guide, men have over and over again accepted someone's guesswork, and have called it a *divine* guide.

It is not necessary in order to command their attention to convince relatively sophisticated modern men that one's correlating moral conception contains all that may ever be known, by beings human and superhuman, about super-mundane purposes; i.e., it is no longer necessary to get a working principle accepted as an *absolute truth* before its approximate value may be recognized. All that is necessary, as a basis for argument at least, is to satisfy the minds of modern men that the moral conception proposed as a principle of correlation and evaluation actually does furnish a means of grading moral values, of assigning positions of lesser and greater importance to all the competing interests and activities within knowable human experience.

The formula just used is the latest expression which I have been able to make of the scale of secular values which is most likely to convince modern men. With substantially this formula, we may plan our campaigns for social education in the larger sense, and for social improvement. We may go as directly about specific programs, based on this presupposition, as any of the older prophets did when their audience believed their fundamental "Thus saith the Lord!" We can say to the most materialistically minded man on the street, "Look here! You know in the back of your head that this is what life is for at last, and you know what makes toward it, and what makes against it!" He may not admit either member of the proposition, but the chances are he suspects that the former part is true, and he is obliged to admit the relevancy of any evidence we may assemble in support of the latter.

Whether individuals admit either the logic or the morals of this appeal, the logic of the social process ratifies both. There is an economy of human interests which resistlessly adjusts itself in accordance with this ethic. The victory has always come at last to the interest genuinely loyal to the purpose: that which does

most and best for the greatest number of human beings in the way of fixing the standard of human life for men in general. The only defeat which this purpose has ever sustained in the long run has been the victory in disguise of discovering by means of conflict a "more" and a "better" for human beings than the specific "most" and "best" over which the beginnings of the conflict were waged. Time after time, throughout the centuries, intrenched institutions, economic, political, social, and religious, have attempted to perpetuate themselves, after they had become injurious to the developing interests of human beings. Always the institutions have had to yield, and a freer, better secured, more highly developed human being has inherited the results of the conflict. One of the most timely contributions that could be made to social progress in the United States would be a series of popular reading books, covering the range of known human history, and telling the story of human experience in terms of this perception. One of the keenest critics of religious orthodoxy in the nineteenth century scandalized the conservatives by declaring, in connection with the dogma of "the fall of man"—"Yes, man has been continually falling, but every fall has been a fall upward." The element of truth in the remark is in the line of the perception expressed in the last paragraph. The course of human experience has been over a spiral track, and the variations from the main path of the spiral have been at tangents starting from almost every point, and reaching out long distances from the general direction of the human movement. This general direction has nevertheless been marked by steadily accumulating particulars in which human beings have arrived at more complete finding of themselves, and possession of themselves. Whether we have theories or not that something else might be the transcendental, or even the transcendent, reason for the visible human process, this self-realization of human beings is the most valuable outcome in sight. It is the thing toward which, so far as human insight has thus far been able to make out, "the whole creation moves." Until a larger vision brings into focus some superior value, as a measure of all possible casual values, this self-realization of persons will, must, and should stand in judgment as the measure of value for all human programs,

or, in a word, as our supreme working criterion of morals. The primary moral task of our civilization is to establish this conviction in the general conscience as securely as the alphabet and the multiplication table are established in the general intelligence.

A single concrete illustration may indicate the whole strategy of attack and defence which would be most probable in case of quarrel with our historical generalization. A demurrer might be filed in these terms: "The generalization is false, as shown by the instance of the American Negro. Ethical sentimentalists fought to improve his condition. The result was a change of his condition, but it was a change for the worse."

Suppose the facts were at this moment as alleged—and as to the matter of fact no expression of opinion is necessary for our purpose—the rejoinder, from the point of view indicated by our thesis, would be substantially this: The returns are not all in yet. It is too early to talk of "results," in this case, if we mean by "results" an accounting which may be accepted as closing the historical incident. To be sure, the case up to date has not turned out as anybody anticipated. Those enthusiasts in particular are disappointed who imagined that it would be a glorious consummation for the Negro, when he should literally "call no man master," and should have a ballot in his hand. Perhaps his condition sums up now as worse than it was under slavery. Perhaps, however, as a result of the alleged actual regress concealed under the formal progress alleged in the deceptive terms "emancipation" and "enfranchisement," he may presently reach a consummation of self-mastering and self-direction and self-realization. If this takes place, it will be the latest demonstration on a large scale of the logic of history generalized in the ethical principle in question.

Passing from the credentials of the principle, it is perhaps less evident, and it is perhaps a matter of anxiety to fewer people, that there is any actual antagonism in American society to the ethical principle as stated. Most social theorists appear to be under the impression that Americans of all sorts tacitly accept, as their ultimate social principle, substantially what is involved in the standard cited, namely, that which does most and best for the greatest number of human beings. In qualification of that view

I have more than once published my own opinion that capitalism is a diametrical contradiction of that standard, and I need not enlarge here on that phase of the question. Even if there were in our society no antagonism in principle to this ethical ideal, its weakness as an effective social factor would constitute the central moral problem of our society. I think it is worth while, however, to raise the question in passing and from another standpoint, whether we are not deceiving ourselves as to our actual ethical standards.

I put the problem in the form of a possible comparison with a state of mind half a century ago in England. Is there, in any part of the American mind, anything resembling the caste morality to which John Stuart Mill refers in his *Autobiography*, and in Volume I, Book IV, chapter vii, of the *Political Economy*?

In the former, Mill gives us some vivid hints about the cynicism of English society in general as to possible altruistic motives in human nature. These side lights occur especially in connection with his appreciations of Bentham's philosophy.

Mill had previously referred to himself and Comte as "sociologists." Referring to the period after 1843, and before the publication of his *Political Economy* in 1848, he refers to himself and Mrs. Taylor, afterward his wife, in this way:

We were now much less democratic than I had been, because so long as education continues to be so wretchedly imperfect, we dreaded the ignorance and especially the selfishness and brutality of the mass: but our ideal of ultimate improvement went far beyond Democracy, and would class us decidedly under the general designation of Socialists. While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most socialistic systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious, when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the produce of labor, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to.¹

Mill says further:

In the *Principles of Political Economy* these opinions were promulgated, less clearly and fully in the first edition, rather more so in the second, and

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 149.

quite unequivocally in the third (1852). The difference arose partly from the change of times, the first edition having been written and sent to press before the French Revolution of 1848, after which the public mind became more open to the reception of novelties in opinion, and doctrines appeared moderate which would have been thought very startling a short time before.¹

On page 152 Mill says that he treated political economy as a branch of social philosophy.

Speaking for Mrs. Taylor and for himself, Mill says:²

The social problem of the future we considered to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor. We had not the presumption to suppose that we could already foresee by what precise form of institutions these objects could most effectually be attained, or at how near or how distant a period they would become practicable. We saw clearly that to render any such social transformation either possible or desirable, an equivalent change of character must take place both in the uncultivated herd who now compose the laboring masses, and in the immense majority of their employers. Both these classes must learn by practise to labor and combine for generous, or at all events for public and social purposes, and not, as hitherto, solely for narrowly interested ones. But the capacity to do this has always existed in mankind, and is not, nor is ever likely to be, extinct. Education, habit, and the cultivation of the sentiments will make a common man dig or weave for his country as readily as fight for his country. True enough, it is only by slow degrees, and a system of culture prolonged through successive generations, that men in general can be brought up to this point. But the hindrance is not in the essential constitution of human nature. Interest in the common good is at present so weak a motive in the generality, not because it can never be otherwise, but because the mind is not accustomed to dwell on it as it dwells from morning till night on things which tend only to personal advantage. When called into activity, as only self-interest now is, by the daily course of life, and spurred from behind by the love of distinction and the fear of shame, it is capable of producing, even in common men, the most strenuous exertions as well as the most heroic sacrifices. The deep-rooted selfishness which forms the general character of the existing state of society is so deeply rooted only because the whole course of existing institutions tends to foster it; and modern institutions in some respects more than ancient, since the occasions on which the individual is called on to do anything for the public without receiving its pay, are far less frequent in modern life than in the smaller commonwealths of antiquity. These considerations did not make us overlook the folly of premature attempts to dispense with the inducement of private interest in social affairs, while no

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

² *Loc. cit.*; written in 1861.

substitute for them has been or can be provided: but we regarded all existing institutions and social arrangements as being (in a phrase I once heard from Austin) "merely provisional," and we welcomed with the greatest pleasure and interest all socialistic experiments by select individuals (such as the co-operative societies) which, whether they succeeded or failed, could not but operate as a most useful education of those who took part in them, by cultivating their capacity of acting upon motives pointing directly to the general good, or making them aware of the defects which render them and others incapable of doing so.

A paragraph later (p. 151), speaking of the period during which he wrote his *Political Economy* (1845-47), Mill says:

In this period of little more than two years, there was an interval of six months during which the work was laid aside, while I was writing articles in the *Morning Chronicle* (which unexpectedly entered warmly into my purpose) urging the formation of peasant properties on the waste lands of Ireland. This was during the period of the Famine, the Winter of 1846-47, when the stern necessities of the time seemed to afford a chance of gaining attention for what appeared to me to be the only mode of combining relief to immediate destitution with permanent improvement of the social and economic condition of the Irish people.

But the idea was new and strange; there was no English precedent for such a proceeding; and the profound ignorance of English politicians and the English public concerning all social phenomena not generally met with in England (however common elsewhere) made my endeavors an entire failure. Instead of a great operation on the waste lands, and the conversion of cottiers into proprietors, Parliament passed a Poor Law for maintaining them as paupers; and if the nation has not since found itself in inextricable difficulties from the joint operation of the old evils and the quack remedy, it is indebted for its deliverance to that most unexpected and surprising fact, the depopulation of Ireland, commenced by famine and continued by emigration.

These reflections will serve to bring out the meaning of some of the direct and some of the indirect references made about a decade earlier in the famous chapter of the *Political Economy* on "The Probable Futurity of the Laboring Classes." Mill says (Vol. II, p. 342):

Considered in its moral and social aspect, the state of the laboring people has latterly been a subject of much more speculation and discussion than formerly; and the opinion that it is not now what it ought to be, has become very general. The suggestions which have been promulgated, and the controversies which have been excited on detached points rather than on the foundations of the subject, have put in evidence the existence of two

conflicting theories respecting the social position desirable for manual laborers. The one may be called the *theory of dependence and protection*, the other that of *self-dependence*.

According to the former theory, the lot of the poor, in all things which affect them collectively, should be regulated for them, not by them. They should not be required or encouraged to think for themselves, or give to their own reflection, or forecast an influential voice in the determination of their destiny. It is supposed to be the duty of the higher classes to think for them, and to take the responsibility of their lot, as the commander and officers of an army take that of the soldiers composing it. This function, it is contended, the higher classes should prepare themselves to perform conscientiously, and their whole demeanor should impress the poor with reliance on it, in order that, while yielding passive and active obedience to the rules prescribed for them, they may resign themselves in all other respects to a trustful *insouciance* and repose under the shadow of their protectors. The relation between rich and poor, according to this theory (a theory also applied to the relation between men and women), should be only partly authoritative; it should be amiable, moral and affectionate tutelage, on the one side, respectful and grateful deference on the other. The rich should be *in loco parentis* to the poor, guiding and restraining them like children. Of spontaneous action on their part there should be no need. They should be called on for nothing but to do their day's work, and to be moral and religious. Their morality and religion should be provided for them by their superiors, who should see them properly taught it, and should do all that is necessary to ensure their being, in return for labor and attachment, properly fed, clothed, housed, spiritually edified, and innocently amused.

This is the ideal of the future, in the minds of those whose dissatisfaction with the Present assumes the form of affection and regret towards the Past. Like other ideals, it exercises an unconscious influence on the opinions and sentiments of numbers who never consciously guide themselves by any ideal. It has also this in common with other ideals, that it has never been historically realized. It makes its appeal to our imaginative sympathies in the character of a restoration of the good times of our forefathers. But no times can be pointed out in which the higher classes of this or any other country performed a part even distantly resembling the one assigned to them in this theory. It is an idealization, grounded on the conduct and character of here and there an individual. All privileged and powerful classes, as such, have used their power in the interest of their own selfishness, and have indulged their self-importance in despising, and not lovingly caring for, those who were, in their estimation, degraded, by being under the necessity of working for their benefit. I do not affirm that what has always been must always be, or that human improvement has no tendency to correct the intensely selfish feelings engendered by power; but though the evil may be lessened, it cannot be eradicated until the power itself is withdrawn. This, at least, seems to me undeniable, that long before

the superior classes could be sufficiently improved to govern in the tutelary manner supposed, the inferior classes would be too much improved to be so governed.

I am quite sensible of all that is seductive in the picture of society which this theory presents. Though the facts of it have no prototype in the past, the feelings have. In *them* lies all that there is of reality in the conception. As the idea is essentially repulsive of a society only held together by the relations and feelings arising out of pecuniary interests, so there is something naturally attractive in a form of society abounding in strong personal attachments and disinterested self-devotion. Of such feelings it must be admitted that the relation of protector and protected has hitherto been the richest source. The strongest attachments of human beings in general are towards the things or the persons that stand between them and some dreaded evil. Hence in an age of lawless violence and insecurity, and general hardness and roughness of manners, in which life is beset with dangers and suffering at every step, to those who have neither a commanding position of their own, nor a claim on the protection of someone who has—a generous giving of protection, and grateful receiving of it, are the strongest ties which connect human beings; the feelings arising from that relation are their warmest feelings; all the enthusiasm and tenderness of the most sensitive natures gather round it; loyalty on the one part and chivalry on the other are principles exalted into passions. I do not desire to depreciate these qualities. The error lies in not perceiving that these virtues and sentiments, like the clanship and the hospitality of the wandering Arab, belong emphatically to a rude and imperfect state of the social union, and that the feelings between protector and protected, whether between kings and subjects, rich and poor, or men and women, can no longer have this beautiful and endearing character, where there are no longer any serious dangers from which to protect. What is there in the present state of society to make it natural that human beings of ordinary strength and courage should glow with the warmest gratitude and devotion in return for protection? The laws protect them wherever the laws do not criminally fail in their duty. To be under the power of some one, instead of being as formerly the sole condition of safety, is now, speaking generally, the only situation which exposes to grievous wrong. The so called protectors are now the only persons against whom, in any ordinary circumstances, protection is needed. The brutality and tyranny with which every police report is filled, are those of husbands to wives, of parents to children. That the law does not prevent these atrocities, that it is only now making a first timid attempt to repress and punish them, is no matter of necessity, but the deep disgrace of those by whom the laws are made and administered. No man or woman who either possesses or is able to earn an independent livelihood, requires any protection than that which the law could and ought to give. This being the case, it argues great ignorance of human nature to continue taking for granted that relations founded on protection must always

subsist, and not to see that the assumption of the part of protector, and of the power which belongs to it, without any of the necessities which justify it, must engender feelings opposite to loyalty.

Of the working men, at least in the more advanced countries of Europe, it may be pronounced certain, that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject. That question was decided, when they were taught to read and allowed access to newspapers and political tracts; when dissenting preachers were suffered to go among them, and appeal to their faculties and feelings in opposition to the creeds professed and countenanced by their superiors; when they were brought together in numbers, to work socially under the same roof; when railways enabled them to shift from place to place, and change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats; when they were encouraged to seek a share in the government, by means of the electoral franchise. The working classes have taken their interests into their own hands, and are perpetually showing that they think the interests of their employers not identical with their own, but opposite to them. Some among the higher classes flatter themselves that these tendencies may be contracted by moral and religious education; but they have let the time go by for giving an education which can serve their purpose. The principles of the Reformation had reached as low down in society as reading and writing, and the poor will not much longer accept morals and religion of other people's prescribing.

Returning, then, to the query raised above as to whether something different from a genuinely ethical preconception occupies the minds of so many Americans that it amounts to an arrest of social development, this must be said: There is surely a benumbing uncertainty in the minds of Americans about the scale of values to which their efforts should correspond. We are not at one with ourselves as to whether the goal of life is material and selfish or spiritual and social. From the poor wretches who would stoop to any infamy for money to the magnates of finance who would plunge the nations into war rather than sacrifice the interests of capital there is a sodden and sightless element in our society which does its part to keep us all from having a stimulating vision of the human enterprise. On the other hand, we have vague instincts of a paramount moral destiny. These instincts vary in expression from the bombastic and ambiguous quotation in advertisements of a five-cent cigar—"I am for men"—to the loftiest poetic and religious assertions of the incomparable value of humanity. There is no social guaranty worth trusting in a society which is not con-

vinced that the measure of meanness of or merit in men's actions is what they import for human beings.

The first task of civilization is to secure food enough to sustain life. The next task is to make life worthy enough to be worth sustaining. The main lesson to be learned in our present grade of civilization is that our basic business is to develop efficiency in making better people of ourselves. This means not the production of a few self-conscious individualistic prigs, which was the utmost that could be hoped of the older types of morals. It means that we must learn to see ourselves as engaged in divisions of labor upon a common task, and that we must develop the controlling habit of judging and directing ourselves by the standard of loyalty in trying to make this common task successful.

We have one very literal example in the world of a national program for teaching this fundamental social lesson on a large scale. It is the German policy and practice of universal conscription for military duty. Other nations carry out the same policy with differences of detail. Whether the military application of the principle is valid or not is beside the present question. Each year the young men of military age are called to the colors. They are required to take the soldier's oath, and they enter upon three years of discipline in the idea that they especially and citizens generally are merely doing what belongs to them as members of the nation when they respond to requisitions by the community for service to the community.

The underlying idea of European military systems, at least the idealization relied on to support the policy, is genuinely ethical. It is the conception that the individual leads an abnormal life unless his powers are dedicated to the weal of society. The crudeness of a civilization may be measured by the margin between this standard and its ruling moral code. A short time before his death, February, 1914, General Joshua L. Chamberlain, "the hero of Little Round Top," was asked how he happened to leave his quiet life as a college professor to enlist in the army. His answer was, "There was no happening about it. My country called, and I simply answered with the best that was in me." A civilization is essentially barbarous until its members in general have that moral attitude.

The beginnings of a genuinely ethical conception of life are made with the achievement of a sense of responsibility to make one's talents count for what they are worth in a system of reciprocal services.

In so far as this rendering of ethics has been published at all in America, it has been mostly by the preachers and a few academic teachers. It can hardly be said to have made much impression on Americans at large as an everyday social standard to be taken seriously. The matter-of-course everyday program for Americans is "hustling for the main chance," and the "main chance" is very seldom first and foremost the chance to make one's self count for all one is worth in discharging some social function. "Hustling for the main chance" means working one's opportunities so as to get out of them all there is in them for one's self. A civilization with this motive as its driving force is merely moral chaos mitigated by perfunctory accommodations to order. If each man scamps his job whenever he can individually gain at the expense of the job, the total limitation of output in the society amounts to relative scarcity in place of relative abundance, relative inefficiency instead of relative efficiency. A genuine secular ethic is a principle of universal energizing up toward maximum capacity in the production of all sorts of values. The practical reflex of this principle is the program—*Every man making his own job contribute all it can toward the total result.*

So far is this outlook from setting a "social" problem in the United States that it is hard to find an American so poor in his own esteem as to do the idea the passing reverence of a sneer. As a *sociological* problem it reaches down underneath all our other tasks. It is almost impossible, as we shall see, to probe below the surface of any other social or sociological problem without finding that we are just beginning to get at its elements when we learn that it must be stated as a particular case of this general ethical problem. Quite in the line of Lester F. Ward's perception, that all other social forces are futile unless they are charged and recharged with that elementary knowledge which contains the motive energy of endeavor, is this version that society must halt, or deteriorate, or perish, if knowledge is lacking *that* society is, and *what* it is, and *how* and

why the individual must give it his allegiance on penalty of the abortion of his own interests. As a sociological proposition, the initial problem of American civilization is how to fill all sorts and conditions of men with this knowledge of the ethical medium in which all relatively advanced progress lives, moves, and has its being. It is the problem of getting every range of life, from the humblest home and the commonest employment, to the largest economic, governmental, scientific, and religious operation, moving in response to this radical ethical impulse, the obligation to make one's self all that one can be made as a factor in the functioning of the whole.

I shall now try to make this general outlook more specific by elaborating several of the fifteen main propositions in the paper already referred to, "A Vision of Social Efficiency." We may regard those fifteen propositions as titles of a bill of particulars under the proposition discussed above, viz., the underlying task of Americans in the immediate future is to develop an intelligent and efficient social consciousness.

Assuming then that we are still acting as a commission charged with shaping our national education, the task involves among other things the following practical curriculum:

1. We should presume that, as a matter of course, the enormous enterprise of utilizing this space and time, these material deposits and physical energies and moral opportunities is a community undertaking, an affair of co-operation in duties and copartnership in enjoyments, with the common interest always effectively paramount to minor aims.¹

We have no record of thought which does not pay tribute to the fact that the human lot is an affair of co-operation. This tribute is both forced and voluntary. It is both conscious and unconscious. The reality has somehow made itself felt in spite of ingenious and recalcitrant efforts to invent the contrary. From the Code of Hammurabi (Babylon, 2287-2232 B.C.) to the latest revised statutes, some form of the fundamental law has been stereotyped between the lines, "men's fortunes are made or marred by one another." From Plato to Nietzsche the pendulum of theory has swung from the collectivistic to the atomistic extreme in conceptions of the human lot, but no one has been able to avoid final

¹ See *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XIX, 435.

reckoning with the obdurate fact that human life has to be a program of co-operation between persons. Sometimes theorists have chosen to treat the situation flippantly or cynically. The Atlantic Ocean and the changes of the seasons have likewise furnished spurs to frivolity. They remain facts nevertheless. Mandeville was the Chesterton of the eighteenth century (1670-1733). Whatever he meant by his *Fable of the Bees* (*The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turned Honest*, 1705), under any interpretation it is a picture of social interdependences, and Maeterlinck, with the same theme, has not been able to get far from the same conclusion.

Our main proposition, viz., "We must learn to adjust ourselves to a conception of life which is avowedly and systematically ethical," has been accepted as a commonplace, and substantially in the sense indicated above, by the most influential German economists since 1872. This is the first cardinal difference between German and English economic theorists. The second practically co-ordinate difference between the two groups is in one sense a mere application of the first. Its importance is more evident if we consider it without reference to the more general ethical principle of which it is an expression. The German economists in 1872 deliberately repudiated the dogma *laissez faire* as a key to community policy. They adopted in its place the conception that life in society must be concerted, co-operative construction. The Germans were merely returning to immemorial German tradition when they made this profession of faith. They had spent more than a half-century trying to convince themselves that the British type of theoretical individualism was the beginning of wisdom. At length they returned from the husks to their father's house. Since that time they have shown very few signs of wavering in their loyalty to the community idea.

The Germans are not cited as authority, to prove the validity of the community conception. It has often been convenient, however, to have German experience at hand, as a check to the arrogance of individualistic dogmatism. If there had been on record no equally conspicuous case of national success on the collectivistic basis, it would have been much more difficult for men who were convinced of the shallowness of British liberalism

to assert themselves against its self-confident smugness. Germany is too big a fact to be sneered out of sociological argument. If England has prospered on a quasi-individualistic basis, which could not possibly have been thoroughgoing individualism in reality, Germany in the last half-century has prospered much more wonderfully, considering the handicap carried, while professing and practicing a policy which has often, in England and America, been denounced with the supposedly damning epithet "socialistic."

But in fact Great Britain is sufficient answer to British theory. Great Britain, professing the *laissez faire* creed and at the same time maintaining the "two nation standard" for her navy, should overtax the tensile strength of any sense of humor but the British. Whatever the policy of Great Britain has been, it has been the policy of Great Britain, not of an unorganized horde of individuals. *Laissez faire* and civilized nationality are utterly contradictory conceptions. No nation exists today except by virtue of collectivistic policies of some sort. The only practical alternative for nations is not between a community program and an individualistic program, but between a perfunctory, disguised, dissembled, inconsistent, unintelligent, and inefficient community program and a voluntary, conscious, avowed, coherent, scientific, and competent community program.

Civilization is a veneer, not a character, until the members of the society have settled with themselves that they have a community destiny, and that their highest well-being depends upon making the implications of that destiny their most conscientious study and the systematic object of their endeavor. Americans are no longer the cocksure individualists that they were in the rampageous Jacksonian days. On the other hand, they have not made up their minds to take the social reality for granted and to go frankly about learning what it indicates. In one of its aspects the present American attitude toward the community phase of life is a species of spinsterish prudery trying to ignore out of existence facts as vital as sex.

The indicated curriculum in practical sociology for Americans calls for foundation courses in the theory and practice of community action. Just at present the center of attention among school men is upon the subject of *vocational education*. As a matter of immediate

adaptation to urgent needs, this trend is an expression of instinctive opportunism; but so far as it succeeds it merely postpones the beginning of deliberate training for community co-operation, and substitutes a program of equipping individuals for more efficient competition in the half-conscious economic struggle. That is, "vocational training" is commendable in itself, but we have not begun to learn how to correlate the individual's vocational skill and ambition with conceptions and purposes related to the big social vocation of controlling the conditions that make for the multiplication of more admirable people. Colonel Parker and John Dewey have been prophets of this social vocation for elementary schools, and for all schools. It is questionable, however, whether the schools in any part of the United States do much more than they did a generation ago to socialize pupils. The program by which this may be accomplished will hardly be worked out by mere specialists in sociology, or even in the theory of education. It is hard to see how the elementary schools can become nurseries of socialization until actual socialization has progressed so far in the community at large, and particularly in the foremost agencies for socialization, family, school, church, and industry, that the schools can be supplied with teachers who are themselves storage batteries of social intelligence and social impulse. If a national superintendent of schools could have the power in the United States which is possessed by the head of public instruction in France, and if he should exert his influence to the uttermost to make the schools distributing centers of the community spirit, he could no more turn the present teachers into efficient molders of socialized pupils than, by ordering them to read the Bible and lead in prayer and religious hymns, he could transform them into successful evangelists. That is, there is not enough community spirit to go around, so as to count for much in a deliberate program of school discipline in socialization. There is only slightly more ground for assuming that the average holder of a high-school or normal-school certificate is qualified to be a disseminator of the community idea and spirit than there is for the same supposition in the case of the average farmer. At present the source of supply is below the level of the demand.

In other words, we have not in our educational system a combination of machinery by which we might reasonably expect to secure in a generation a stratum of intelligently and sympathetically socialized citizens. It is conceivable that our school machinery in the United States might be brought into such concerted operation that in thirty years everyone now five years old and under would be using simplified spelling, and that in consequence of the change most of the rest of the population would have come into line with the new practice. For the reason suggested, it is not conceivable that our schools could in any marked degree change the individualistic temper into the socialized temper in the course of the next generation. The impulses necessary to bring about such a change must spring from many sources, and the future alone can tell whether the schools can ever become centers of socialization to anything like the extent desired by Colonel Parker and Professor Dewey.

Meanwhile what are the alternatives? In confronting such a problem theorists are always strongly tempted to elaborate beautifully schematic counsels of perfection, exhibiting how successfully their logically coherent schemes would work, if they worked. No plausible program is in sight, however, for turning Americans into people controlled by an adequate conception of social community, and by corresponding loyalty to its implications. That is, no program can be suggested which might be operated systematically from any existing or possible center of control. The only convincing program is the experimental one of energizing the organs of social consciousness that have already been developed, and of reiterating the facts about the social reality so that they will become the mold for the thought and action of an increasing ratio of people.

The failures or successes of people are in part determined by the ill- or well-workings of the community in which they live and move and have their being. This theorem is in no conflict whatsoever with the equally true theorem that the failures or successes of human beings are in part determined by themselves alone. Both theorems are true, and both must always have their place and proportion in every responsible program for the ordering of life. Our

emphasis at present is on the factor in the life-problem represented by the proposition: *The ill- or well-workings of the community may defeat or support the best efforts of individuals.* Virtually, then, the ill- or well-working of the community is as constant and vital an element in the career of the individual as his own existence. The valid efficiency test of American life will have to give large importance to the question: To what extent are Americans paying attention to the well- or ill-workings of their social relations? To what extent are men from the farm to the White House concerned about the efficiency of the team work between themselves and those fellow-citizens with whom they most intimately function? How systematically and persistently are those Americans who are charged with the leadership of American thinking plying the public mind with repetitions of the primary lesson, that the beginning of all our weal or woe is the efficiency or the inefficiency of our co-operation all along the line in carrying on the big task of keeping the general standards and realizations of life on the upgrade?

Under the title "Henry Ford's Experiment in Good Will," *Everybody's Magazine* for April, 1914, has the following: "The Ford plant is keyed to a certain output. No one department can work faster than another and keep it up without throwing the whole shop out of tune." How many people in the Ford plant have realized, and how many people in the tens of thousands of other American industrial concerns in which the same relation is more or less visible have realized, that these cases in point are merely items in the same mighty moral economy which Emerson was looking at, from another angle, when he said, "No man can be heroic except in an heroic world"? How many Americans have realized that such detached glimpses into the verities of the human reality go with similar relations throughout the whole range of experience to make up the big truth, that no group can do anything at its best, unless the members, each at his own post, function up to the standard of the group expectations; and no individual can be and do his best unless the group in which his lot is cast furnishes him the co-operation that offers fair scope for his type of action? But this is actually the contribution that the last century has

made to moral discovery. A century ago the industrial world was thrilled by the news, "Steam will drive machinery!" A large part of the energy of the nineteenth century was spent acting on the hint contained in the announcement. We made machinery, and we set steam to driving it, and we not only turned out fabulous quantities of goods, but we incidentally revolutionized society.

Meanwhile, largely as a by-product of this process of utilizing steam, we have stumbled on the biggest story that has been published up to date (and few Americans have yet had a "nose for news" sharp enough to scent its front-page importance), viz., that life is necessarily, all along the line, an interdependent affair, and that the first principle of making the most of it is to look out for the maximum efficiency of all our co-operations with one another.

The *Chicago Tribune* for March 25, 1914, contained this editorial:

TO EASIER TASKS

Announcement is made that the National Civic Federation will henceforth direct its energy to an analysis of the shortcomings of agricultural industry in the United States. After the diagnosis has been made remedies will be devised to strengthen the farmer and upbuild the farm industry.

Back of this unpretentious announcement is considerable social tragedy and despair. The National Civic Federation for more than a decade has been endeavoring to solve the labor problem in this country or at least to bring it nearer a solution. Its favorite theory was that industrial peace would be had in the United States if capital and labor could be brought together to "talk things over," instead of fighting things out. A number of the labor leaders in this country agreed with the Civic Federation plan. Samuel Gompers became a member and John Mitchell even accepted a high official post in the Federation.

But all this was in vain. The working masses seem more than ever opposed to the "get together policy" advocated by the Civic Federation. John Mitchell has been forced by his union to resign not only from office, but even from membership in the federation. President Gompers and a few other labor leaders of the old school still retain their membership in the organization presided over by Seth Low and August Belmont. But the younger trade-union leaders deny that there is any "community of interests between capital and labor."

In turning its attention to agricultural conditions the Civic Federation is seeking "green fields and pastures new" with an old and far from cheerful heart.

Whether or not the facts are as stated, in the case either of the National Civic Federation or of the leaders of organized labor, is not a matter that affects the illustrative value of the situation to which the editorial refers. For a century, employers and their agents have turned the half-truth contained in the "industrial harmony" theory into an insult to the intelligence of employees, and an outrage to their sense of justice. As a statement of the economy of co-operation in turning out a product which all concerned want to create, the "industrial harmony" theory reflects literal truth. As a pretense that the same harmony of interests which assigns functions in production controls the scheme of distribution, the theory is a stupid or hypocritical lie. Whether wage-workers have thought this through or not, they feel it, and there will be no peace between them and employers until a genuine basis for harmony can be established. That is, the actual community of interests between the different parties in distribution must be discovered. This actual community of interests must be recognized by both parties as the standard of their distributive relations. Then it will be found that both production and distribution are factors in a larger harmony than the greedy little capitalistic travesty of harmony had ever suggested.

We come back then to the commonplace which should be to the twentieth century what the control of steam was to the nineteenth, viz., that men by acting as communities may add many cubits to their stature. To use a familiar word in an unfamiliar sense, men are by nature *communicants*. Next to the resources of physical nature—and indeed we do not yet know whether it will turn out to be second or first in importance—this destiny of self-realization as an incident of community realization is the most prolific human endowment. Translated into terms of our present conditions, the legendary command to the progenitors of our race—"Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth"—becomes this: Find out the things worth bringing to pass which can be brought to pass only when men act as members one of another, and energize your community relations to the degree that will be sufficient unto these achievements.

I have said that the twentieth century should be characterized by appropriation of this discovery. Perhaps that is too optimistic.

Perhaps it will take all of the twentieth century and more to get this news item into all the newspapers. Perhaps it will take further centuries to get very much corresponding action. I do not believe the rate of the social movement is to be as slow as that. Nevertheless, one would risk very little in giving bonds to find in almost any assembly of Americans, from a ward caucus or a trade-union local to the national convention of a religious denomination, or the Congress of the United States, a majority who show relatively as little understanding of the promise and potency of social co-operation as similar types had demonstrated about the powers of electricity, at the time when Franklin was flying his kite.

About 1875 Spencer and Schäffle made the first impressive attempts to give scientific expression to this community reality. Their renderings were amplifications of the formula "Society is an organism." Only here and there a scholar greeted these innovations with anything more respectful than decently veiled contempt. The rule was supercilious indifference or vulgar misrepresentation. Today the essentials in the community rendering of the human lot are perfunctorily admitted by the majority of scholars in the social sciences, but in England and the United States only a few have admitted that this community reality must dictate to social science a complete change of front from the formations which have thus far been occupied. Whether scholars in the social sciences, or leaders in popular social movements, are to become the effective leaders in developing a social consciousness corresponding with the objective community reality, remains to be seen. Meanwhile the advance in general intelligence which must be accomplished before the conditions will be present for the next indicated social reconstruction, may be expressed in this way: It must become as commonplace for men in all the relations of life to connect up their actions in thought with the community relationships in which they are involved, either as causes or effects, as it is for all sorts of men to reckon with electrical energy to the extent of turning a button, or taking down a receiver. At the same time, it must become as commonplace with all sorts of men to put themselves into the co-operative adjustments with their associates which these community relationships indicate, as it now is for

everyone to accomplish his short-distance locomotion through the aid of a trolley.

If social achievement worked out strictly in accordance with rational logic, no progress could be made until these preliminary conditions had been satisfied. Fortunately or unfortunately, the social process is not parallel with the syllogistic process. Things which are logical consequents often appear long in advance of things which are logical antecedents. For example, a large part of the humanitarian legislation in England and the United States during the past century directly contradicted the principles of political philosophy which were supposed to be in control. In fact, human experience and social doctrines are far more experimental and inductive than we admit. We no sooner arrive at a generalization, and resolve that it shall henceforth have dominion over us, than we leave it in solitary state, except upon ceremonial occasions, and busy ourselves finding out how well we can get along regardless of the sanctified presupposition. It is not till we get back to the presupposition, or some substitute, by way of the ratification derived from our vagrant experiments, that it has its securest tenure of office, and its maximum efficiency. Americans, along with the rest of civilized people, are trying ten thousand experiments in co-operation, while most Americans are still paying such vows as they pay anywhere before the altar of individualism. The grade of schooling which Americans are now going through is an adventure by Baal worshipers in finding out that it is not their Baal which has produced the results. They have been giving the glory to individualism. The efficiency has been predominantly that of a community. Everyone who is intelligent enough to value systematization of the results of experience and the capitalization of those results as co-ordinators of conduct, must recognize that the chief function of this grade of social schooling will be whatever it can accomplish in the way of lodging this community idea among the permanent elements in the general consciousness.

It would be futile to prophesy what the record of Americans will be during their next stage of social schooling. They may not get a "passing mark." They may fail of promotion to the next grade till they have lagged long beyond the normal period for

acquiring beggarly elements. The social achievement that must be realized, however, as our next step ahead is heightened consciousness of our dependence upon one another. To put it the other way, we cannot achieve our next stage of prosperity unless we realize on our assets as potential co-operators. From the housemaid who wastes more than her wages, and regards it as something to her credit that she is heedless of her employer's interests, to the congressman who steers his course by calculation of "what there is in it" for himself, the outlook must somehow be gained that this is not the way to make the most out of life. In order to be in the way of accomplishing the big purpose of promoting the evolution of a cumulatively capable and capacious human type, each member of the community must arrive at the feeling that he is both making the most of his personal opportunities and counting most toward the general result, when he is making the functionings for which he is responsible as reliable and efficient as possible. The most important instruction-material, from kindergarten to Congress, for our present school curriculum, is specialized or generalized variations of the universal principle that in the long run we help ourselves best by helping one another.

Of course, the "self" presupposed in that generalization is a "self" developed far enough to have an inkling of interest in the whole human enterprise—a consciousness that the limits of one's interests are not reached when tolerable conditions exist in home or school or shop, but that one is successful or unsuccessful with the success or unsuccess of town and state and nation and civilization in general. Here then is what the Germans call a "cultural task"—a problem of living ourselves into appropriation of ranges of reality which in some respects make less appeal to Americans than to any other of the civilized nations. For those Americans who take their departure from formulation of sociological problems in the strict sense, this task is fundamental to all the rest. The primary sociological appeal to all people who influence the thinking of others must be: Throw the emphasis of untiring line-upon-line reiteration upon the fact that we do not see life sane or whole unless we see it as community life, and all its programs, from least to greatest, as wise or unwise in the degree in which they

aim to be programs of team work within the whole community enterprise.

In a word, Americans will not have passed the promotion tests for advancement into the next higher grade of social schooling until they have translated these primary sociological generalizations into the language and feeling and action of all sorts and conditions of men.

Continuing the fiction that we are taking counsel about the educational factors which are most essential in our American program of social schooling, the second aim to be realized in our national consciousness is ability to visualize life as an organization of physical means in the interest of moral ends.

As I have expressed it in the syllabus already referred to: Our maturest conclusion about our national enterprise is

that the innermost and ultimate meaning of the whole undertaking is not to be found in its mastery of physical conditions, but in its transmuting of this control of forces into realization of types of persons, surpassing one another, generation after generation, in progressive realization of completer physical and mental and moral attainments.¹

This proposition considered as a term in definition of subjective attitude is of course merely a somewhat more particularized version of our general theorem that objectivity requires an ethical rendering of social relations; and also of the foregoing specification that the primary clause in our ethical version of life makes it a matter of intensive co-operation between each and all of the members of the community. On its objective side, this proposition advances a step in the direction of a concrete content for the formal ethical conception.

We cannot avoid reiteration of the substance of these propositions in everything that we say about the further specifications. Under the present head in particular, we are not only obliged to reiterate what has already been expressed in a more general way, but also virtually to repeat some of the most familiar axioms of all morality which is not essentially physical technique in disguise. That is, morality, properly considered, consists of relations of persons to persons, not of persons to things, still less of things to

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 438.

things. Whatever the *mores*, on the side of valuations or programs the *mores* in the strict sense are always orderings of the relations of persons to persons. This, irrespective of the basic question whether or not particular *mores* presuppose that persons have this or that place in the scale of ultimate values.

It is neither slanderous nor cynical to point out that Americans thus far have been not only individualists but materialists. When related to its historical setting, there is nothing more abnormal or discreditable in our original materialism than in our individualism. Each was the psychical reaction appropriate to the objective conditions of an initial stage of social evolution. Condemnation of either of these in its embryonic character is forbidden by the commonplaces of social experience. Condemnation of both is indicated if we find ourselves deliberately reaffirming them as permanent qualities and standards, after we have arrived at ability to form judgments of social desirability on the basis of critical analysis of social functions.

In the previous section we have said enough for the present about individualism. The sense in which the term materialism is here used is attention to the problems centering about acquisition and physical use of things, without commensurate attention to the superphysical achievements into which things may be transmuted.

It is hard to decide whether the greatest obstacles in the way of translating our controlling purposes into terms of genuinely human relations are encountered among the people who will profess with vehemence that they regard the proposition as a matter of course, or among those who will declare that the alternative does not exist; that it is a mere form of words; that people deceive themselves if they fancy that the words really say anything; that things must always have the place that they now have in human programs; and that to imagine anything else is to suppose that there can be shadows without substances to cast them. We shall have to deal with both of these attitudes as we go on.

In a word, our American materialism is, on the one hand, merely a specific case of the universal gravitation toward eventual appraisal of anything which has been worth attaining, as though it were worth treating as an end in itself, a permanent standard and goal of attainment, instead of a means to further ends which begin to

be discernible the moment such a measure of success is achieved in striving for the proximate end, that occasional intermission of attention to the proximate end is possible; and imagination is set free to turn toward wider prospects. That is, one of our mental propensities is, after the object of certain types of effort has been attained, to treat that attainment as an inhibition of further effort which might in any way transform the previous attainment. The logic of the social process in America, when carried out only so far, amounts to this false syllogism: We had to get control of nature's resources in order to live; therefore continuing to get control of nature's resources is all there is to life.

On the other hand, our American materialism is still a salient trait after every just concession is made to the different types of *spiritualism* blended into our national character. Of all the religious types that have had a part in the making of America, Puritan, Pilgrim, Catholic, Quaker, Anglican, Huguenot, Lutheran, Jewish, not one of any considerable quantity has been in practice a real antithesis with materialism. On the contrary, each of these has used its type of spirituality for two very loosely correlated purposes; first, to stimulate that sort of worldliness which I mean by materialism in the present sense; second, to induce a type of otherworldliness which did not in effect inhibit or even seriously embarrass materialism in practice. The only qualification of this proposition, which the facts demand, is that our religious beliefs have modified the direction of our pursuit of wealth. They have not inhibited the pursuit itself. They have done so much to stimulate thrift and prudence and calculation of material advantage, that religion is in effect indirectly responsible in part for valuations of material ends which none of the types of religious creed referred to above would directly indorse. Not to speak sarcastically, our historical Christianity has bravely striven to realize the unity of standard which was implicit in the apostolic ideal, "not slothful in business, fervent in spirit," i.e., the material and the spiritual factors in motive. Our historical Christianity has often succeeded in making the spiritual motive supreme in the case of individuals. It has never succeeded in making the spiritual motive sovereign in a civilization.

If there are apparent exceptions to this rule, as in the case of John Calvin's régime at Geneva, or that of Hildebrand at Rome, the necessary qualifications must of course be admitted. I am not convinced that even such cases as these are real exceptions. At all events the rule has been as I have stated it. The antithesis has not always been as sharp as at the present time between the directly materialistic and the purely spiritual motive. Some type of social *power*, only indirectly exalting wealth, has been the more obvious corrupting factor in the standards of institutionalized religion. The genuinely moralizing factor has always been a struggling minority interest since Christianity became a political force.

The actual dualism between religious materialism and religious spirituality is as visible from our present outlook in Plymouth, or in Massachusetts Bay, or in William Penn's City of Brotherly Love, as it is at this moment in Chicago. I repeat that I am not formulating this fact as an accusation. I am calling attention to it as an inevitable genetic phenomenon. From the desperate struggle for existence during the first years at Jamestown and Plymouth to the present moment, there has never been a time when a prudent American could say to his fellow-Americans: "We have no more need to cumber ourselves with further thought of material things." We are accordingly in the condition of arrested mental and moral development which corresponds with our physical limitations. Most Americans honestly believe it is visionary to suppose there is any place in the practical world for the conceit that material things are worth merely what they are worth as means to something not material.

Even those of us who have a secure position, so far as our own need of the necessities of life is concerned, rarely break away from the programs which were worked out in essentials by generations with whom desperate struggle for a livelihood was inevitable. The business of securing sufficient control of things to make us secure in the world has been so important with us that even those who have established the security are under the spell of the impression that the paramount value in life is persistence in the course by means of which this security was gained, instead of enterprise in

new courses which will tend to reveal what the security may be made to be worth.

American history up to the present time may be described as parallel with the career of a squatter in our Middle West whose life has been spent thus far getting his land under cultivation, and building a comfortable house in place of the shack that was his first shelter, and accumulating enough money so that he now feels "independent of the world." Many such men have at last become vaguely aware that they have not found out what to do in the world after they were independent of it, and some of them have died before their time from overwork or underwork because of their inexperience with anything but the work of their hands. America is divided between the great masses who from necessity, with a comparative few who from ignorance, are mastered by material things; and, on the other hand, the relatively small number who are trying to get a hearing for the proclamation that we are now able, if we had the will, to take control of material things in the interest of social and spiritual gains.

Again we must remind ourselves that this proposition which, to a few academic Americans, is virtually as commonplace as the Golden Rule, conveys to the typical American, academic or non-academic, little more meaning than so many detached violin or piano tones. We either treat it as men treat the buttons on the backs of their coats, viz., as good form, though for the life of us we could not tell why; or we treat it as hypocritical cant—something that no man in his senses would ever mean literally. Our present proposition is that any civilization, our own in particular, is still in an embryonic stage until it has appropriated this conception as one of its mainsprings of action. We are consequently wasting an undue proportion of energy aimed at social progress, which might be used to better purpose in accomplishing the primary grade of growth. Until we are able to picture with some degree of justness the preliminary and tributary character of wealth as a means to more significant ends, and until we are able to picture some of those ends as distinctly more worth our endeavor than wealth merely as a means to more wealth, or as a means to results which were better not attained at all, we shall be still semibarbarous. We shall be

cases of arrested development. Our life-process will have turned back on itself, reversed its engines, instead of making headway toward a worthy goal.

Up to the present time, then, the program of developing the sources of wealth has been the controlling factor in American civilization. Of course there are many Americans who would contradict this assertion. It would probably be impossible to assemble evidence enough to compel the more dogmatic of these to withdraw their contradiction. It would take us too far afield for our present argument to review the kinds of evidence which support the assertion. Instead of attempting that, let us throw an indirect light upon the proposition. Suppose all the voters of the United States who are members of churches should suddenly see in clear light the antithesis between the materialistic and the religious principle.¹ Suppose they came together in one party, with the platform: We will support the interests of people whenever they conflict with the interests of capital! If they meant what they said, and if they were fairly wise to what their meaning must involve, their organization would mark far and away the most drastic revolution since Cromwell.² Sooner or later Americans must observe a "decision day." We must come to an express understanding with ourselves as to whether we do or do not believe that persons are more valuable than things. We Americans must some day decisively accept or reject the creed that the uppermost visible reason for the continuance of society at all is the possibility and the purpose of making society a progression of improved relationships between higher-powered people. Meanwhile, those who see this ahead, and who are interested in shaping our socio-educational experience so as to satisfy the indications, can have no doubt that a phase of the mental and moral development next in order is expansion of ability to discern wherein we are now overvaluing wealth and undervaluing people.

¹ This group is chosen for illustration simply because all churches, of whatever creeds, are in principle committed to moral rather than material aims. If they graded up to relatively high intelligence and consistency they would be effective reformers of capitalism.

² One kind of social analysis through which this situation becomes visible is carried out in my paper, "The Social Gradations of Capital," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XIX (May, 1914), 721-52.

To prove this to ourselves would be very much like lifting ourselves over the stone wall by our bootstraps. We may, however, prepare ourselves to revalue some of our attitudes by contemplating certain aspects of ourselves about which no one is in doubt. For instance, suppose an American should declare publicly, as here and there one has, in effect: "I follow my occupation not for the money I can make, but for the good I can do." Comparatively few persons would recognize the alleged motive as conceivable and commendable. They would accept the profession at face value minus a certain discount to cover risks, only in case the profession were made by persons in certain exceptional occupations as the ministry, Y.M.C.A. work, settlement and various forms of charity work, certain kinds of nursing, certain kinds of teaching, and peculiar cases in other occupations. With these possible exceptions, the great majority would believe that a person who could make such a profession would have to be either a fraud or a fool. They would believe that the fools might be self-deceived about their motives, but that imagining themselves more interested in something else than in wealth is merely at best the unconscious hypocrisy of covering their inability to get into a money-making occupation by claiming to prefer employment with human good as its end. That is, very few of us believe that any person whatever, with actually free choice, would deliberately choose a non-lucrative occupation in preference to a lucrative one. We do not believe it would be sane to do so. To be sure, it may be claimed in extenuation that this does not necessarily prove our subordination of everything else to money, because money is an indispensable means to every other end.

That may be admitted, but neither does it follow that the other ends will take care of themselves, if we allow money-making to be our paramount concern. It may be that George Washington accomplished more for humanity by spending seven years without pay as the commander of the American army, than he could have achieved by staying at Mount Vernon raising tobacco and blockade-running it out of the country. It may be that Louis Agassiz contributed more to solid and durable values by sticking to his scientific research and teaching than he could have added by listening

to the appeals of publishers to write semi-scientific best-sellers. It may be that some of our great captains of industry would write their names larger in the scrolls of honorable fame if they would consume liberal portions of their dividends experimenting with more democratic organization of their business; and it may be that they are reserving for themselves conspicuous places in the list of the inadequate and incompetent and undiscerning by merely keeping up the grist of dividends for more capitalization to produce more dividends, in a futile series of things in the service of things, with the men consumed in the program merely incidental. That is, although a certain modicum of wealth is necessary if much beyond hand-to-mouth existence is to be assured, it by no means follows that pursuit of wealth beyond a certain modicum involves the transmuting of a rational proportion of the pecuniary results of the pursuit into other than more wealth values. The point is that, in our present state of mind, the one thing certain about our social programs is the high rate of probability that Americans of all sorts and conditions will turn from anything whatever for more money. As a civilization, we are so obsessed that we are an arrested development of power rationally to co-ordinate the means and the end values of wealth.

The concrete illustration last suggested may be carried out a little further. Suppose the owner of a large industry should reach this conclusion and publish it as the future policy of his business:

What we have done in the past in the way of developing a plant and a technique for operating it, and in accumulating the necessary working capital, is parallel with what a pioneer does in clearing land, and getting it under cultivation, and stocking it, and providing himself with the latest types of farm implements. He has made a raw-material-producing plant. He has had to subject himself and his family to hardships and privations in getting these results. What is the reasonable thing for him from this time on? To keep himself and his family slaving in the same fashion after they have secured the raw-material-producing machine as was necessary while they were in the midst of the struggle to create it? Obviously not. If the pioneer inclines that way, it simply shows that, in the hard primary process, he has become intellectually muscle bound, and is incapable of adapting himself to the very situation he has created. The program now indicated is operation of that raw-material-producing plant in such a way that it will become a better-human-quality-producing plant for himself and family. The farm should be regarded

as the family's assured material resources for endowment of the family's all-around life. The problem must be no longer the pioneer one: How much can be taken out of this family for the development of the farm? It must now be the advanced one: How much can be taken out of this farm for the development of the family? This family needs to diversify its interests. It needs time to look about and find out what men and women have made of themselves in the use of assured necessities of life. This family needs leisure to take thought and take occasion to follow out the leadings of thought about the different ways of making the material goods which it produces yield the most in the way of sustenance for its super-material wants. All this without neglecting to conserve the farm, without suspending its function of raw-material producing, without quitting the material service primarily of itself and secondarily of society; but with due emphasis on the fact that it is an abortion of the function to let it degenerate into a mere machine function. It is a human function. In discharging the function, persons are to find the primary means of achieving their personality. The function of raw-material producing must never, therefore, be allowed so to predominate that it actually absorbs the personality-producing function. Wheat and hogs may be the proximate aim of the farm, but a ratio must be found between the indicated output of wheat and hogs and the indicated expansion of personality. The problem is not to develop personality by suspending the production of wheat and hogs, but to develop personality by means of producing wheat and hogs. In a word it means changing the ratio of the material and the personal factors in the farm equation.

Speaking still for the owner of the industry, reflecting on the analogy between his business and the farmer's, but not now in the form of direct quotation: Suppose now the farmer should get it into his head that there is something besides the upkeep due to this farm itself as a return for its yield. Suppose he should get in the way of thinking that the improvements, consisting of clearing and drainage, and removal of weeds and stones, and supplying of fixtures and equipments, are entitled to be preferred creditors of the farm after the family had collected mere subsistence. Suppose he is so under the spell of this conception that he credits to the farm 6, 8, or 10 per cent of its annual yield; and instead of using that amount in developing his own personality, and that of his family, he sends it off to some distant point to support the process of employing more grubbers, to improve more land, for the purpose of producing more raw material, for the support of more grubbers in improving more land, and so on till the world is over-populated with grubbers, and there is no more

land to improve. Suppose that this process of levying tribute to the farm and its material attachments turns out to produce a breed of half-real men who impersonate these supposed claims of land and capital, who appropriate to themselves larger amounts of the wealth which passes through their hands between one farmer and another than the farmers retain for themselves. Suppose these middlemen frequently become priests of a vicarious and meretricious culture, developing a picturesque but poisonous personality, while the substantial producers remain in consequence stunted and aborted. Surely this outcome is not progress. It is reversion to something more ghastly than the cruder pagan superstitions. Every indication in the process points to the persons actually functioning as the preferred creditors of the process. The family operating the farm should surely have a first lien, not merely on enough of the products of the farm to keep them operating, but on enough of the products of the farm to enable them to exchange with the outside world their surplus of raw material, for means of sharing with the outside world all those personality-building products and discoveries which the raw material produced on the farm enables the outside world to accumulate.

Our hypothetical reflective owner again speaks for himself:

I will not allow my industry to duplicate that misdirected farm. I will make it parallel rather with the farm that is rationally subordinated to human purposes. My industry is a co-operation of many men in performing one of the services which civilized life requires. It is the reliance of most of those co-operators for assuring their participation in the advantages of civilization. It is their leverage on physical conditions in the human process of controlling the means of achieving personality. Our property institutions make it possible for me to abort that process in the case of most of these co-operators in my industry. I have the legal right to assume that there are claims of things which take precedence over all the functional claims of these co-operating persons, in excess of the wage appointed to them by operation of supply and demand in the present state of the market. That balance of power in the market makes it possible for me, as owner, to satisfy the market requirements in the way of a wage scale, and all other costs of production, including the market rate of wages to myself as manager, and to have a disposable surplus which I am at liberty to use as a sacrifice to that heathen deity capital. My copartners in production might use that surplus in a thousand ways in making themselves more complete men and women. I have the legal right in the name

of capital, and all the traditions of business command are to exert the right, to use that surplus in such a way that it will, negatively, veto the possibility of that gain on the part of my copartners, and that it will positively go to increase the number of underdeveloped persons kept at just the standard of life required to maintain the grade of routine efficiency demanded for creating another surplus, to be devoted to sustentation of similarly underdeveloped people, and so on *ad absurdum*. That legal right and that business tradition are simply latter-day deifications of things on the one hand and of the power of privileged persons on the other. I refuse to be a party to the perpetuation of that arrest of the moral process. Just as I should want the farmer to treat his farm, first, as a means of subsistence of himself and his family, second, as a means of supplying wants of others from surplus products of the farm, third, as a means of securing by exchange of that surplus the wherewithal to enrich his own and his family's personality, and consequently, fourth, as a means of articulating his family life and his farming functions with the whole moral process of society—so I am resolved to direct my industry toward the same end. I am resolved to make it, first, as efficient as possible towards its primary purpose of performing its specific part in the economic system. Thereupon, I am resolved, second, to make that industry go as far as it can in equipping all the persons working in it for achievement of the most fully rounded-out life of which they are capable. I am determined to make my business on its social side an experiment station in the ordering of moral relations among all concerned within the business, and between them and all the external groups with which the business has dealings. I have decided to do what I can, not merely to develop the productive technique of the business, but to develop competence in the different workers in the business to bear responsibility in control of the policies and conduct of the business, just as all adult males, with females doubtless to be included presently, in a republican state are supposed to share in the government of the state—that is, in the government of *themselves*—organized for the purpose of expressing and realizing the common purposes. I intend henceforth to abandon the idea that my duty, so far as my business is concerned, is ended when I have made it the biggest possible success as a producer of market values. From this time on I shall make it my chief duty, on the basis of that economic preliminary, to take the lead among the workers in my business, in trying to find out how that business may do the most to promote all the moral interests of all the persons connected with it. In other words, I propose to aim at becoming a practical moralist not only on the technical side of my business, but also on the personal side.

This extended hypothetical illustration is for the purpose of emphasizing what everybody knows, viz., that the captain of industry who should make such a declaration as this would be advertised as a menace throughout the business world. Most so-

called "practical" men would have no more respectful label for such a program than "rainbow-chasing." This is merely confessing judgment upon our charge that present Americans do not believe that the paramount and determining business of life is the realization of moral ends. We really believe that the paramount and determining business of life is to achieve control of material resources. We have moral ends in view somewhat in the same way in which our railroad managers allow aesthetic ends to enter into their calculations. Until recently none of them had given a thought to the effect of railroad building and operation upon the sightliness of the right of way or of the terminals. Earnings sufficient to maintain the plant and to pay interest on the bonds and dividends on the stock have been the limit of their outlook. Within recent years some railroad managers have done a great deal to reduce the hideousness of their lines. They have cleaned and sometimes terraced along the right of way. They have offered prizes to station agents for beautifying the station surroundings. They have made certain investments in horticulture, and have used the products to decorate dining-cars and to supply women passengers with acceptable samples of cut flowers. It is not at all in a fault-finding spirit that we express this work of supererogation as in the same category, so far as its fundamental philosophy goes, with concessions in party programs in accordance with the formula of the politician who betrayed more than he intended: "We must *pander* a little to the moral classes."

The main point is that few Americans have advanced beyond rating moral purposes as poor relations of material purposes. In the esteem of most Americans of the financially successful class it is a paradox and an insult to say that we shall remain barbarous until we have reduced our material purposes to the place of minions to our moral purposes. Instead of allowing our servants to hand over a few of the crumbs that fall from our business table to feed our moral needs, intelligent interpretation of human values will make our business activities in principle and in practice purveyors to our moral wants. We shall not have arrived at a tenable base of economic operations until we have so established our industries that we may proceed to transform them from their present provisional

character into their indicated function of supplying the necessary equipment for the satisfaction of our moral demands.

It is not to be expected that a solitary academic argument, or even a consensus of academic opinion, could make very much impression, directly and immediately, upon the prevailing ideas in American life. This is, however, nothing more than repetition of the commonplace that the academic factor is simply one among many factors in society. Of course a single factor, whatever its importance, must maintain a long struggle with all the other factors, even if it contains the promise and potency of ultimate primacy among them. The present stage of the struggle, however, calls less for conflict between academic and materialistic interests than between different types of academic interests, or at least between different types of intellectual interest. It is the chief function of the academic type of men to express the results toward which all moral experience points. If we cannot reach a consensus about these pointings, we shall be blind leaders of the blind whenever we attempt to influence standards or programs of social action. Even among academic men there is relatively little evidence of agreement that the main contention of the present section is valid. There is still less visible devotion among them to the purpose of fixing attention upon the instability of our present moral foundations. This does not mean that there is no social movement toward recognition of the paramount value of moral achievement. It shows merely that a class which thinks of itself as exercising intellectual and moral leadership is functioning in this matter far below its presumptions and pretensions. There is an inarticulate semiconscious social movement which is making for correction of the ratio between material and moral values in our civilization, far more directly and clearly and forcibly than it can formulate itself in general propositions. If the academic factor merely tags along in the rear of this more potent procession, the transition now in process will be no exception to the historic rule. What the pundits have been unable to see in advance, they will record and explain and justify and glorify after it has occurred. Perhaps they will even credit it to predecessors of their own type. What really took place probably was that men of more objective temper applied themselves to one concrete

situation after another, with the total result, after a long time, of transforming general conditions so that they amounted to the prevalence of new principles. It is incredible that men will forever consent to the supremacy of material over moral interests, except in the partial sense that the condition must precede the consequent. Returning to the generality to which we have appealed before, whatever turns out to be the variation of our social experience from the idealistic logical process of recognizing principles and proceeding to reconstruct conduct in accordance with them, academic men will abdicate their most timely function in the degree in which they fail to improve all sorts of occasion to call attention to the disparity between our American working-scale of values and the indicated demands of moral progress. There is no more important business, for men who are socially conscious, than to propagate consciousness that our present stage of social evolution is a process of inverting the ratio between the means-value and the end-value of the material and the moral in our social standards.

[To be continued]

THE OBJECTIVE VIEWPOINT IN SOCIOLOGY

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Recently there has arisen some controversy over the extent to which subjective terminology, in particular subjective value expressions used as standards for the measurement of social processes and relationships, should be continued in sociology and to what extent they should be replaced by the substitution of objective and impersonal measurements and a terminology to correspond. The contention is that the scientific sociologist must abandon the old subjective terminology of the psychologists, who describe acts in terms of conscious states and processes, and substitute therefor a description of the objective act—both overtly and neurally expressed—thus following the newer behavior psychologists into the realm of biophysics and biochemistry. Since conscious states and processes cannot be measured except in their material manifestations, why not abandon the subjective terminology altogether, in so far as we are able to substitute definite measurements of action for the indefinite and general subjective descriptions of the consciousness correlates of the actions?

Professor Ellwood¹ has attacked this tendency toward objectivism in general and the extreme statement of it made by Zelig in particular. He makes two acceptable points against Zelig which may be paraphrased as follows: (1) A large part of civilized man's objective or physiological correlates are neural rather than muscular, and therefore are not capable of being apprehended through the senses with our present methods of investigation. Consequently we can know these ideational-neural activity processes only through introspection. (2) We actually do investigate the psychic or ideational life of others, although Zelig denies that it can be investigated scientifically, and we arrive at a more definite

¹ "Objectivism in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII, 289-307.

knowledge of it than we do of the neurological processes which accompany this consciousness.

To the former statement by Professor Ellwood a partial answer, but manifestly an incomplete one, may be made by pointing out that man's consciousness correlates (ideas, emotions, images, etc.) are not sociological material until they are communicated or move the individual possessing them to some sort of action resulting in social adjustment, in which case we become conscious of them and measure them through their physical or physiological correlates and results. That is, we cannot have a direct social perception (although we may have an individual perception) of a conscious process any more than we can have a social perception of a neural process (of which we cannot have a direct individual perception). Consequently we must after all study this type of phenomena only by observing overt adjustment activities which stand for neural processes and their psychic or ideational correlates, whether these be acts in process, the printed page, spoken words, or other sensed objects. The fact which makes this reply incompletely satisfying is that in the final analysis we are able to estimate the probable adjustment activities of people, in so far as the internal mechanism is concerned, not in terms of neurones but in terms of psychic values and perceptions, that is, of our own consciousness. However, it must be admitted on the other side that these psychic phenomena are increasingly being described as attitudes rather than as feeling and perceptual complexes, thus transferring the terminology from the subjective to the objective categories.

In connection with the second point, which we may accept, Professor Ellwood is not so convincing when he asserts by way of corollary, "We know many of the ideas of the ancient Romans, Greeks, and Hebrews better probably than we can ever know the physical conditions of their existence."¹ The contrast here implied between knowability of ideas and of environing conditions supposedly producing the ideas is not comparable to that between the knowability of ideas and their neural correlates. We know ancient ideas and ancient environments and modern ideas by one and the same process through an analysis and synthesis of the external

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

physical communication phenomena operating through the senses of sight, hearing, or even touch. The neurones alone are not knowable (at least as yet) through this method. If our knowledge of the environments of the ancients is inferior to our knowledge of their ideas it is not because of a difference of methods in knowing the two types of phenomena. We do not know the one indirectly and the other directly, but both indirectly or through the ordinary communication symbols. The difference in our knowledge of the two fields is due to the fact (either accidental or intentional, but not inherent in the nature of the method of perception) that more communication symbols have been preserved from the past for one field of knowledge than for the other. The illustration is unfortunate and does not prove the point. It is interesting as an example of the misapprehension of the methods of knowing which is sometimes observed among the critics of the objective method.

The central contention of Professor Ellwood's criticism seems to be that we cannot now and probably never shall be able to muster a sufficient body of purely objective measurements and a sufficiently complete description of social life in purely objective terminology to supplant the subjective terminology in social description and in social valuation. Why, then, should we abandon what progress we have made along the present line of advance toward a sociology expressed in subjective terminology for the exclusive employment of a highly cumbersome and wholly inadequate mechanistic substitute? With such a view we can have no quarrel. Our defense of Zeliony goes only so far as we understand him to be making a plea for objective measurements in investigation where such can be developed.

Whatever the merits of this controversy between neurones and images, between the overt act and the ideas and feelings arising from the act, since it is primarily a controversy relative to individual behavior, is not a problem for the sociologist as such to dispose of. This is primarily a problem for psychology, and as such is being fought out in that field. The recognition by the psychologists that the feeling and ideational content arising from an act are often but poor pictures of the act itself and that the individual's perception of the causes and results of an act are at best but partial has

caused them to go back of the individual consciousness, where such a procedure is possible, into the realm of the objective forces and processes of which introspective consciousness is but an indication, although a most significant one. If this excursion of the psychologists into the realm of neurones and pre-psychic and post-psychic overt or physiological phenomena will render the field of consciousness itself more meaningful to us—as undoubtedly it will—the sociologist should have only words of encouragement for the undertakings of the behaviorists.

The sociologist may even flatter himself that he is in some measure responsible for this line of behavioristic development in psychology. The sheer impossibility of developing a sociology within the limitations imposed by the individual consciousness has been made increasingly apparent as one by one the doctrine of free will, the metaphysical concept of the world-soul as the cosmical correlate of the individual spirit, the theory of exclusive social control through instincts, hedonism, intellectualism, the doctrine of the unfolding of personality from an inner germ, the religion of self-realization, and many more “isms” of the same or related genres have demonstrated their social insufficiency and have disappeared or have begun to lose their prestige. Sociology as an attempt to understand human association in all its details and in all the phases of its development has found it necessary to transcend in many directions the limitations of the individual consciousness and to appeal to and construct through collective endeavor a large fund of tested experience about all sorts of objective phenomena—climatic, genetic and evolutionary, physiographic, physiological, neurological, economic, etc.—as well as immediately psychical or conscious. Not only has this broad human interest demand, which we may loosely call sociological (although it was manifested long before there was a formal science of sociology), created a host of sciences as sources of information, but it has driven psychology from its introspective barrenness into the sphere of objectivity to test the reality of the myths and superstitions—“visions,” telepathic phenomena, “revelations,” manias, obsessions, spirit communications, etc.—which like a mist obscured the true workings of the human brain and of the world outside and which could not

be eliminated as long as the introspective or unverified consciousness was the only recognized guide to truth. It was in large part the growth of a science of collective phenomena which made some accurate tests within this field necessary. It appealed from images to neurones, from divine visitations of wrath to bacteriology, from a theory of revealed knowledge to statistics and the laboratory. For similar reasons the sociological interest has forced and is forcing an overhauling of the subjective criterion in ethics, demanding that the concept of right shall value the normal social relationship before the individual satisfaction; it is overhauling the aristocratic theory that economic and social classifications according to status are uniformly based on inherent differences in ability, a dogma which has fastened itself upon the science of biology by means of a crude analogy; and, to mention one more instance, some generations ago it more or less successfully demolished the theory of the divine right of kings in the Western world by beginning a search for the historical origin of government which has led past the portals of the imaginary and a priori hypothesis into the realms of the science of anthropology. So long as psychology was concerned solely with the individual it was possible for it to pursue the introspective method, liable as it is to all the errors of unaided perception, without recognizing its limitations. But when psychology began to compare the psychic functions of men with each other and of men with those of lower animals, the advantage of studying the acts and the external and internal adjustments of organisms as well as the imperfect mental pictures of those acts and adjustments necessarily became manifest. Consequently psychology has become a laboratory and a statistical science and is indissolubly allied with physiology, neurology, pathology, genetics, comparative anatomy, biochemistry, biophysics, and many other sciences of life. If a trial court will not accept as final a man's direct perception of an act, why should the scientists accept his introspection, which is often a second- or third-hand, or even farther-removed, perception?

Professor Ellwood is both correct and incorrect in his interpretation and criticism of objectivism in sociology. In so far as he objects to the total replacement of an ideational by a neurological

and mechanistic terminology he is in the right, at least for the present, even if the growth of thinking in the terminology of physiological correlates is to be commended as one of the signs of greater objectiveness in science. But the danger which he contends against is really not very great. A single Russian instructor, in the first flush of youthful iconoclasm, will scarcely overturn the foundations of science; and Professor Ellwood admits that he has heard of no other advocate of this extreme view. Professor Ellwood's error lies in seeming to associate his own name with that of the Russian student in this peculiar interpretation of the meaning of objectivism in sociology. Also he makes the mistake of underestimating the possibilities of the theory of Zeliony, when it is shorn of one or two of its extreme contentions. It does not, as he assumes, make impossible the employment of the concepts of "tradition, the 'social mind,' developing intellectual conceptions and emotional attitudes." It does, however, refuse to take these as absolutes, as underived, and insists upon breaking them up logically and tracing them back to their objective causes. Only through such a process can there be developed an adequate social interpretation and control.

Let it be repeated, sociology is a study of human association, of the ways in which men live together and co-operate to control nature in their common interests, and not, except in the most incidental way, a study of neural processes or other physiological or even psychic correlates. Not even psychology is that primarily, although it has a much better title to the characterization. Both psychology and sociology are properly concerned with men, and men in social relationships, because thus only does man exist. But psychology is interested primarily in what goes on in the nervous system (including the consciousness-giving cortical correlations) as a result of or preliminary to any act of human association. Sociology is mainly concerned with the forms and conditions of this association and only secondarily with the neural (conscious and unconscious) correlations within the individual; and then only because they aid him in understanding, anticipating, and controlling the human relationships. Thus psychology and sociology are twin sciences which are functionally, if not structurally, inseparable.

Professor Ellwood's own definition of sociology often repeated and familiar to all sociologists is sufficient to protect him from this error of identifying objectivism in sociology with an extreme form of the behaviorist school in psychology.

The objective viewpoint in sociology is therefore concerned with actions of men in a social milieu rather than with their subjective mental states or the classification of neural and other psychophysical correlations. The objective viewpoint therefore must be considered from two angles. It is interested in man as an object of investigation and as a subject for social control. Ellwood and Zeligson are concerned only with the former aspect—the method of describing social phenomena and the terminology for expressing the values and relationships discovered or described. The former aspect is the field of analytic investigation; the latter that of action under the guidance of theory. We have an objectively determined theory, a science of sociology, when we have arrived at our conclusions regarding society—its organization and development—from a study of men in action. This may be either a statistical study of social occurrences or a laboratory study of biophysical and biochemical norms, resistances, processes, differential capacities, as they affect human association. The science of sociology, objectively considered, really embodies both methods, for both are necessary as a means to checking up on subjective impressions.

The making of measurements of social phenomena, the analysis of social adjustment relationships, the establishment of a terminology of accurate valuations, are preliminary to the construction of a theory of social control. This process is, in fact, the first stage in the establishment of a sociology of control.

A bridge engineer would not attempt to plan a perfect bridge by making a statistical study of existing bridges, taking as his type or norm to be repeated the mean or average of all bridges (which would of necessity be a little weak in the center and would be found to possess various broken rods, cables, bolts, etc.), but would add to his study an analysis of strength of materials, durability, methods of construction, volume of traffic, peak loads, and the like. So must the sociologist supplement his statistical correlations of existing society with laboratory studies made in kindred sciences and

borrowed from them for the completion of his own through their aid to him in defining the limits and possibilities of human action. The objective viewpoint in sociology is itself concerned with a determination, on the basis of all these data objectively or subjectively obtained, of how men can live together most advantageously; of how society can best be perpetuated with the greatest possible stability and the highest type of organization for itself and at the same time serve the best interests of the largest number of its members.

Where these measurements, analyses, and valuations can be made in terms of mass, motion, energy, and similarly objectively determined units of the physical, chemical, and biological sciences, so much the better. Where such measuring techniques are wanting—and they confessedly are lacking in many or most of the relationships of life as yet—we must fall back upon the less definite, more changing, subjective measurements in terms of general percepts and images and even of feelings. But no one would maintain that, because we began our appreciations of social phenomena historically in terms of the indefinite subjective measurements, we should not turn as rapidly as possible to the more accurate objective measurements developed in other sciences or in our own by analogy and independently. Such a contention would be similar to maintaining that we should reject the law of falling bodies or the Copernican theory in favor of an earlier spirit interpretation of the phenomena involved. We, as scientific workers in sociology, are so definitely launched upon this trend toward objectivism and definiteness of measurement in sociological method that it is needless to argue in its defense. If some student exaggerates its present possibilities and narrows its application to the behavioristic study of physiological correlates, this should not disturb us; for on the whole it is a healthful, if somewhat overzealous, sign of the times. Such an act certainly will not turn us against objective methods or accurate measurements in sociology as an investigating science.

The ultimate and supreme interest of the sociologist is in the second aspect of the objective viewpoint, that of social control as an implication of social theory. All preliminary analysis of

society as it is must ultimately look in the direction of society as it should be, whether the analyst perceives this implication or not. The man who measures existing bridges merely to find statistically the average degree of "sway-backedness" of bridges and the man who acquires an erudite knowledge of existing societies merely to set forth the various methods in use for kindling fires, or the existing forms of marriage, or the methods by which people in all parts of the world bury their dead, are alike incomplete in their scientific outlook if they are incapable of seeing the implications of their findings for a better bridge or a better society. Their viewpoint is primarily an aesthetic one rather than scientific and functional. Their methods of working may be highly scientific, but they have not grasped the unity or the function of science. They are isolated from the world as a whole. Such men, with their partial and aesthetic concepts of reality, may be very useful, possibly more useful at times because of their detachedness; but their usefulness is dependent upon there being a sufficient number of people with the larger view of society who are able, not only to discern the facts which the intellectually isolated ones have discovered, but also to apply them to the construction of the ideal structure—physical or social—for some specific time and place and for that time's need and function. Social control is then the logical end of all social science, although it may not be the immediate end of any particular investigation of social phenomena according to scientific methods.

The second aspect of the objective viewpoint in sociology is not so generally appreciated, although its deserts are equally great. This social control aspect, the constructive bent of the science of sociology, works for the application of the objectively measured and determined data to the organization and reorganization of society with reference to time and place and function. It may, in one of its relationships, be called the applied aspect, although it is fundamentally as much a problem in pure theory in the abstract as is the mere collection and statistical tabulation of data. There is of course no justification for the concept of a perfect society aside from the realm of ideals. But this fact of the relativity of all things social should not deter the scientific sociologist from the attempt to

discover the "normal" or "perfect" working of social adjustments in the abstract, even though he realizes that this organization of social adjustments is an abstraction and will never be found in practice. The "perfect" society is both an illusion and a reality, just as the law of falling bodies is a description of an illusion and of a reality. No object ever did or ever will fall under natural conditions according to this formula, but the formula, worked out in the abstract, is of the utmost value as a scientific control concept. It is essential to other computations in physics of a much more complicated character. It is also useful in practical problems of projectiles, each of which involves the calculation of deviations from the norm due to exceptional circumstances of resistance and gravity. Likewise the sociologist, in much the same way as the physicist, cannot get beyond the swaddling clothes of his science except by constructing ideal or synthetic principles, principles which may never work out in their virgin form in society as it is, but which afford norms from which to calculate deviations and applications to practical problems when the degree of social resistance and inertia can be determined. This second or control aspect of sociology is therefore something more than the solving of some concrete problem of social adjustment, just as it is more than the problem of the accurate and objective measurement of social phenomena as they exist. It is the highest function of any science, of sociology along with the others. It is the creation of ideal principles or laws, which are something more than the description of processes as they occur. Just as the law of falling bodies does not tell us how bodies actually do fall, but how they would fall under "ideal" physical conditions, so must we advance beyond that descriptive stage in the development of the science of sociology in which we are content with merely statistical tabulations of discrete and loosely organized social phenomena or individual percepts and feelings, and proceed to the higher synthetic generalizations in the form of constructive norms.

In the abstract this proposition will be more or less readily accepted. There are, to be sure, a few who object to the dogmatism or the "religiosity" or the "idealism" of the sociologist who attempts to go beyond a mere description of social phenomena and to state a synthetic or normative proposition with regard

to social adjustments. But such objections, if not based upon the fear that the sociologist lacks data for such synthetic generalizations, or that he will interfere with the dogma of "personal liberty," are the result of an incomplete apprehension of the method of science. An effective argument with which to meet such objections is to remind the objectors of the "ideal" or synthetic character of the law of falling bodies and to point out that the physicist, chemist, mathematician, is much more dogmatic than the sociologist in stating ideal propositions, although the greater abundance of his data probably justifies him in being so. The sociologist's synthetic generalizations are normative simply because they deal with human phenomena and presuppose some degree of choice, while the physicist's generalizations deal with impersonal phenomena. But how bitterly his generalizations were assailed in an age of spirit interpretation and supernaturalism we well know. We still have remnants of these two interpretations in the field of human phenomena. And in addition the individual, who is the phenomenological unit in social organization, has capacity for feeling which will inevitably be affected by any reorganization of social adjustments proceeding by implication from the sociologist's ideal or synthetic generalizations.

The real objection to the objective viewpoint in social generalization is therefore in the last analysis usually a personal one. It is born first of the perception that a body of scientific synthetic generalizations regarding society, inevitably normative in character because they deal with people possessing the function of choice and the capacity to feel, must ultimately work toward the compulsory reorganization of society to make social organization fit the principles. It is born in the second instance of the fear that this social reorganization will involve unhappiness and unpleasantness for themselves. Such an attitude we should expect of the masses who do not think through to the plane of analysis and synthesis upon which social principles or laws are constructed, but who do, in greater or less degree, perceive the effects of these laws and principles upon themselves. Not understanding the values arrived at abstractly or the synthetic and objective viewpoint of the social scientist, not appreciating society as a large and objective or organic

whole, they remain partisans of the existing order. To this order they are already adjusted, even though imperfectly, and they do not understand the objective social theory sufficiently to cause them to wish to undergo immediate discomfort for a more perfect and rational readjustment later on. Also there are numerous partisans and parasites of the existing order of things who for selfish reasons counsel the adherence to the old order and thus confirm the masses in their conservative views.

It is not, however, so easy to perceive why those who are accustomed to scientific analysis and who have faith in scientific method because of its objectivity should so frequently object to its application to human phenomena. There are many men who, although utterly intolerant toward one who disputes the validity of the law of falling bodies because sometimes he observes a feather move upward instead of downward or because he knows from observation that a piece of lead reaches the ground more quickly than does a piece of wood, would nevertheless refuse to accept the findings of the science of sociology with regard to normal social conduct as being inconsistent with personal liberty or freedom of personality. It would not matter to them if laboratory tests or statistical and historical data demonstrated that alcoholism or an abnormally low standard of living made compulsory because of the diversion of a large portion of the proceeds of industry from wages into profits worked for the degeneration of the race, or that child labor increased the number of dependents and delinquents in society. Such conclusions might be held by an individual of such a group to be matters of mere opinion because subjectively he was opposed to them, or he might accept them as demonstrated facts but reject them as norms for the reorganization of society and for the control of his own conduct. It is at such points as these that the objective viewpoint in sociology is hardest to attain. It is largely because of this conflict between feeling and the rational or objective social order that objectivism in this second aspect of sociology, that of synthetic social generalization, has lagged behind its companion progress in other sciences dealing with non-human phenomena. Such opposition as is here described has made it especially difficult to apply the recognized findings of the science of sociology to social practice.

This opposition to objective social generalizations often carries back to and infects objective methods of investigation. Not a few people—especially those dogmatically committed to some belief, religious, political, or otherwise—object to the method of objective measurement of social phenomena as a method of getting at social truth. They ask, Can you measure social facts with a yardstick? Can you weigh in a scale the value of the faith in immortality or telepathy? Truth, they tell us, is intimate, personal; is discovered embosomed in feeling and emotion. They would trust a blind impulse of faith, a chance augury of the spoken word or of the emotional impulse much more readily than all the techniques of discovery employed by the statistician or the psychoanalyst, or of the laboratory. For them faith cures more ills than sera, and instinct and custom are better guides than fat volumes which must be apprehended abstractly and with much pain. They who are pained by too much talk about neurones, who fear that biochemistry will banish the soul, who reject the whole of sociology because it would make religion a human phenomenon, or even they who cannot reconcile causation in human events with a moral and idealistic social order—or, indeed, cannot discover the essence of the latter in the former—should find their classification with those who prefer the subjective witness of percept and feeling rather than with those who strive after objective impersonal tests.

How may people be brought to accept the objective viewpoint in sociology and social relationships? There are four methods of procedure which may be profitably pursued with this end in view. The most immediate aim should be to meet the arguments of those objectors who contend that sociology is not a science but a body of opinions liable to the biases of creeds, schools, and isms. There is or has been enough truth in these contentions to give them great weight with the public in general, to say nothing of those who desire an excuse to reject a scientific criterion in human affairs. Of what must this answer to the critics of sociology consist? First it must be made in the form of incontrovertible data demonstrated in the laboratory, by adequate statistical analysis and interpretation, and by the application of the data of other sciences to the explanation and illumination of human social phenomena. We are already

making rapid progress in these three lines of synthesis, but we lack the elaborate facilities enjoyed by the older sciences through the aid of endowments and university appropriations for the prosecution of such studies. Money may still be obtained more easily for the study of the morphology of the algae or of the distribution of ferns in the carboniferous era than for the analysis of social conditions in modern Europe, Asia, or America. This fact is in keeping with our earlier and more ready provision of funds for the conversion of the heathen in foreign lands than for Christianizing the church at home and for the undertaking of medical extension service to farm animals earlier than to farmers themselves.

Not only must we have more incontrovertible facts, but we must learn to express these facts and to state our problems in an unambiguous terminology. Most of the social and humanitarian interests have evolved out of naïve and uneducated personal sympathy. People are still too little able to see a social obligation or need except as a reflection of a personal emotion. It is personal goodness and badness rather than the social manifestations of the same values which capture the imaginations of men, as Ross has so brilliantly shown. Men will relieve the suffering they see while at the same moment they create much more suffering by invisible processes which their imaginations are not trained to grasp. They will defend their country with blood and money against invasion by a visible foe while they persecute those with a greater and loftier patriotism who would defend their country against a more relentless foe which the common run of men are unable or too selfish to see. They lack an objective terminology with which either to describe these more abstract values when they perceive them or with which adequately to apprehend and perceive them when they hear them described.

Because the masses of men are still thinking in terms of subjective and personal values or at best of only half-socialized values, because their training and intellectual environments have not led them across from the "me" and the "you-me" relationship to the completely objective and impersonal social adjustment values, we must concentrate our efforts much more on an objective terminology. This is why we should welcome any attempt to get away

from the subjective terminology of incompletely verified and generalized perception and individual feeling and substitute definitely measurable processes—neural, physiological, physical, and social—where such is possible. Much of our narrow range of social vision is definitely due to our subjective measurements of social values expressed in vague and variable perceptual and feeling terms. We must learn to place the measurement of social phenomena outside ourselves in the laboratory and the statistical correlation, just as physics and chemistry long before have done and as biology and psychology are coming increasingly to do. So long as “spirits” and “affinities” moved masses or controlled metathesis, or “entelchy” and the conscious entity or “free” idea ruled organism and conduct there could be no sciences of physics, chemistry, biology, and psychology. There was only individual opinion and theological and metaphysical adumbrations. The science of sociology, when it arrives, will be an objective science, as that portion which has now made its advent witnesses.

However, we must not, as some writers apparently do, confuse the utilization of consciousness in investigation with subjective conscious measurement values. Consciousness, whatever it is—a question in which sociology as such is but slightly interested—is of course the instrument with which we apprehend, measure, and classify social adjustment values. The few and unimportant students who deny consciousness in this sense may be disregarded for our purposes. The important thing is to draw the line against those who would make the individual’s unaided or uncorrected perception, subjective impression, a sufficient measure of social fact. Such a method of interpreting the social world is as crude as the primitive man’s attempt to control nature with his bare hands. The two methods are of a kind, and the only word with which properly to characterize these two attempts to apprehend the world through naïve perception and to control it through barehanded force is “primitive.” Just as man has learned to extend his hands through innumerable inventions which operate outside of himself and with an accuracy and uniformity and impersonality and high power of achievement of which his immediate physical control would not be capable, so also man has learned to extend his mental

processes beyond himself through the aid of laboratory, telescope, microscope, language, mathematics, tabulating machine, statistics, and numerous other types of machinery of impersonal and high-power collection, correlation, and generalization or corrected perception. Each of these complicated secondary processes focuses back upon the individual, just as they are in part extensions of the individual. But in each case they correct the subjective or individual variable element and accentuate the power and scope of the individual functioning as a member of a correlated group. It is scarcely conceivable that sociologists should object to this statement of the case; yet the failure to distinguish between the conceptions of the mind as ultimate focus or perceiver of the corrected values and as legitimate and final evaluator or measurer of social adjustments has exposed some sociologists to an implied criticism of the objective method in social investigation and communication.

A second line of attack is through argument, designed to show that the subjective valuations, in particular those sanctioned by feeling, are unsafe guides to social adjustment and to individual action. Just this thing has been undertaken many times in the historic refutations of the psychology and sociology of Utilitarianism,¹ but the non-philosophic masses either have not heard of these refutations or they have remained unconvinced. The everyday world, and much of the intellectualist world also, are utilitarian in their thinking about social questions. Hence the necessity of making more generally known the arguments against the subjective or feeling sanctions of conduct as dependable guides.

In this connection it must, of course, be recognized that we are dealing with consciously directed action, conduct in which there is an element of choice. Whether this choice is free or unfree is of no particular immediate consequence to the sociologist in so far as the question of values here under consideration is concerned. Action may be conveniently classified as follows:

1. Action by mass impact, in which there is little or no internal adjustment to an external stimulus. The response is to a mass

¹ See a partial review and criticism of the literature of this subject in the author's *Transition to an Objective Standard of Social Control*, University of Chicago Press, 1911.

rather than to a sensory impact, as in the case of an organism being struck and removed from position by an automobile, a railway train, or when injured by a falling body. There are all gradations between these relatively pure examples of action by mass impact and a more or less controlled or internal response to the impact mediated through the nervous system and the sense organs as described below.

2. Unconscious or dimly conscious response to sensory or ideational stimuli on the basis of (1) instinctive organization (probably to sensory stimuli only), (2) habit adjustments (to both sensory and ideational stimuli). The conscious or purposive element increases until a relatively pure form of the third type of action is reached.

3. Action on the basis of choice, i.e., conscious or purposive response to sensory or ideational stimuli. The conscious or purposive elements in chosen activities may be found in all degrees of development, and in so far as it exists there is a process of valuation, either emotional or intellectual. Hence we may speak of the criterion of valuation in chosen activities as (1) subjective, (2) objective. In the former there is a reference to the pleasantness or unpleasantness content, the act, in so far as it is chosen or purposive, being motivated by feeling. In the second type the feeling valuation is absent in the degree to which the choice is objective and intellectual considerations of the extent and manner in which the act will fit into the objectively determined calculus of social adjustments take its place. In those relatively rare cases, where it may be assumed that this objective criterion is fully exercised, the acting individual either disregards his feelings or sublimates them into his attachment to the ideal of a perfectly working and consciously controlled social organism. His acts are determined by the objective standards and values worked out according to laboratory experiment and statistical correlation in all the sciences dealing with man.

If we attempt an estimate of the relative prevalence in life of these three general types of activity we must conclude that the second type, embracing the instinctive and habitual activities, is numerically much more important than the other two types taken

together. It probably embraces at least 90 per cent of our activities, for in the ordinary standardized affairs of life we are but little better than walking automata. In our opinions and beliefs and attitudes we are but little better than parrots, the element of choice being but small and even then of a low quality of a subjectively determined valuation. Recently a New York weekly journal made a statement regarding the cause of a certain political condition in a northwestern state. The chief organ of a certain political faith in this state copied the idea, and within two weeks practically every paper of the same political following had voiced in very similar language the same views. This is but one example from many which may occur to anyone. That action from mass impact is numerically and socially fairly important is evidenced by the accident statistics. Action by choice, especially on an objective basis, is the most important of all from the standpoint of social adjustment and control, although the objective valuation is the least frequent accompaniment of activity.

Yet a very little analysis serves to show that the subjective feeling valuation of an act is an uncertain guide to the welfare or even pleasure of either the individual or the race. In the first place, to choose an act because it gives pleasure may, as the Utilitarians recognized, mean the sacrifice of the future happiness to the present enjoyment. If one attempts to weigh the possibilities of a life of action in such a way as to extract the major amount of happiness during the whole period, he encounters the difficult problem of foreknowledge, which is insuperable. No one can make such a nice calculation, or even attempts it, on the basis of playing this source of pleasure off against that. Life is infinitely too complex. The only safe thing to do is to adopt some general principles and stick to them through rain and shine, trusting to the accuracy of our calculations in the light of fundamental science. If our estimate proves misleading, the remedy is not in a purely opportunistic policy of playing chess with pleasure in the dark, but in revising our principles of action in accordance with a general theory of social adjustment in the light of new investigations and scientific syntheses. Knowledge is our guide, but it is knowledge as a collective product and collectively applied, the knowledge

represented in the generalizations of statistical tabulations supplemented with the knowledge of the biology and psychology of the organism. It is a collective science and a science of collectivities, in short, a sociology, which must serve as our guide. No one can ever hope to work out an individual, personal science of happiness adapted to himself alone. The Epicureans and many of the modern ethicists and most of the recent radicals are vainly attempting this thing. The impossibility of its accomplishment lies in the lack of completed data for the generalizations regarding individual conduct. These are completed only at death, and then it is too late for the individual to be served. The data for the collective science can be obtained with a minimum of error, and the general objective principles can be applied with reasonable success to the particular case by making suitable allowances for individual organic variations. But these variations are valid only where objective sciences of the organism approve and when they are not contradicted by the dictates of social welfare.

Not only is there the difficulty of knowledge in the way of the subjective valuation as the basis of fruitful choice, but the inability of the individual to control his activities in keeping with his best knowledge must be taken into consideration. As Woodworth has pointed out,¹ the act is the result of the whole nervous set. Only part of that set is ordinarily in consciousness and therefore subject to choice. Thus we have so frequently the experience of falling below, occasionally of going above, our aims, according as our habits of action predetermine us in contradiction to our plans. Perhaps there is no student or scholar who has not planned vastly more than he has accomplished in the way of writing. Golf, his wife's bridge parties, the daily paper, ephemeral interests of all sorts—action from impact and action from instinct and habit, to say nothing of choosing the lower or subjective values over the objective and higher ones—come in to make his better ideals of little or no avail. The religious doctrine of the carnal man finds its sociological meaning here. What the spirit would the flesh will not. Men rise above habit and instinct and mass impact, even as they transcend subjective values, through the good agencies of objective controls or

¹ Garman Memorial Volume, pp. 356 ff.

ideals. Various types of these objective controls have been appealed to in the course of man's higher evolution, as will be shown later in this article, but unquestionably the most effective of all is that of an objective fund of scientific values.

A third difficulty in the way of the subjective criterion is the shifting nature of the correlations between the object and its subjective value. What gives pleasure at one time or place may utterly fail to do so at another time or elsewhere. Some of the greatest evils in society are acquired likings, especially the taste for alcohol. Other propensities, such as the love of excitement, tendency toward anger, sexual propensities, which served useful functions in a period of development of the race in which vigilance and capacity for self-defense were the price of life and a large progeny was of more importance than good nurture, would now better serve mankind if their strength was somewhat reduced. The capacities and propensities which best further man's ends are acquired, dominantly intellectual, ones. This is well illustrated by the rather painful process of acquiring new values and adjustments which the child undergoes as it approaches maturity and finds its adjustment to an artificial world, a world of culture and machines, of social systems, so different from the one for which nature equipped it. The guide to individual welfare in this modern world of ours obviously cannot be the inherited correlations between pleasant feeling tone and act. It cannot even be the traditional one of custom, transmitted to and ingrained in the individual as "social heredity." We must make war upon custom as well as upon instinct if we are to live the most effective lives and build up new habits which in turn must ever be left subject to revisions and new adjustments. The standard here and the motive compelling change are clearly objective and external. The motive is the new world-environment. The standard must be the objective synthetic science of society, for no other guide is sufficiently comprehensive and detailed and sufficiently impersonal to permit of general agreement.

If the subjective valuation is inadequate as a basis of wise choice for the individual welfare, much less is it adequate as a guide to social welfare. There are those who still cling to the Socratic

fallacy of an identity between the individual and the social interests; but the assumption is not justified. What is to the interest of society as a whole, as a co-operating organism, undoubtedly serves the individual interests of the majority of the members of society. But this is because men, as we know them, can exist only in society. For those individuals, perhaps relatively few in number, who can distort their relationship to society in such a way as to secure its benefits and yet take more than their share of those benefits, even commit sabotage upon society in their own interest, society's loss is often, at least in some measure, their gain. It is not to the interest of society to have its textile mills operated by child labor, but it is to the individual interests of the mill-owners. It is detrimental to society, to the race, to have wasteful methods of lumbering practiced upon leased land, but it is likewise detrimental to the interests of the lessor as reflected in his rate of profits to undertake to conduct his lumbering operations on a basis approved by conservation experts. Illustrations of a like character of the conflict between individual and social interests may be multiplied beyond measure. The advantage of the unprivileged majority in conforming to the social welfare criterion and the advantage of the privileged minority in violating the collective welfare must not be confused. The second proposition is generally possible because of the shorter life-period of the individual as compared with that of the race. His is not a long-time investment, while that of society is. The one must get all he can out of this generation and must invest as little as possible in succeeding generations. The interest of the race, on the other hand, is often best conserved by sacrificing the possibilities of the present generation within reasonable limits to the future generations. Thus, under the most favorable conditions of identity of interests, the subjective criterion of values will not serve society better than it will the individual or in a different manner. Where the interests of the individual and of society diverge, the subjective valuation is an even less effective guide to welfare for society than for the individual member.

All this should be clear enough. It merely is not. It would not be true to say that choosing on the basis of the subjective satis-

faction afforded by the act contemplated would never lead to the end sought. It might, perhaps very frequently would, do so. The contention is merely that the subjective value is a less trustworthy guide than the objective, scientific, sociological one. This is the lesson we have to inculcate. However, we cannot solve the problem merely through teaching this fact. Action is the result of the whole nervous set plus the external impact. The second great Socratic fallacy, from which many suffer still, is that knowledge and virtue (well-regulated action with reference to a right end) are identical. We must, in addition to choosing on the basis of objective values, organize the social order so as to make action conform to knowledge. This means the control of mass impacts and of habit formation, the reorganization of customs and traditions and the sublimation and guidance or suppression of instincts to conform to social values. And these things in turn mean the exaltation of the machinery of redirected social institutions, of the structure of the life-process, to a degree utterly abhorrent to the old-line subjectivist. But this exaltation of machinery should be strictly subject to the dictates of science, not to prejudice nor to mere opinion, not to creed or school or "ism." Only thus can it have the proper degree of objectivity, of justice through impersonality. The old-time subjectivist maintains that it matters nothing what your institutions are so long as the individual soul or character or disposition—the "human nature" element—is all right. He little realizes that inner or "human" nature is so largely a matter of the pressures of external structures. This argument of the subjectivist is of a kind with the contention that the subjective values are the legitimate ones, and that the introduction of the terminology of neurones and of biochemistry, biophysics, and environmental determinism are antithetical to a constructively determined social order; that there can be no morality in a causal world. It is only in a causal world that there can be morality, according to scientific sociology.

All this about the inadequacy of the subjective valuation in determining choice, if it has not been recognized by society in past times, has at least been implied in the organization of social controls. This is our third argument in favor of the objective viewpoint.

Society never has permitted the individual to choose his course of action on the basis of his subjective feeling valuations. Some sort of objective control, either over or within the consciousness of the individual, has existed from the earliest times. Among the most primitive peoples of whom we know this control is group custom. It is not necessary for these people to have any philosophy of social control through custom or that they should even recognize the existence of custom in order that its control should be effective. It was somewhere on the border of historic times that primitive man, after approximately half a million years of existence, became conscious of this unseen ruler, all-powerful and infallible within the limits of its criteria, to which he was subject. The sophists among the Greeks appear to have been the first to give a dependable and straightforward philosophic analysis of custom and tradition and to attempt adequately to estimate their importance in the control of the associated life of man. And yet through uncounted millennia it had been man's only objective guide. It still persists as one of the chief factors, if not the predominating factor, in social control.

Custom and tradition first became conscious of themselves, not in their true guise of human-made rules, but as the voice of the gods. The first theory of custom and tradition is the tradition of revelation. Primitive and even barbaric man did not see his society as an organism but as a reflection of external forces. The organic concept is a recent attainment, contemporaneous with a relatively high degree of abstract thinking. Consequently, when early man perceived that there was social unity and that this organization depended largely upon certain rules of conduct, he could explain these only upon the assumption that they were the commandments of his gods, who were wiser than he. With the coming of the tradition and theory of revelation custom and tradition continued to rule, but there was a chance for greater flexibility to be introduced into their sway. Any holy man might receive a revelation from a divinity, and if such revelations met the needs of the society, or even if the people were strongly impressed by them, they survived in the traditions and thus became an effective basis for future custom. Custom survives and always did survive

in much the same objective way in which animal types or plant forms have been perpetuated through selection. Those were retained and propagated which enabled their carriers to adjust to the environment; but in the case of customs and traditions the environment is primarily psycho-social, and only secondarily and tertiarily biological and physical. Customs initiated through putative revelation represent to some extent, of course, individual variations of opinion. But these variations do not constitute a denial of the general principle that custom and tradition operate as a check upon choices made on the basis of individual or subjective values. The revelation as an expression of individual interpretation is selected and approved by society in the very process of becoming tradition and custom.

As the social life of man became more complex and the need for social control increased, custom began to be transformed into law, and revelation as a source of rules of action was gradually superseded by the lawgiver and the legislature. The lawgiver and the early legislature did little more than select and emphasize those customs which appealed to them as of most importance for the guidance of the group. It is only in comparatively recent times that legislatures, with the help of the legislative expert and the social scientist and an ever-broadening fund of knowledge collected from laboratories and statistical generalizations, have begun to depart radically from custom and to make laws sometimes directly in the face of it. Such a method of constructing principles of social control was not possible until there had developed comprehensive social sciences which would permit of the analysis and reorganization of societies under human direction, much as modern chemical science has permitted the development of purposive control over chemical metathesis, thus developing the chemical industries for the benefit of man instead of leaving the process to nature alone.

But modern purposive social legislation, under the guidance of the sciences, has not lessened the objectivity of the social controls. It has only rationalized them and possibly therefore increased their objectivity. Man has always enjoyed some freedom of action in accordance with his own subjective impulses and doubtless always will have a margin of conduct which is not externally

controlled. There is enough differentiation of organization and function among human organisms to make some dissimilarity of conduct necessary. Under the rule of primitive custom there could be established no far-reaching external guide for the direction of this dissimilarity of conduct, because custom and tradition grew up rather blindly and were in the main limited to general rules of conduct. They lacked the intricacy of analysis of individual types which would enable them to prescribe for individuals, as well as for the group, to make room for exceptions. But with the development of a multitude of special sciences, many of them aiding in the study of the individual organism, it becomes possible to work out rational guides for individual differentiation. Thus the individual may preserve his possibilities of variation in action, according to his differential character or functions, or ever to increase them and yet have them guided objectively by the data of some one or more of the new and growing sciences. Individuality does not necessarily decrease with the subjection of the objective institutional controls to scientific analysis and reorganization. It merely becomes more rational, less subject to the impulsive control of subjective values. Under such a guidance the attributes of personality—always a social and just personality, of course—may expand and the personality itself become richer because it broadens and deepens in the light of the new knowledge available for self-realization and because less energy is wasted in fruitless struggles with the social whole, when and where the limits and possibilities of individual activity are better known.

It remains to state the fourth argument in favor of the objective viewpoint in sociology and in society, this time primarily by means of illustrations. It is worth while briefly to indicate by means of a few examples what is being done toward making the objective viewpoint a reality. Custom and tradition in earlier times enforced themselves very largely through public opinion, although it was primarily a negative opinion upon which they depended for execution of their implications. Opinion took cognizance merely of the violations of custom because the accepted routine had not yet come into consciousness. As a child acquires its habits, which are commonly spoken of as "manners," from its family contacts

without being conscious of the content of those "manners," except in the breach of them by itself or by another, likewise primitive man absorbed the customs of his group without reflecting upon them. Consequently they could not enter into public opinion in a positive way. The transition from a negative public opinion (as evidenced by negative commandments) comes with the growing consciousness of society and its organization, as indicated by the successive developments of control through revelation, lawgiver, legislator, and the numerous modern unofficial makers of public opinion.

Law and positive public opinion are the two great spiritual controls in modern life, far transcending all others. Law may be said to be a form of public opinion, although it may sometimes be the immediate source of public opinion rather than its result. Public opinion itself grows from three sources in the main: tradition; random, uncritical, often perverted and corrupted observation; and critical or scientific observation, represented by the methods of the social and allied sciences. It must be quite apparent to everyone that the last of these three sources of public opinion is growing constantly in importance, and it may not be too much to hope that in time it may completely dominate the other two. This was Lester F. Ward's expectation, and it should be possible of realization if we can keep the streams of knowledge sufficiently pure. The subjection of the press and of other avenues of instruction to a scientifically objective control is of supreme importance here.

Law, if not the most powerful, is at least the most definite of the objective social or institutional controls. The degree to which science has come to determine law-making is one of the most hopeful indications of the ultimate triumph of the objective viewpoint. Formerly based upon custom and tradition and the opinions and subjective interests or values of the lawgivers and lawmakers, law lacked much of the quality of true objectivity. Like custom itself it was merely the best check upon uncontrolled individual action and choice which the times afforded. It could not be made completely objective or socialized until it could be rendered definitely scientific in its origin and organization. This process had to wait upon the development of scientific methods of investigation in

social analysis. These are now in process of formulation and application and are being accepted more and more, even by the masses, in opposition to the method of individual opinion and impression or perception colored and biased by subjective motives. There can be no question but that the objective method will ultimately win out against the subjective as a process of discovering social facts, in spite of the sometimes raucous protests of the surviving mystics, vitalists, "partisans of the dignity of human personality," and other obscurantists and emotionalists.

The scientific or objective method of lawmaking is the translation of a law of science, in its abstract impersonal form, over into a positive or normative law. Our legislatures and courts are doing this increasingly, whether they are conscious of the social theory back of the process or not. Laws of bacteriology were translated into positive laws for social administration with the enactment of pure-food and other hygienic and sanitary legislation. In a like manner legislation prescribing hours, ages, and conditions of labor for women and children, and even for men, represent the translation of the laws of physiology and psychology regarding fatigue and of the biology of reproduction into positive categories. This method of legislation has been applied to the control of the use of drugs and alcoholics, the control of infectious and contagious diseases, and other fields too numerous to mention. We may expect this method of lawmaking ultimately to invade all fields of human life because of its economy and effectiveness. The justification of the objective method in social control as in investigation is that it brings results which the subjective method cannot accomplish. That the technique requires perfecting all along the line and that the application requires extension is only to be expected.

Thus the objective viewpoint in sociology is a plea for the elimination and standardization of the personal equation in determining social fact and in organizing social control. The personal equation cannot and should not be entirely eliminated, because individual differentiation is a functional and useful fact; but it can be and should be standardized in the light of science. In social control it should be standardized in the interests of a richer and more rational personality and of a better and more harmonious society. In

investigation the personal equation should be eliminated, because, as pointed out above, the utility of science depends upon its-objectivity and impersonality. All of our scientific technique and investigational equipment aim at the elimination of personal or subjective interpretation. There can be no individual scientific truth any more than, as Colonel Ingersoll was fond of pointing out, there can be Methodist chemistry or Presbyterian arithmetic. The literateur or the artist may know such an individual criterion of truth, but not the scientist. That individuals have different needs must be granted and provided for, but this is a problem of social control on the basis of a universal science, not of the method of investigation. That these facts are becoming generally recognized by social investigators and that some appreciation of them is held by the other elements of our society is indicated by the recent tendencies, not only in the social sciences themselves, but also in the fields of legislation and social administration.

COOLEY'S DOCTRINE OF PRIMARY GROUPS¹

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. . . . Since differences of tastes, manners, creeds, languages, and innumerable other variations prevent everybody from liking everybody else, pleasurable fellowship can only take place on the basis of *groups* in which there is some sort of community of feeling. And so the wise social-center director is now dealing with coteries and cliques, and mainly those which are self-formed, because the business of dividing a crowd into groups which will stick together has not yet been reduced to a science. . . . ²

When a group is so small that the personality and personal experience of each is known to all, we have a personal group, quite in contrast with the impersonality and anonymity of the city and the larger public of state and nation. . . .

. . . . The social instincts operate most effectively only in personal groups. Thus sympathy can largely be depended upon to restrain evil conduct among those who personally know each other. The swindler is often honest and generous in dealing with personal acquaintances. The plundering, corrupt, and corrupting political boss may be a loyal good fellow to his gang. . . . ³

Here is a neglected chapter in the theory of social organization. Everyone at once admits the importance of such groups as are described above, yet with few exceptions every social theorist has paid no attention to them, doubtless taking them for granted; they have been too commonplace to require notice by the learned.

The first writer to treat the subject with any fulness was Professor Charles H. Cooley, of the University of Michigan. In 1900 he began to mention primary groups in lectures to his classes. In 1909 his *Social Organization* appeared containing three chapters

¹ The greater part of this article is a chapter from a book, *Principles of Sociology with Educational Applications*, which will be published soon by the Macmillan Co.

² Johnston, *The Modern High School*, p. 535, C. A. Perry, by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, the publishers.

³ Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 74, 75, published by D. Appleton & Co.

on the subject, and these chapters are still the best treatment that has appeared. Professor Cooley applied the adjective *primary* to such groups because they "are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual." He makes little use of precise definitions, and he hardly gives any definite mark for a primary group beyond "face-to-face communication." Here, however, is a definition which he has sent in a personal letter and has given permission to use:

I am accustomed to say that the primary group is simply an *intimate* group, the intimacy covering a considerable period and resulting in a habitual sympathy, the mind of each being filled with a sense of the mind of the others, so that the group as a whole is the chief sphere of the social self for each individual in it—of emulation, ambition, resentment, loyalty, etc.

Cooley devotes an entire chapter to the ideals which primary groups foster. It is by membership in these groups that the gregarious instinct in us develops and we learn how to live as sociable beings. Other writers have expressed the same idea as follows:

. . . . The gang spirit must be spread out but not diluted: the sort of close fellowship it represents is needed as a school of conduct. Young people are not all heroic. No people, young or old, are capable of evolving their own standards of behavior. We all need outside pressure of a fierce and inexorable sort to overcome our laziness or cowardice, make us face the lion in the path, strike out into the cold world upon the quest our soul demands of us. . . .

. . . . The most difficult problem of life is to find the right way of treating other people—to make courtesy coincide with independence, respect for others with entire self-respect. . . .

. . . . Precept in this all-important department is of negligible value. Not what he is told to do, but what he sees done and what he finds required of him by a body of opinion whose pressure he cannot escape, is the force that molds a young person's standard of behavior. . . .¹

. . . . One has only to consider how completely the child is dependent from his earliest days for successful execution of his purposes upon fitting his acts into those of others to see what a premium is put upon behaving as others behave, and of developing an understanding of them in order that he may so behave. The pressure for like-mindedness in action from this source is so great that it is quite superfluous to appeal to imitation.²

¹ Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 374, 375, published by the Macmillan Co.

² Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 42, published by the Macmillan Co.

THE SIZE OF A PRIMARY GROUP

It will be conceded at the first glance, without hesitation, that the sociological structure of a group is essentially modified by the number of the individuals that are united in it. It is an everyday experience—yes, it is almost to be construed from the most general social-psychological presuppositions—that a group of a certain extent and beyond a certain stage in its increase of numbers must develop for its maintenance certain forms and organization which it did not previously need; and that, on the other hand, more restricted groups manifest qualities and reciprocal activities which, in the case of the numerical extension, inevitably disappear. . . .¹

. . . . The number of his fellows with whom a man can maintain easy personal intercourse varies with individual variations, with the conditions of work, and with the time which any body of workmen spend together. Perhaps it does not often exceed eighty, and is normally about twenty or thirty. I do not know of any important attempt to organize mechanical work in relation to that fact, though sometimes the success of a "gang system" may accidentally depend upon it. An American engineer said, I was once told, that the only piece of work which he had thoroughly enjoyed was the making of the Key West Railway, where each pier was placed upon a separate rock in the sea, and was erected by a small and separate group of men who came to know each other thoroughly. In armies it is found necessary, if any measure of comfort and contentment is to be secured, that the officers in each regiment and the men in each company or platoon should be deliberately formed into groups, generally numbering about twenty-five; and one of the responsible organizers of a great insurance company told me that he consciously aims at bringing groups of twenty or thirty officials into regular social intercourse. Those universities are most successful where, by an arrangement of "colleges" or "dormitories," the students are divided into somewhat larger groups; and if no arrangement of the kind has been made by the authorities, clubs or cliques, in forms sometimes inconsistent with other conditions of desirable social life, spontaneously make their appearance.²

Simmel's article appeared in 1902, and the book by Wallas thirteen years later, both doubtless independent of Cooley's influence. Other independent evidence on the size of a primary group is found in discussions about the proper number of seats in a schoolroom which is to be in charge of one teacher and the number of teachers in a building which is to be in charge of one principal. Thirty pupils to a teacher is most often named as the

¹ Georg Simmel, *American Journal of Sociology*, VIII, 2.

² Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 333, 334, published by the Macmillan Co.

standard, with a range of from two or three to ten in either direction.¹

. . . . The principals interviewed have expressed themselves almost unanimously as to the proper size, maintaining that a school should number only so many teachers as the personal acquaintance and influence of the principal can effectively reach; and the outside limit is about thirty, with 1,500 children. Many would much prefer to limit the number of children to 1,000.²

During the writer's connection with one school the number of teachers has grown from twenty-five to forty-five. This has effected a radical transformation in the character of our faculty simply as a group. Formerly we could all meet for supper and a social time at any one of our homes, and we did so frequently, the members of our families often being included. Now a party for the faculty is an undertaking of such magnitude that it is attempted only once or twice a year, and it has been several years since the children were included. Our daily work is now of greater variety, carried on in more rooms, spread over more ground, and with a more complicated program, so that one of us may not see some of his colleagues for weeks, instead of meeting most of them many times a day as in earlier times. The weekly faculty meeting used to be quite informal and was largely devoted to visiting, many of the women having fancy work along; now it is a business meeting with much routine to put through, and the president holds it to parliamentary rules. Formerly only some unusual necessity would keep one of us away from the general exercises in the morning, lest we lose touch with the school; now it is the exception to attend, and all of the important communications come to us on paper. Therefore, while the number of persons in our group has nearly doubled, the opportunities for getting acquainted with the individual members of it have lessened, with the result that some of us might not be able to call some of our colleagues by name if we should see them among strangers, let alone the members of their families. In fine, we have ceased to be a primary group, chiefly because there are so many of us.

¹ Ballou, *High School Organization*, p. 32.

² McMurry, *Elementary School Standards*, p. 186, published by the World Book Co.

An article in this *Journal*¹ by Professor R. E. Park, "Human Behavior in the City Environment," shows how the massing of people together changes social control from spontaneous personal accommodation to "rational and abstract principle."

CONGENIAL GROUPS

One kind of primary group will now be selected for fuller analysis and illustration. Though it is most often given as typical of all, it may be conveniently called the *congenial* group to distinguish it from the others. Such a group consists of persons who habitually maintain direct communication with one another for the sake of the enjoyment they find in it. They must of course be persons who are in sympathy with one another, or at least without strong antipathies. For this reason the number must be small. An additional member means more than a proportional increase in the probability of discord, for he brings not only one new reaction, but at least as many as there are members already in the group. Thus in a group of three there are three pairs of persons and so three times as many chances of antipathy as in a group of two. In a group of four there are six pairs, in a group of five there are ten, and so on. But even this represents the relationship much simpler than it really is, for the reaction between any two persons is modified by the mere presence of another, after the manner of catalysis in chemistry: the new member brings not only his own reaction with each of the others, but he also causes each of the other pairs to react in a somewhat different way. Then also the larger the group the less the chance for each to express himself, because only one can have the attention of the group at a time. It is also more likely that some will be absent when the others are together, and the absentees will have difficulty in keeping abreast of the others in thought. It is rare, therefore, for a congenial group to include more than half a dozen persons. When it does it is certain to diminish in coherence through the formation of subgroups, and perhaps start on the road to dissolution.

Since a congenial group is a spontaneous growth, without formal organization, its membership is usually shifting and uncer-

¹ XX, 593, 594.

tain. A and B, for example, were students with a room in a central location; C and D were frequent callers; these four had similar work. E called occasionally and F rarely; these two were students in other departments. A was popular with all. B would probably not have been in the group if he had not roomed with A; he and C had little in common, but he and F enjoyed each other's company when they were by themselves. Somewhat after this manner a congenial group consists of a small nucleus of almost constant members, with a fringe of occasional members who give most of their time to one or more other groups.

The associations of adults are so largely controlled by remote ends that their congenial groups are difficult to identify. An aged person does not fit into new groups easily; he still lives in the groups of his earlier life, keeping in touch with them by indirect communication; the casual observer merely sees the absence of any strong interest in surrounding persons. Children, on the other hand, spend much of their time in congenial groups. A teacher can find no more fascinating study, nor one more helpful professionally, than these natural groupings which children form for themselves. For boys' groups of the better sort the following accounts are typical:

Five boys between the ages of nine and thirteen got together to work. All would go to one boy's home and help him with his chores, then go on to the next. This was fun—work turned to play. The leader of this group was not the oldest nor the largest, but one who could look serious and command—always could think of new stunts to do. He it was who proposed the building of a shack in one of the back yards with scraps of lumber picked up or given to them.¹

A group of six boys was established in the seventh grade through an interest in outdoor sports, especially baseball, hunting, and swimming. When at leisure they were always together. At parties and social affairs they formed a clique. When one member was ill the remaining five took turns staying at the bedside during the night. One of the boys fell and broke his arm; the others took his paper route, delivered the papers and gave him the money. They would also come to play with him and cheer him up. One of the members had work to do before he could come out to play; the others would help him do it. But the unity of the group was not always one of harmony; they

¹ This and other quotations for which references are not given have been contributed by friends of the writer.

had frequent quarrels, though never very serious ones. They hated an untruth. When they found that one of their number had told a deliberate lie they punished him severely.

Last summer I watched a group of boys ranging between nine and twelve years of age on a playground near my home. Almost any time of day they could be seen—the same group each day. Once I noticed a strange boy about the same age as the rest come and ask to join in their game. But they refused blankly—no outsiders allowed. On another occasion a boy who had had more practice in playing ball than any in this little group came and offered his services as pitcher. But they refused him, even though they realized that he might be a great help in their play. One morning when the group gathered for play one of the members was not present. They all ran to his home and found that he had been set to the task of piling some wood in a shed. So they pitched in and helped him pile the wood. That done, they all returned to their play. One of the boys accidentally broke a window. They all contributed to the cost of replacing it, so that he had only his share to pay.

The gang spirit is strongest in the average boy during his thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth years, when he is in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Here is the way one writer describes this stage in a boy's growth:

The boy begins to feel more strongly than before the necessity of meeting certain other boys every day—to play a game, if favored by surroundings and good play traditions, but anyway to meet, for purposes which seem to him sufficient. His life is now in this companionship; it has become his milieu, his social complement, his world, as necessary to him as a mother to a little child. This relation pervades his life and everything he does. If he walks, swims, rides, makes jokes, converses, it is as a member of a horde. . . .

. . . . His paramount desire now is to belong: to live and act, succeed or fail—to suffer if need be—not as an individual, but as a member of a social whole made up of boys of his own age; and the effects of this new desire are seen in everything he does. . . .¹

GIRLS' GROUPS

Girls are less obtrusive than boys, less noisy, so that their congenial organization has been less noticed by adults. But their groups exist just as universally as do those of boys, and they are just as important educationally. Groups of girls are smaller than

¹ Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 319, 320.

those of boys, and less stable; they are less likely to grow into formal organizations. Here are two accounts of groups composed of older girls:

I belonged to a group with three other girls. We were all about the same age. The group started in the early part of the seventh grade. At school we were always together and paid little attention to other pupils. The teachers tried to get us to mingle with the other children, but without success. Two of us took piano lessons, another vocal, and the other played the violin; therefore much of our time outside of school was spent in practicing music together. We could all roller-skate, and so on Saturday afternoons we often went skating. One of our rules was that when we were going any place we must be there on time. No one dared to lie to another member of the group. These rules were always obeyed. When we graduated from the eighth grade two of us came to the normal and the other two went to the high school, so our group was broken up.

In a boarding club of eight girls there is a primary group of four. They became intimate while waiting for meals. In time they found that they had similar tastes for literature. At first they merely read and discussed literature at odd times; then they arranged to spend one evening a week together. Although these four enjoy the company of the eight at the table, yet when the meal is over the four go off together. One of them was invited to a party and wished very much to attend it. When she learned, however, that the other three were not invited, and saw how downcast they were over it, she declined the invitation. This is a sample of the loyalty to one another which they often exhibit. The strongest of the girls is giving the others not only her love for poetry, but also her confident bearing among people.

The following reports come from young women as a result of their experience in teaching, and therefore describe groups of younger girls:

Girls form groups for the purpose of playing, sewing, etc., and sometimes for the sole purpose of having companions in whom they can confide. In girls' groups we usually find a great deal of gossiping going on. Boys' groups are harder to break up; the members are more loyal to each other; they work more as a unit. Girls like to have their own way, therefore there is constant clashing in a group.

In my fifth-grade practice class there is a group of five girls that has grown into a formal organization. The purpose is to make dolls' dresses. They meet at the homes of the members on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. On Saturdays the sewing ends at three o'clock and they go in a body to the *matinée*. I was invited to one of their meetings. The chief topic of

conversation was the merits and demerits of their practice teachers. They decided, among other things that afternoon, that they would make Miss C. "mad" by all chewing gum and writing notes.

There is some clashing among the girls, and usually over trivial matters. Occasionally a girl will come to me and ask for permission to change her seat; then, when asked the reason why, will say that she and her seat-mate are not on the best of terms. Of course, I never give the girls permission for such a reason. Instead I arrange to have the two girls deal with each other in some way, and before they know it they are as good friends as ever. I have never known such a case to arise among the boys. They seem to settle such matters among themselves.

But some girls' groups are as lasting and harmonious as those of the boys.

I once knew a group of three girls. There seemed to be no reason why they should go together except that they simply enjoyed each other's company. They would read, play with dolls, and sew. One was a great reader, and often brought a book with her. Then the other two would sew while she would read. Two of the girls went to a convent school and the third to a public school, but this enforced separation seemed only to strengthen the group. When evening came they would meet and relate the experiences of the day; as much as possible of Saturday and Sunday would be spent together. By and by one of the girls moved away, but this separation was overcome by almost daily letters. Now, after the lapse of twelve years, this group still exists, kept together by correspondence and occasional visits.

There are four girls who are always together. They live in the same town and were friends before coming here. Misses W. and C. became acquainted while in the third grade; they were together through the grades and high school. Misses A. and C. were together through the grades in another school. These four girls formed one group during high-school days. They came to normal at the same time, roomed at the same place, took up the same course in school, and consequently are in all the same classes in school. They sit near each other in both the study-room and the auditorium. They are loyal to each other. If one is absent the others resent any uncomplimentary remark about her.

One of the girls was to sing in a quartet. It was necessary for her to go early to practice, but there was some work about the room which she was to do. The other girls did her work as well as their own so that she could go.

In the same way the other ideals are present, such as truthfulness, kindness, and lawfulness or abiding by the wish of the majority; also freedom, for although these four girls co-operate in all of their work there is still the feeling that they can do what they wish.

It is rare to find both girls and boys in the same group if beyond kindergarten age. Whenever that occurs the girls presumably have some masculine qualities, or the boys feminine qualities, or else the group is functional rather than primary.

When M. was a grammar-grade pupil she played baseball with the boys. She could run fast and had plenty of nerve, so was a good player. When she neared the end of the eighth grade one of the boys said he hoped she would not pass so that she could continue on their team.

Thirty-five years ago, about, a group of boys and girls in the intermediate grades called themselves the KKK's—Ku-Klux-Klan. They read *The Scottish Chiefs* by themselves, and as a result of it formed a plan to free Scotland when they grew up. Some of the members of the group still exchange letters and so keep up the old group feeling. One of the women went recently with her son to visit one of the men.

CONGENIAL GROUPS IN SCHOOL

The following account, written by a teacher, gives a careful analysis of the grouping of the children in a rural school:

In this school there were fourteen families represented, and at school the children formed seven play groups. At noon in winter when the children ate their lunches in the schoolhouse it was an easy matter to pick out the different groups. Only about half of the children belonged to decided groups. Sometimes they were grouped one way, and at another time some other way. Two little girls never belonged to any group. The same was true of one boy.

Of the seven distinct groups, one was a group of two boys, one fourteen years old and one sixteen. These two boys were always together, and if one happened to miss a day, which was seldom, the other seemed entirely lost, and did not want to take any part in the play with the rest. Another group was made up of four boys: one aged eleven, two thirteen, and one twelve. Three of these boys always formed a group, and the fourth was sometimes a part of the group and sometimes not. He was rather a quarrelsome boy. Another, of three boys, eleven and twelve years old, two of them being brothers.

Three girls, eleven, twelve, and thirteen, formed a group. Three girls, two twelve years old, and one ten, formed another group. Two little girls who started to school the first year I was here soon formed a group, and still keep together.

The two little girls who were not members of any group seemed to be different from the others. One was a member of the family which was rather looked down upon by the other families. The other was a strange child.

She never seemed to be able to take things in the way they were intended. She wanted to look into the other girls' dinner pails, and would do it every chance she got, even though she knew it was wrong. She would try to sit down in a seat even when it was already crowded.

The boys' groups were the more permanent. The girls shifted around more. Sometimes the group would be made up of four and then again these four would make two groups.

It goes without saying that congenial groups are influential in a school. All that personality counts for applies with special force to the group of persons who meet with such close intimacy. The practical question is about the policy which the teacher should adopt toward them. The ordinary elementary school requires that a large proportion of the work done by pupils be their individual effort. While every pupil should be trained to work by himself, it must yet be recognized that the greater part of the world's work is done by groups of workers and that the majority of young people show a keener interest in group work than in individual work. Often work which the teacher assigns with the expectation that it will be prepared by each pupil independently is in fact worked out in groups, with more or less of concealment, according to the teacher's attitude toward that practice. Accordingly some of the newer types of schools allow more space in the program for such co-operative enterprises as chorus and orchestral music, pageants, plays, games, dances, publishing a school paper, running a cafeteria, housekeeping, and large pieces of construction work. The joint effort involved in such activities will enlist congenial groups and, under supervision, will have a peculiar educative value.

Testimony shows that the presence of congenial groups, even when their aims are not specially bad, has its drawbacks and even dangers. The first statement quoted below is from a teacher of considerable experience and more than ordinary success:

I think a school that is broken up into "sets" and "cliques" is in a deplorable condition. A good teacher smooths away these barriers and brings the whole room into harmony. A teacher who would deliberately foster cliques in school I should think to be on a par with the teacher who has pets and shows favoritism. Cliques are all very nice for those who are inside, but how about those who are outside and see the group go off with

arms about each other whispering secrets? Is it not the teacher's duty to see fair play—equal advantages to all?

I do not think that play groups should be openly recognized. The teacher can make use of them to some extent, but should endeavor to make the pupils of the school one group. Effort by the teacher to get into the groups may result in loss of prestige. The principal of the high school I attended never fraternized with the pupils, yet he was as good a teacher as I ever had and kept his position seven years.

When J. was in the sixth grade he was in a congenial group of boys and girls. The teacher favored this group so much as to arouse the antipathy of the remaining pupils. The next year J. and others of the group failed in their school work because they had forgotten how to study. He attributed his weakness in mathematics to the easy requirements of that sixth grade.

But the weight of testimony is decidedly in favor of recognizing the groups, provided it be done with care, especially avoiding favoritism. Congenial association is something no one can be altogether deprived of and retain a wholesome mind. To the child it is the breath of life; he must be immersed in it constantly as he is in the air; older persons can do without it longer because they have learned to draw mental nourishment by indirect communication.

Take the case of the new child in school who has no acquaintances there. He is enrolled, assigned to a seat, draws books, goes to recitation, and the like. These, of course, are what he comes for and may be all right in themselves, but they are not enough: they are formal. There must be companionship, the give and take in talk, smiles, laugh, play, and all the spontaneous things that come in informal communication between friends. If the hours pass by without these things the child has a feeling akin to suffocation; he bursts out crying without apparent cause, goes home with a lump in his throat, and hates school. On the other hand, if the child happens to meet a congenial companion or two before the school is called to order, is permitted to sit near them, and has occasional opportunities for informal intercourse with them, then friendly glances and smiles can be exchanged in the midst of the formal things, he breathes freely in the assurance that others who understand him are at hand, and goes home delighted with school.

All the children belonged to groups and the spirit of the school was wholesome. The group interests were in part interests in specialties. Four girls were musically inclined, three others were interested in needle-work; the younger boys and girls played games together, while the two older boys were always together, playing ball, or hunting or fishing. The teacher tried to get them to play together, but without success, and she finally admitted that "they all seem perfectly happy as they are."

The groups did not cause any trouble; the children were not so divided but that all could join in a game and play. They were all quite fair, even with the three children who were in no group. Groups are a help to the teacher. If a teacher recognizes them, things will work out harmoniously; otherwise it will be like bringing sharp edges together. Whenever there is any group work, those agreeable to each other should work together to get the best results. If the teacher would avoid trouble, she will not have two people sit together who cannot get along well. In this school there were no individual desks, and two children had to sit together. At first two boys who had sat together constantly found fault with each other; little things, that would never have been noticed ordinarily, were exaggerated. After changing their seats they were both good in school, and neither found fault with his new seat-mate.

The Sister who had charge of the boys was interested in child-study and understood primary groups. She allowed members of groups to sit near each other and study together. In contests the groups were pitted against each other. The leaders of the groups were the monitors of the classes.

Four girls have been in the same classes for six years, and have been a congenial group throughout that time. They dress alike as far as possible. They strive to keep their grades above a certain mark. When one member is away the others write a group letter to her. It is rare that one of them says "I" in speaking of her plans or work; it is nearly always "we." But they are not entirely interested in themselves. On May Day they make it a point to always remember two old ladies with May baskets. On St. Valentine's Day their efforts are directed toward having everyone in the school receive at least one valentine. They set the standard of work in whatever class they are members. One boy, naturally bright but lazy, makes a special effort to keep up with the "Quartet." That group is always recognized by the teachers because of the good influence it has on the other children.

When I was about ten years old I attended a school which was divided into two groups, the North and the South. The teacher fostered these groups by letting the members of each group sit together, also by acting as the leader now of the one and now of the other. The rivalry between the groups was friendly. The next year the new teacher mixed the seating of the groups.

There was constant disturbance, such as throwing notes and whispering. The outcome was a war between the North and South which was not a friendly rivalry but a real combat.

AT BOARDING SCHOOLS

Then there is the girl who goes away from home to school for the first time and has a week of homesickness. Does not the theory of congenial groups offer the best explanation and the proper remedy?

She leaves the congenial groups in which she has lived, and an interval elapses before she can find new ones. The management of the school can do much to shorten that interval. It can arrange to have the girls thrown together in various combinations so that each one will meet many others, with occupations requiring communication and with opportunity for informal conversation. The sooner this is done the better, and at all events it should be before the first Sunday or holiday.

The process by which a hundred girls, hitherto strangers to one another, assort themselves into congenial groups is one of exceeding intricacy. Between every pair that meet the association must be mutually satisfactory or else it will remain formal, and it is almost necessary that the satisfaction extend to all the members of the groups to which each one of the pair belongs; one girl may like another but be obliged to hold aloof because she clashes with one of the other's friends. Each must learn how to meet each of the others whom circumstances place her with, and to do it in such a way as to avoid the asperities and find the durable satisfactions. The school can help in this by bringing together in the first week as many different groups as possible for singing, basket-ball, tennis, hikes; also the adherents of the various churches, the devotees of orchestral music, drama, and other arts. It is not necessary to begin serious work in this first week that is so full anyway, but just enough to bring the new members together for mutual acquaintance. Most of the groups thus formed are only temporary, but they supply acquaintance in place of isolation so as to minimize homesickness and promote the formation of permanent groups.

Large schools often divide their students into groups of from a dozen to twenty and assign one group to each member of the faculty as an adviser. The adviser is expected to develop congenial association with the members of his group as far as possible and at least get into direct communication with them.

Fraternities and sororities are organizations whose chief function it is to promote congenial association among students by bringing together a selected membership in a house adapted to the purpose. Such organizations have existed in the colleges for more than a century, usually, though not always, with the approval of the faculty. In the early years of the twentieth century they grew rapidly in high schools. But the school authorities in most places adopted measures of repression; when high-school students withdraw by themselves in small exclusive groups they tend to develop a snobbish attitude toward outsiders that is intolerable; they still need the corrective of free association with persons both older and younger than themselves. In the colleges and universities, however, especially the larger ones with thousands of students away from their homes, fraternities and sororities meet a real need. But that need, it must be admitted, is in some institutions adequately met by other agencies.

At C. Hall in our university some of the girls who were there last year are appointed as advisers to the Freshman girls. During vacation the names and addresses of two or three Freshmen are sent to each adviser, who then writes to each of her advisees and arranges first of all to meet them at the trains.

There is also an all-university system of advisers managed by the Junior class girls in behalf of the Freshman girls. "The duties of the advisers," says the Bulletin of the Self-Government Association of the Women Students, "are to aid the Freshmen in adjusting themselves to their new life and to advise them concerning their choice of college activities."

. . . . There has never been set forth a good reason for the existence of the high-school fraternity. The college students are older and capable of exercising more judgment. A real need is supplied to young men and women away from home by offering a substitute for home life. High-school students are at home, and are too young for club life. Whatever may be said in favor of college fraternities, relative to establishing desirable social standards and for the benefit of students, is not applicable to high-school pupils because of their immaturity.¹

¹ R. C. Hill, *Educational Review*, XLIII, 170.

DISCIPLINE

It often happens that hard cases of discipline have their roots in the deliberately chosen policy of congenial groups—"gangs" as they are then called. It is the group that must be dealt with, though it may sometimes be reached through its leader. A requirement that would seem arbitrary when imposed on an individual may seem entirely just when imposed on a group. The promise of a group can be trusted more than the promise of an individual, because the members will look after one another.

A gang of youngsters were transferred to our school from a school where they had had their own way. They started in to run things, even making use of knives to overawe the others. Two of them told me in the most amiable way how they had held up a boy before coming to us. They had the idea that such conduct was honorable. They yielded slowly and reluctantly to better training, but finally became as good boys as any we had.

Twelve girls, sixteen to eighteen years of age, developed the spirit of the clan. They called themselves the "Batty Bunch," and wore as a badge a pin in the shape of a bat with spread wings about three inches in width. They studied just enough to avoid serious consequences, but always made something better than the passing mark. Their favorite enterprise was to go out in the evening on some kind of an excursion, perhaps an automobile ride into the country. The president of the school reproved them, singly and in groups. He finally exacted from them the promise that they would stay in their rooms and study until ten o'clock. They obeyed the letter of the law, but broke the spirit of it by studying until ten o'clock and then going to the street to have a good time. When the president found this out he prepared to take severe measures. But an elderly man of the faculty, who had a keen insight into human nature, offered to take charge of the "Bunch" and guaranteed their good behavior. The president at once handed him a list of the twelve names and wished him success in his undertaking. Their new sponsor called the girls into his office, read their names, and set the situation before them. They accepted it with pleasure and promised to behave. He insisted on just one thing: each member of the twelve must report to him every morning what she did during the evening before.

Thereafter the "Bats" caused no special trouble. They kept the spirit as well as the letter of the promise to their sponsor. They graduated from the normal school in due time and took positions as teachers, and everyone was pronounced a success by the superintendent with whom she worked. In a few years some married and made good homes. All of the others graduated from some university or college. The teacher who took the responsibility

for the conduct of the girls testifies that he was helped in a large measure by his wife; she gave the girls a kindly welcome to her home and never preached to them.

The child in question is a boy about ten years old, of foreign parentage, nervous and rather passionate in disposition. He was late in entering school, and was therefore looked upon as an outsider by the groups already formed. This made him lonely and discontented, though at first he seemed to find pleasure in the school work itself. In a few days, however, his attitude underwent a marked change. He became inattentive and kept close track of the clock in the rear of the room. It was apparent that his thought was becoming centered on something separate from the school and its work. The question, of course, was, what was he doing and where was he going? A little inquiring and watching brought out the fact that, through selling newspapers, blacking shoes, etc., he had gotten in with a gang of boys who were notorious for bad behavior of various kinds, and that he was being made over into one of them about as rapidly as possible. His craving for companionship was being satisfied.

I said very little to the boy himself, but by watching him on the streets whenever possible and consulting others who knew him I decided that his original motive in going with those boys was to get money. Then I undertook to meet him on his own ground. We were making raffia baskets about that time and I offered to buy his basket from him. He became interested immediately. He worked before and after school and at many odd times in order to finish his basket. Some other boys were also hard at work on baskets, and naturally a friendship sprang up between them all. Our boy discovered that these boys knew something, that they liked to do things, and above all that they could do things as well as those outside fellows. An outdoor picnic helped things along, and soon he was one of this—to him—absolutely new group. The effect was evident in his entire attitude toward his work.

I have in mind a lad of eleven years. His teacher said he was a chronic case of sulks. He was the only child of a prominent city physician, and could have had all the things that ordinarily delight a boy's heart. Other well-dressed and good-mannered boys in his grade in school possessed no attractions for him. He did not respond to their friendly advances, but kept out of their games and by himself.

One winter's night he came in late wearing a dirty, ragged suit of clothes. He was made to change them, but gave no reason for his strange appearance. Again the same thing happened. A teacher of large soul and detective characteristics followed this clue and discovered the keynote of D's character. Over on the other side of the city was a group of boys who were ragged, unkempt, the gamin of the streets, boys who slept in ash-barrels and doorways. To these boys D was wont to go, using his money for food for them, giving them his choicest books, and occasionally wearing home their

clothes that they might have his. To these boys he was a young prince and to him they were the real thing. Here there was no outside coat of fine manners to annoy him, no rivalry in studies, no snobbishness. He found them self-reliant, fearing nothing and self-supporting, though by means often questionable. In short, D had found his primary group. They needed him, but he also needed them. He loved reality and not pretense. So were the cravings of his boy heart ministered unto, while his sense of brotherhood found expression.

CAN CONGENIAL GROUPS BE CONSTRUCTED ?

Since congenial groups are so potent to either hinder or advance the interests of a school, the question arises how far a teacher may work in such a group among his pupils and so help to determine its policy; also whether he may not bring together the pupils who will make a group of a desired kind. The testimony is conflicting on both of these points. Doubtless something depends on the age of the pupils and much on the personality of the teacher. Some teachers should never attempt it, but they may nevertheless be good teachers, like the principal mentioned on page 337. The writer of the first selection given below is the principal of the Boston Normal School.

. . . . Neither society as a whole nor its personification in the teacher can say: Go to; let there be groups. Let us put so many in one group and so many in another. Let us select individuals according to their capacities, and give them work that will be suited to their needs. No, a real social group cannot be reduced to a mere instrument of the teacher, a means or a method for accomplishing certain preconceived purposes. It is necessarily too many-sided for that.¹

After the graded school had been in session a few weeks a boy from a rural school entered the sixth grade. He was backward in his school work the remainder of the year and seemed little interested in matters connected with the school. The following year the new teacher seated him with the most brilliant pupil in the grade, with the result that the two boys became close friends. The new boy began to take more interest in things, first in his studies, then in the games. Before the end of that second year he was enjoying school and doing work which won him the respect of the other boys in that room.

I have found that up through the fourth grade it is important that the teacher be included in the "we" feeling. The children like to have some

¹ Scott, *Social Education*, p. 16, published by Ginn & Co.

older person join in with them and be interested in all they do. But in the fifth grade and beyond it is not so important. The children then begin to assert themselves and want to be left alone. I know a case where a seventh-grade teacher, a young man, sought to gain admission to a group of boys. As soon as he came on the playground there was an air of aloofness; anyone could see that their play was half-hearted. One day after playing with them a few minutes he went into the schoolroom. While he was still within ear-shot he heard one of them say, "Gosh, I hope he stays there and don't come buttin' in again." The teacher took the hint and did not try to play with the boys after that.

I do not believe that groups can be constructed; they must grow. The group is composed of kindred spirits, and persons who are not possessed with this spirit cannot become members. The children themselves must decide who is to be in their group; a parent or teacher cannot do it. I remember my grandmother wanted me to play with three girls, and the girls' mammas were equally anxious to have me play with them because the other children in the village were Protestant. But I did not like the three girls and they had no love for me; I preferred the society of two Protestant girls in spite of my grandmother's entreaties.

When I was seven years old we had a Sister for a teacher who was a member of our congenial group. At recess she played games with us. We told her all our little tales of woe and she sympathized with us. The order in the room was as nearly perfect as possible. We knew the rules and were very careful not to break them lest we should displease Sister B. The next term our beloved teacher didn't return. The new teacher had been in the room only three hours when we decided that we could not have her in our group. The first thing she did was to change the seating. Now all of "us" had been sitting together, and when we were separated we vowed revenge. Not a lesson would we study; we did everything we could think of to annoy her. It seemed to us that she was trying to make things disagreeable for us.

CONGENIAL ASSOCIATION APART FROM GROUPS

The congenial groups described in the foregoing extracts have been groups of children or young people, for, as has already been noted, the grouping of mature persons is obscured by their pursuit of remote ends. It might be true to say that most men in middle life do not belong to congenial groups.

Men do not usually have congenial groups, but I know two men, farmers, who were inseparable. Every evening when their work was done they would meet and talk. When one went to town the other usually managed to go too.

On Sunday they would stroll over their farms, or take a walk through the woods looking for game or berries, or do something that would keep them together.

But most men nevertheless have a great deal of what might be called congenial association, provided they were trained to it by membership in congenial groups during their childhood. They have the "frequent face-to-face communication for the sake of the enjoyment they find in it," only they get it incidentally in the pursuit of more serious ends. They rarely form the intimate friendships of their earlier years; both the need and the capacity for that sort of thing have passed away. They have learned instead to meet various kinds of people, strangers as well as old acquaintances, in an easy, enjoyable sort of way; from this comes most of whatever growth they make in opinions, ideals, and interests.

The traveling salesman is perhaps the best example of this. He gets his congenial association, not with any small and constant group as does a child; but with the thousands whom he meets incidentally, some by appointment and some by chance, many whom he never met before and will never meet again. Ability to do this is the condition of success in his vocation. It is not enough to merely appear, for politeness' sake, to enjoy meeting all these people; the true traveler really does enjoy it.

This congenial association not only comes incidentally in the pursuit of serious ends; it has its function in the pursuit of those ends themselves. Communication on the most serious business in the world can accomplish its purpose of leading to like-mindedness and concerted action only in so far as there is sympathy between the parties, some common ground to start from. Now sympathy is easiest started in matters of mere enjoyment. Note the story-telling and laughter that usually go on between two or more men in the midst of their consideration of sober affairs. In this respect Abraham Lincoln was typically human. Then there is the eating together, and the drinking, and the smoking; the automobile ride, the game of billiards, the theater party—all ostensibly for mere enjoyment; but in the mind of the promoter they are often a means of establishing sympathetic relations as a basis for communication on weighty matters.

EDUCATIONAL APPLICATION

In education, as well as in business and politics, congenial association must hold a large place, because without it communication for serious ends is not effective. If the merchant will buy of a traveling salesman what he would never order by mail from a catalogue, much more is the sensitive mind of the child dependent on direct communication for what is learned. The teacher is more of a necessity to education than the salesman to business. Books, periodicals, and correspondence schools can never do as much of the teaching as catalogues and mail-order houses do of the selling. Often we hear a pupil say, "I cannot understand this when I study it by myself, but I can when it is explained in class." Moral and aesthetic truths especially are learned through the sympathetic touch of personality; they must be seen actually at work in the life of another person; the learner may perchance then discover them at work in his own life. The things of durable value must be floated up to the threshold of attention by the agreeable trifles of congenial association.

Herein lies the reason for one of the qualifications which is almost indispensable for success in educational work. Especially superintendents, inspectors, and supervisors must be adepts at developing congenial association apart from definite groups. They need to be able to get into sympathetic relations with all kinds of people. Unless they can mix enough good fellowship with their suggestions and directions to make interviews with them agreeable they are liable to become taskmasters, or perhaps only detectives. The same is true of classroom or grade teachers, only they have a definite group of children to meet and therefore more time to develop a working adjustment with each child; but that also means time for the novelty to wear off and for antipathies to develop. The supervising officer with a subordinate whom he cannot bring into sympathy with himself is usually able to avoid personal interviews. But the teacher has no such escape: an adjustment must be made with every pupil in the room, and the presence of one pupil between whom and the teacher there is a fixed antipathy may make congenial association between teacher

and pupils in that room an impossibility, and so reduce the work for all to mechanical grind.

This subject of small groups and the reactions which occur between persons who meet face to face is deserving of investigation. Students who are looking for thesis subjects in sociology or social psychology are invited to take notice. It makes a universal appeal, it is fundamental to all social organization, and its professional importance extends to other occupations besides that of teaching. Girls' congenial groups are especially suitable for first-hand study because there is practically nothing in print about them.

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ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The following program has been announced by President Frank W. Blackmar for the fourteenth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society to be held in Chicago, December 29 to 31, 1919, at the La Salle Hotel.

MAIN TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION: THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 3:00-5:00 P.M. Registration. Lobby of the Red Room, nineteenth floor.
- 8:00 P.M. Joint meeting with the American Economic Association, PRESIDENT HARRY PRATT JUDSON, of the University of Chicago, presiding.
Address: HENRY B. GARDNER, president of the Economic Association.
Address: FRANK W. BLACKMAR, president of the American Sociological Society.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

- 8:30 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.
- 9:30 A.M. Session on "Democracy in Politics." F. W. BLACKMAR, presiding.
Address: "Democracy and Our Political System," U. G. WEATHERLY, University of Indiana.
Discussion: FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University; E. C. HAYES, University of Illinois.
Address: "Democracy and Partisan Politics," JOHN M. GILLETTE, University of North Dakota.
Discussion: GEORGE E. HOWARD, University of Nebraska; A. G. KELLER, Yale University.
- 11:00 A.M. Session on "Democracy and Industrial Life." JAMES Q. DEALEY, presiding.
Address: "Democracy and Labor," JULIUS ROSENWALD, Sears Roebuck & Co., Chicago.
Discussion: A. W. SMALL, University of Chicago; W. B. BODENHAFFER, University of Kansas.
Address: "Some Psychological Aspects of Industrial Reconstruction," A. B. WOLFE, University of Texas.
Discussion: JOHN P. LICHTENBERGER, University of Pennsylvania; JESSE H. BOND, Washington, D.C.

- 2:00 P.M. Session on "Democracy in Social Life." E. C. HAYES, presiding.
Address: "Democracy and Community Organization," DWIGHT SANDERSON, Cornell University.
Discussion: GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago; PAUL L. VOGT, University of Pennsylvania; JESSE F. STEINER, American Red Cross, Washington, D.C.
Address: "Democracy and Class Relations," F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College.
Discussion: CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan; CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University.
- 3:30 P.M. Session on "Democracy and Philanthropy." A. W. SMALL, presiding.
Address: "Modern Philanthropic Movements in Their Relation to Democracy," J. L. GILLIN, University of Wisconsin.
Discussion: M. C. ELMER, University of Minnesota; E. L. EARP, Drew Theological Seminary; J. ELBERT CUTLER, Western Reserve University.
Address: "Religion and Democracy," CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, University of Missouri.
Discussion: E. A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin; ALLAN HOBEN, Carleton College.
- 8:00 P.M. F. W. BLACKMAR, presiding.
Address: "Democracy and Reconstruction in Europe," HON. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Emporia, Kansas.
Address: "Labor and International Relations," JOHN B. ANDREWS, New York City.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

- 9:00 A.M. Session on "Democracy and Education." J. ELBERT CUTLER, presiding.
Address: "The Problems of Educating a Democracy," WALTER R. SMITH, University of Kansas.
Discussion: SUSAN KINGSBURY, Bryn Mawr College; JAMES Q. DEALEY, Brown University.
Address: "Vocational Factors in Democratic Education," DAVID SNEDDEN, Columbia University.
Discussion: E. R. GROVES, New Hampshire College; L. L. BERNARD, University of Minnesota.
- 10:30 A.M. Report of Standing Committees. F. W. BLACKMAR, presiding.
Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Sociology in the Grade Schools and High Schools of the United States: ROSS L. FINNEY, chairman, University of Minnesota. Discussion.
Report of the Committee on Standardization of Research: J. L. GILLIN, chairman, University of Wisconsin. Discussion.
Report of the Committee on Statistics: W. M. ADRIANCE, chairman, Washington, D.C. Discussion.
- 12:00 M. Business Meeting.

- 2:00 P.M. Session on "Democracy and Race Problems." F. STUART CHAPIN, presiding.
 Address: "Racial Factors in Democracy," JEROME DOWD, University of Oklahoma.
 Discussion: ROBERT E. PARK, University of Chicago; HERBERT A. MILLER, Oberlin College.
 Address: "Americanization," JANE ADDAMS, Hull-House, Chicago; GRACE ABBOTT, Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago.
 Discussion: WARREN S. THOMPSON, Cornell University; SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, University of Chicago.
- 3:00 P.M. Session on "Democracy and the *Isms*." CECIL C. NORTH, presiding.
 Address: "Democracy and Bolshevism," SELIG PERLMAN, University of Wisconsin.
 Discussion: A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota; EDITH ABBOTT, University of Chicago.
 Address: "Democracy and Socialism," JAMES E. HAGERTY, Ohio State University.
 Discussion: THOMAS CARVER, Harvard University; E. W. BURGESS, University of Chicago.

Papers should not exceed 20-25 minutes in length; the time limit for prepared discussion is 7 minutes; for discussion from the floor, 5 minutes.

Round table discussions at the luncheon hour may be arranged by writing to Scott E. W. Bedford, chairman of the Local Committee, University of Chicago.

Hotel rates are as follows:

Hotel La Salle

One person, per day, room with detached bath, \$2, \$2.50, and \$3; room with private bath, \$3, \$3.50, \$4, and \$5. Two persons, room with detached bath, \$3, \$3.50, and \$4; room with private bath, double room, \$5 to \$8; single room with double bed, \$4, \$4.50, and \$5. Two connecting rooms with bath, two persons, \$5 to \$8; three persons, \$6 to \$9; four persons, \$7 to \$12.

Hotel Sherman

Single room with bath, \$4 and up; single room without bath, \$2.50 and \$3. Double room with bath, \$6 and up; double room without bath, \$6 and up.

Hotel Morrison

Single room with private bath, \$3.50, \$4, \$4.50, and \$5. Double room with bath, \$5 and up.

Briggs House

Single room with bath, \$2 and \$2.50; single room without bath, \$1.50 and \$1.70. Double room with bath, \$3, \$3.50, and \$4; double room without bath, \$3 and \$3.50.

NEWS AND NOTES

Notes of interest to the readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

ALFRED COLLEGE

Professor Ford Stillman Clarke, of the department of sociology of Alfred College (New York), died August 23, 1919.

BAKER UNIVERSITY

A new chair of sociology was established at Baker University this fall. The professorship will be filled by William M. Balch, A.B., A.M. (University of Wisconsin), Ph.D. (Wooster University). Dr. Balch was formerly general secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. He is the author of *Christianity and the Labor Movement*.

The following courses are being given this semester: Introduction to Sociology; Sociology of the Bible; Social Aspects of War and Reconstruction; The Social Problem.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

G. S. Dow, professor of sociology in the University of New Mexico, has been appointed professor of sociology in Baylor University.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dr. Ellsworth Faris has been appointed to a professorship in sociology at the University of Chicago, where he will have charge of the work in social psychology. Before the war Dr. Faris was professor of psychology in Iowa State University. During the period of the war he was acting director of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station and research professor of sociology in the same institution.

Frederic M. Thrasher has been appointed to an assistantship in sociology at the University of Chicago, where he is teaching sections of the elementary course. He is also acting as extension instructor in sociology for Indiana University. Mr. Thrasher was formerly acting head of the department of social science at the University of Cincinnati and director of the Cincinnati Home Service Institute of the American Red Cross.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

W. H. Parker, of the department of political and social science, who has been absent on leave for two years in military service, has returned and resumed his duties as assistant professor of social science.

Assistant Professor Jesse F. Steiner, who is absent on leave, will continue his work as director of the Bureau of Home Service Training of the American National Red Cross.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Erville B. Woods has returned to the professorship of sociology after a year's service as chief administrator of the National War Labor Board at Washington.

Charles H. Haines, professor of anthropology, has removed to Boston, where he will be associated with Director Arthur Fairbanks in the administration of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY

The vacancy created by the resignation of Professor Arthur W. Calhoun, of DePauw University, has been filled by the appointment of Frank T. Carlton as professor and head of the department of sociology. Professor Carlton has for several years filled the chair of economics and history in Albion College (Michigan).

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Professor Newell L. Sims, head of the department of social sciences, University of Florida, spent the summer with the American Red Cross as special adviser on rural organization under the Department of Civilian Relief. His work was confined chiefly to the Gulf Division.

Professor Sims has compiled a source book on rural sociology under the title *The Rural Community; Ancient and Modern*. The volume is soon to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The work was to have appeared six months ago, but labor conditions have delayed its issuance.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

A translation of Professor E. C. Hayes's *Introduction to the Study of Sociology* into the Japanese language is in preparation, to be issued by the leading Japanese publishing house. This book is used as a text at the University of Peking, the University of Nanking, and other Chinese universities. A professor at the University of Nanking has

prepared a digest of the book in the form of questions to aid Chinese students in its mastery. The book secured the election of Professor Hayes in Paris two years ago as Associé de l'Institut Internationale de Sociologie.

KANSAS UNIVERSITY

Walter R. Smith, formerly professor in the State Normal at Emporia, has been appointed to a full professorship in the department of sociology in Kansas University. Professor Smith will give one-fourth of his time to the School of Education, where he is teaching courses in social education and the social sciences.

After a year's leave of absence spent in the University of Chicago, Walter B. Bodenhafer has been elected assistant professor of sociology.

Under the direction of Dr. Smith the department is preparing to make social surveys of Parsons and Osborn, Kansas.

T. J. Smart has accepted a position as community adviser in the extension department. Mr. Smart has taken his graduate work at the University of Minnesota and has had wide experience in community organization work in all its phases.

The enrolment shows a heavy increase over previous years in all classes.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

T. N. Farris, formerly instructor at Southwestern University, has been made instructor in economics and sociology at the Louisiana State University.

A course of twenty lectures on contemporary social problems will be given to the parish home demonstration agents of Louisiana during their conference at the Louisiana State University in November.

The Louisiana State Conference for Social Betterment is planning to hold its third annual meeting in Baton Rouge early in 1920. No meeting was held last winter on account of war conditions and the influenza epidemic.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Professor N. J. Ware, of the department of sociology of the University of Louisville, has arranged a course leading to the B.S. degree in sociology. The first two years include the usual courses in liberal arts, while the remaining period is devoted to sociological subjects.

In addition there has been arranged for social workers a two years' training course for which a certificate will be granted by the University of Louisville.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Fred Roy Yoder, A.B., A.M., has been added to the staff in sociology at the University of Missouri as an instructor.

Professor Carl C. Taylor has been promoted from an assistant professorship to an associate professorship in sociology. The department has a present enrolment of 445 students.

Under the direction of Professor Taylor several surveys of rural communities are being conducted in Boone County. A complete and careful survey is also being made of the city of Columbia.

The department of sociology is offering a special training course for social workers in small towns and rural communities. This is one of the new curricula of the School of Business and Public Administration. Those in training for urban social work take their last half year's work at St. Louis in the Missouri School of Social Economy, which retains its affiliation with the University of Missouri.

The department in co-operation with the Southwestern Division of the American Red Cross is conducting two Institutes of six weeks each for Home Service workers.

Professor C. C. Taylor is publishing in the *University of Missouri Bulletins* (ready in November) a special study on the relation of the social survey to sociological methodology, entitled *The Social Survey: Its History and Methods*.

Professor C. A. Ellwood has just published revised and enlarged editions, written from an after-the-war point of view, of two of his books, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems* and *The Social Problem* (American Book Co. and the Macmillan Co.).

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

E. C. Branson, head of the department of rural social science, at the University of North Carolina, has been promoted to a Kenan professorship, and the department has been strengthened by an assistant professor, a full-time librarian for the seminar room, and a full-time clerk and stenographer.

The department engineers the annual Social Work Conference during the summer-school session and co-operates with the State and County Council immediately following in promoting a public welfare school with 265 attendants representing, this year, seven states and seventy-six counties of the state of North Carolina.

The department also publishes fifty numbers of the *University News Letter*, which goes weekly free of charge throughout the year to 20,000

households. It co-operates with the State Highway Commission in campaigning for country-home conveniences and comforts, and in supplying without charge expert engineering advice in the matter of light, power, water supply, sanitation, and telephones in country homes and communities. It is also co-operating with the State Reconstruction Commission which began its work on October 28.

The department is conducting the Orange County country-church survey for the Interchurch World Movement. Its recent publications include three yearbooks of the North Carolina Club: (1) "North Carolina, Resources, Advantages, and Opportunities"; (2) "Wealth and Welfare in North Carolina"; and (3) "County Government and County Affairs in North Carolina"; and county bulletins devoted to the economic and social problems of five counties of the state—Sampson, Wake, Rockingham, Durham, Rutherford. The manuscripts are ready for fifty other counties.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

Associate Professor George R. Davies (Ph.D., University of North Dakota) was called to Princeton University as assistant professor in the department of economics, and has gone there on a year's leave of absence. He will give courses in elementary economics, statistics, and such sociological courses as are given at Princeton. Miss Luella Hall (A.B. and A.M., University of North Dakota) is serving as instructor in the department of sociology during this year.

Professor E. T. Towne, of the department of economics, has in preparation a work on economics for high schools, to be published by the Macmillan Company when completed.

Professor John M. Gillette, of the department of sociology, is going over the rural field anew with a view to preparing a new work which will probably come out under the guise of *Social Economics of Rural Life*. It is not likely that it will appear, however, until after the next census publications. In recognition of the value of his book *Rural Sociology*, Professor Gillette has been recommended by René Worms as a member of the International Sociological Society.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Professor Donald R. Taft resigned in June, 1919, to accept a position with Wellesley College.

Dr. Edwin L. Clarke, formerly of Hamilton College, has been appointed instructor in sociology to succeed Mr. Taft.

Warner E. Gettys has been appointed instructor in sociology.

R. D. McKenzie has been promoted from the rank of instructor in sociology to assistant professor.

Miss Rachael Gallagher, formerly with the Federal Employment Service, has been employed by the Red Cross to take charge of the field-work activities of its students in training at the Ohio State University. Miss Gallagher has also been given charge of the regular field-work students in the department of sociology.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Dr. Howard Woodhead, professor of sociology, died in Paris while in the service of the Y.M.C.A., June, 1919.

Joseph K. Folsom was appointed instructor in social economics in February, 1919, and has since been giving the introductory courses in sociology. He has now been advanced to an assistant professorship.

Some change in the organization of the department was made necessary by war pressure. At the beginning of the academic year 1918-19 a training course in social work was announced. John Yates, of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh, is offering the course in the treatment of dependents and delinquents; Helen G. Tyson is giving the course on community health problems; David J. Terry is giving a semester course on child welfare; Dr. Folsom is offering a year's course on social surveys and statistics; and Francis Tyson is giving the courses on industrial and labor problems and community organization. One graduate course on economic factors in civilization is being offered.

To avoid duplication in the university co-operative relations with other departments have been necessary. Such theoretic work as is usually listed under the generic name sociology is offered by Professor John M. Mecklin, of the department of philosophy in social ethics, and by Professor Jesse White, of the department of psychology in social psychology.

The Department of Labor published a short survey of "The Negro Migrant in the North," a report of work done by Professor Francis Tyson in August and September, 1917. In Pittsburgh during the war Professor Tyson was director of the Home Service Institute of the Red Cross and recording secretary of the Home Service Section of the Pittsburgh Chapter. The department of social economics co-operated also with the Allegheny Council of National Defense, particularly in Americanization work.

Since coming to the University, Dr. Folsom has conducted two studies on "Referendum on Opinion Concerning Social Issues" and "Study of Types of Social Organizations."

SMITH COLLEGE

F. Stuart Chapin, professor of sociology in Smith College, is on sabbatical leave this fall semester. He is completing two books, one on *Sociology and Social Work*, another on *Field Work and Social Research*.

Miss Jane T. Newell, assistant professor of sociology and economics in Smith College, has resigned her position to become associate professor of economics and sociology in Wellesley College.

Seba Eldredge, assistant professor of sociology in Smith College, has resigned his position to become professor of economics and sociology and head of the department at Rockford College, Illinois.

Julius Diaschlu, of New York, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. Miss Ella Smith and Miss Ruth Doggett have been appointed instructors, and Miss Esther Lowenthal, associate professor of economics, has been appointed chairman of the department of economics and sociology.

Twenty-eight students and two auditors formed the first class in the first summer session of the new Smith College Training School for Social Work of which Professor Chapin is the director. Ten certificates were granted at the close of the session. Eighteen students began, in September, their period of nine months' practical work under supervision in psychiatric social work, medical social work, and community service in Boston and Philadelphia.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Professor Craig S. Thoms, head of the department of sociology in the University of South Dakota, has followed his *The Workingman's Christ* with a volume, now going through the press, on *Essentials of Christianity*.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Assistant Professor Clarence E. Rainwater has begun his work in the department of sociology and will give his attention to social technology. Community organization is the title of a new course introduced by Professor Rainwater. It will supplement the course in social surveys.

The latest number in the Americanization series of monographs published by the Sociological Society of the University is entitled *The Finns in Lanesville, Massachusetts*, by Helen Babson, A.M., lecturer in sociology.

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

L. P. Edwards has received an appointment as associate professor of sociology at St. Stephen's College (New York). This is a new chair of sociology just established this fall.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

A. B. Wolfe, professor of economics and sociology, will make a report to the Texas State Teachers' Association at its autumn gathering in Houston on the work that the high schools of other states do in economics and sociology. E. J. Miller, professor of economics, is making a collection of the texts used in these elementary courses to provide information for the teachers of these subjects.

WASHBURN COLLEGE

Dr. D. M. Fisk is entering on his twentieth year as professor of sociology in Washburn College (Kansas), during which time he has built up a departmental library on sociology of over 3,000 volumes, and has collected nearly 4,000 lantern slides. He has just revised and reprinted two of his texts, *An Introduction to Sociology*, and *The Personality and Social Teachings of Jesus*.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Dr. Howard B. Woolston, who has been manager of Serbian Relief in France, has been appointed head of the department of sociology.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Dr. Selig Perlman has been made instructor in sociology in the University of Wisconsin.

W. R. Tylor (A.M. University of Wisconsin) has been made fellow in sociology in the place of Mr. Fred T. Yoder, who resigned the fellowship to become instructor at the University of Missouri.

Professor J. L. Gillin, who for a year and a half has been with the American Red Cross, in charge of civilian relief work in five mid-western states, has returned to his work in the University.

Owing to the increasing size of classes in courses in which lecturing is still followed, it has been found necessary to break up every class in sociology into class sections which meet once or twice a week. When the professor's own text is available to the students, as in the case of *Social Psychology*, a large number of distinct sections are run and the class as a whole never meets together.

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

Professor Harrison C. Dale, of the department of political science of the University of Wyoming, at the request of Governor Carey devoted the summer to making a survey of all the state institutions in Wyoming. The immediate purpose of the survey was to secure information on which to base the operation of the recently adopted budget law.

YANKTON COLLEGE

President Henry Kimball Warren, of Yankton College, remains head of the department of sociology of that institution. Miss Ada McClean Barker is offering a course in social problems in the department.

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT SURVEY

The Interchurch World Movement Survey, which is now being promoted throughout the United States, is establishing state survey councils in every state in the union with experienced survey directors in charge. Every county, community, and local church is to be surveyed, and the facts tabulated and presented in graphic form. The information gathered is to be interpreted in terms of a great program of adjustment and promotion.

ROSA SPRANG FOUNDATION

A foundation, to be known as the Rosa Sprang Foundation, has been created according to the will of the late Mrs. Rosa Sprang, who bequeathed upward of \$1,000,000 for the relief of children who are in want through abandonment or the death of their parents. The chief work of the foundation shall be to select children sent to orphanages and homes and make provision for their education and instruction.

REVIEWS

Authority in the Modern State. By HAROLD J. LASKI. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. 398. \$3.00.

This is a very ingenious and subtle indictment of the unitary state and a plea for pluralism. The evil of the unitary state, according to the author, is its hypothesis of unlimited sovereignty, with the alleged assumptions that the state can do no wrong and that the preservation of the state is the sole criterion of political rightness. The authority of the state is the will of those, who, for the time being, control the government. In the complexities of modern life, with its basic economic problems, such a state cannot adequately represent the conflicting interests and convictions of the mass of men. The individual's will and conscience must be sacrificed to the state's demand for uniformity and acquiescence. "Uniformity is the negation of freedom. . . . It is thus the death of spontaneity; and to destroy spontaneity is to prevent the advent of liberalism." Moreover there is no reason to accept the state's subjective standards of rightness, and it is the duty of the citizen to pass his own judgment upon that of the state. "The allegiance of man to his state is secondary to his allegiance to what he may conceive his duty to society as a whole."

Thus it follows that labor "could admit the complete sovereignty of the state only if it could be assumed that the state were on its side." Therefore in the pluralistic government toward which the author thinks we are moving there will be a national legislature of producers and a national legislature of consumers. Nor are these central authorities to be "uniquely sovereign," for the producers will be divided according to industries perhaps and the consumers into territorial areas or otherwise so as to correspond with group demands.

The philosophical background of the thesis is provided in a very interesting discussion of Bonald, Lamennais, and Boyer-Collard, as well as of the growth of administrative syndicalism in France. The author's profound erudition in the history of political philosophy is here brilliantly illustrated. It is doubtful, however, if many readers will be convinced of the practicability of pluralism.

Mr. Laski has insisted upon identifying the unitary state with the seventeenth-century theory of sovereignty, with all of its moral and dogmatic implications. He then dismisses the question of legal sovereignty as having only a narrow usefulness for purposes of legal investigation. His point of view is extremely individualistic and ethical and he apparently proceeds upon two assumptions, viz., that a pluralistic state is practicable and that its determinations will be more nearly identical with ethical precepts. In the present volume he has not been concerned with the proof of either.

It seems obvious enough that one need not assume the theory of state infallibility in order to defend the necessary practicability of the modern unitary state. With all the conflicts between different groups of interest, which the author has clearly seen, one may argue for the practical necessity of law as the basis of co-operation and adjustment between these groups, and consequently for the careful location of a legally sovereign authority for the promulgation and application of such law, without asserting the ethical omnipotence of such authority.

Mr. Laski recognizes that there is need for some authority. He recognizes the inutility of such anarchistic philosophy as that of William Godwin. He recognizes that the problems of society cannot be solved by the producers and consumers acting alone, but only by their co-operation. What he seems to fail to see is that co-operation involves law, principles, or public policy, as a basis of co-operation; but these laws, principles, or public policies do not formulate or apply themselves; and that this requires the exercise of an authority that is sovereign over both. Herein lie the difficulties encountered in international organizations. It is this fact that prevents so-called federal governments from being really federal in the pluralistic sense. Our states are autonomous only within the limits fixed and interpreted by the people and the authorities of the United States. Without such supreme authority there is nothing to save us from the evils prevalent under the Articles of Confederation. How can there be effective co-operation between groups without a sovereign authority laying down the principles that govern the co-operative process? Until this definite problem can have a concrete answer the case for pluralism will not be taken seriously.

The problem is one that is based upon the inherent character of co-operative or social effort. The producers, if they are to guard their own interest effectively, must establish a legally sovereign power, which for the time being speaks with authority of the group. Otherwise jurisdictional disputes will rend their ranks. They cannot make effective

arrangements with consumers, unless those who bargain for them have the authority for the time being to bind the individuals and the industries for whom they speak. It follows therefore that if sovereign power were denied to the state it would have to exist in the group. It is inherent in the very nature of corporate effort which cannot become articulate save through the will of those who have authority to bind them. And this sovereign authority of the group may violate ethical precepts and individual rights as outrageously as the sovereign authorities of the present state. Thus there is no escape from the evils of sovereignty except by reverting to laissez faire theories of the state.

Were legal sovereignty over these economic groups to be denied and the group left absolutely to the devices of voluntarily adjusting their conflicting interests, it is inevitable that one group or another would secure the ascendancy in actual power and become the actual if not the legal sovereign. The increased peacefulness and efficiency of such a régime with its possible basis of effective co-operation would buy the acquiescence of the great majority. The history of group effort has always demonstrated the necessity of a sovereign authority to group efficiency, and that the obvious benefits of such authority has generally secured the necessary acquiescence.

The volume, because of its emphasis upon the ethical and individualistic point of view and its critical attack upon sovereignty and power as it finds expression in the modern state, should have great value. It will stimulate thought and perhaps compel a revaluation of current theories that have too long gone unstudied. The questions of constitutional restraints upon government, the limits beyond which centralization seems to be effective, the relation of authority, power, and obedience to the individual, to popular control, and to ethical precepts—all questions of fundamental importance—will receive new attention from those who read the volume.

ARNOLD B. HALL

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Australian Social Development. By CLARENCE H. NORTHCOTT.

Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 189. New York: Columbia University, 1918. Pp. 302. \$2.50.

Although Australian social and industrial experiments have for nearly a generation now attracted the attention of students in the social sciences, nearly all of the careful researches in this field have been made

by men outside Australia. The Australians themselves have given the world only brief descriptions of their social legislation and administration and have seldom attempted to appraise in any critical fashion the results of these experiments.

The chief reason for this neglect is doubtless the fact that until within the last few years Australian universities have given little attention to social and economic studies. The universities have been too largely patterned after Oxford or Cambridge and have not been well adapted to the needs of an energetic people seeking to develop the resources of a virgin land. It is, therefore, a good omen that within the last few years several graduates of the Australian universities have come to the United States to pursue graduate studies in the social sciences in American universities, and fortunate for all of us that they are turning the light of their new knowledge on their own problems which they naturally perceive with a keener insight than do the investigators from other lands.

Dr. Northcott has attempted something much more profound than an analysis of Australian methods of conciliation and arbitration. He has set himself the task of analyzing the entire social structure out of which these and other experiments in social legislation have grown. In the field of politics he finds the usual lines of party division lacking. In Australia the political lines are the same as the industrial ones, the employer and the employed. The Liberal party, made up for the most part of employers, landowners, and those persons whose business and social interests ally them to these classes, seeks to cure social evils by the development of a high standard of individuality. It stands apposed to the Labor party, which consists largely of trade unionists, but which also has a sprinkling of men of progressive views from among the intellectuals. The Labor party program of reform calls for "the overthrow of the present industrial system and its replacement by one in which economic equality will have been secured and poverty abolished." The strength of the Labor party has made the Liberal party much more "liberal" than is the corresponding party in the older countries. It encourages competition; it does not reject state socialism but wishes to use it only to correct abuses, not to supersede individual enterprises.

The political separation of the two parties has been aided by the geographical distribution of the population. A vast continent with but a meager population nevertheless shows the same phenomenon familiar in Europe and the United States, viz., a tendency to concentration in large cities. Two-fifths of the people live in the capitals of the

six states. The result is that a wage-earning class, dependent on city industries, is set over against a country population devoted largely to pastoral pursuits and large-scale farming and interested in the maintenance of large land holdings. Dr. Northcott's account of the development of the Australian land-holding system and his discussion of its economic and social effects is one of the best with which the reviewer is acquainted. He rightly concludes that "the use of the unsettled lands is the most pressing problem facing the Australian people," and that in view of the world-situation it is not likely that the Australians will dare to allow those lands to remain unsettled. Dr. Northcott does not despair of the ultimate success of the Australian policy of determination that only the white races shall settle in tropical Australia, but he holds that to make this policy a practicable one the question of tropical hygiene must be scientifically studied, the lands wisely allocated, and sufficient railway communications with the coast must be secured.

Dr. Northcott agrees with the conclusions of most outsiders who have studied carefully the results of Australasian wage legislation and compulsory arbitration, that a great gain in social welfare has been made as a result of the establishment of a relatively high standard of living for the working population, but he shares the fear which has for several years been felt by arbitration court judges and administrative officials, as well as by employers in Australia, that trade-union teaching and practice both tend to a dangerous restriction of production. The trade-union leader's answer to this is that so long as industry is under the control of private capitalists with their tendency to exploit labor, laborers cannot give their best efforts to production. Recent experience with state ownership of clothing factories, abattoirs, and mines where public ownership was undertaken for the very purpose of bettering the condition of the workers has shown, however, that the tendency to restrict production still remains and is perhaps greater than under private management. A changed attitude on the part of the workers is essential if Australian progress is to continue in the future along the same lines as have made her social and industrial legislation notably successful in the past.

In the last two chapters of his book, entitled "The Meaning of Efficiency," and "A Program of Social Efficiency," Dr. Northcott attempts a restatement of the views of his teacher, Professor Giddings, on this subject and seeks to apply it to Australian conditions. Without questioning at all the soundness of these views, one may say that these chapters are the least original part of the book. It is seldom possible to

take a theory of social progress developed by a given thinker and apply it to a country whose social history and conditions differ widely from those of the country in which the theory itself was developed. Nevertheless Dr. Northcott does make valuable suggestions as to reforms which are needed in Australia in the fields of agriculture, land settlement, industrial relations, education, and legislation. Most of these suggestions are applicable to the United States as well as to Australia, although it is possible that the need for them is more appreciated, just at present, in this country than in Australia. The book contains a good but by no means complete bibliography and an index.

M. B. HAMMOND

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The People's Part in Peace. By ORDWAY TEAD. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1918. Pp. 156. \$1.10.

This little book, published before the signing of the armistice, is designed by the author to bring before the people rather than before scholars "ideas and suggestions which are necessary to the securing of a permanent peace." Mr. Tead limits himself to a consideration of the economic issues involved in international reorganization, not because he is oblivious to other issues, but because he considers the economic question "of preponderantly greater importance." In addition to the Introduction, the chapter headings of the book are: "The League of Nations," "The Economic Guarantees of Peace," "International Labor Legislation," "The Basis of Representation," "The National Economy," "The Spiritual Guarantees of Peace."

The chapters on "The Economic Guarantees of Peace" and "The Basis of Representation" are especially suggestive, at least to the lay reader. Emphasis throughout is placed on the need, first, of a clear determination of international functions as distinguished from purely national functions, and second, the development of structures that will efficiently serve these functions. In this respect a plea is made for a scientific distribution of the world's raw materials, shipping, circulating capital, and labor supply, on the basis of "demonstrated need." Mr. Tead argues that international tribunals should be established to deal with these as well as with other international functions, and that representation to these tribunals should be made on the basis of distinct interests, rather than on the basis of nationality or the geographical unit. "The economic guarantees of peace lie in the direction of a

liberal world control of the essential problems that occasion ill-will, distrust, and war" (p. 70).

This little volume should be read by all those who still adhere to the old mercantilist theory and the policy of national isolation.

R. D. MCKENZIE

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

A League of Nations. Compiled by EDITH M. PHELPS. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1919. \$1.50.

The League of Nations. By HORACE MEYER KALLEN. Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1919. \$1.50.

These are two timely books on a subject of vital current interest. The first is a collection of selected articles issued in "The Handbook Series." The first edition was published in December, 1918. This third edition has added material, including the text of the proposed constitution of the League of Nations, and President Wilson's speech accompanying the reading of the constitution. The volume contains a very helpful bibliography. The selections are classified under these headings: "The Historical Background"; "Organized Effort to Promote a League of Nations"; "A League of Nations Endorsed"; "Discussion." A further classification of the selections in the last group would have added greatly to the value of the book—something to indicate the attitude and point of the discussions.

Dr. Kallen's book was written shortly before the armistice. For a year or more "a body of men of affairs, university men and journalists, mostly editors, have given themselves to the collective consideration of the economic and political relations between states and peoples in so far as these have been factors in causing, and must be dealt with in ending, this civil war." A committee, consisting of Mr. Ralph S. Rounds, of the New York bar, and Dr. Kallen, "were designated to organize and conduct an investigation, of which the result is the present monograph." Starting with the vigorous assertion, "The League of Nations is inevitable," the author proceeds with a discussion of the organization of the League, every important phase of international relationship receiving recognition in the proposed organization:

1. The International Council is the supreme organ of the League
2. The International Commissions on
 - a) Armaments
 - b) Industrial commerce, with subcommissions on (1) Raw materials; (2) Food; (3) Waterways; (4) Highways; (5) Airways; (6) Communications: (a) post, (b) cables, (c) telephones, (d) wireless; (7) Shipping

- c) Central Africa
 - d) International finance, with two subcommissions on (1) International stabilization of credit; (2) Political loans and investments
 - e) Education
 - f) Undeveloped countries
 - g) International hygiene
 - h) Labor
3. The Ministry of the International Council, composed of the presiding officer of the International Council, together with the presiding officers of the International Commissions and Subcommissions and of the International Court
 4. The International Court of twenty-five judges

Provision is made for the compensation of officers, for defining relations between officers and constituent states, for enforcement of decrees, for revenues, publicity, amendments, etc.

ROBERT FRY CLARK

PACIFIC UNIVERSITY

The Child's Unconscious Mind. By WILFRID LAY, PH.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1919. Pp. 325. \$2.00.

This book, written for parents and teachers, is built upon the hypothesis of psychoanalysis "that the unconscious portion of each human mind, child or adult, is an activity which plays an extremely important, if not an exclusively controlling, rôle in the life of every individual." The author finds in the Freudian interpretations of the unconscious the explanation of the difficulties and failures of present educational practice and in the light of these psychoanalytic principles he constructs an educational program which utilizes the unconscious equipment of the mind and thus avoids the brutal repressions and labored performances of the average classroom. The teacher's unconscious cravings which so often hamper his success by antagonizing the child's inborn appetite for achievement is revealed as one of the chief problems of successful instruction. The author's attack upon the unreality of present education, its question-game atmosphere, is the most valuable part of the book; his prophecy regarding the future state-controlled family, from which the children will be removed between the ages of five and ten years to start on a series of migrations from home to home, will surely weaken the impression of the book upon the average parent and teacher.

His plea for the guidance of the neurotic child because of his future value for social progress as an originator of new ideas calls attention to a grievous fault in our present highly standardized school.

The book has suggestions of greatest value for parent and teacher and will be read with interest and profit even by many who do not accept its Freudian hypothesis.

ERNEST R. GROVES

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE COLLEGE

Dispensaries, Their Management and Development. By MICHAEL M. DAVIS, JR., and ANDREW R. WARNER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1918. Pp. ix+438. \$2.25.

The object of this book is described as threefold. First, "to depict briefly the history and present extent of dispensaries in the United States." Second, "to present the practical details which all people, including superintendents, physicians, nurses, and social workers who are working in dispensaries, particularly need to know." Third, "to present the dispensary as a form of organization not only for rendering efficient medical service to the people, but to benefit the medical profession by stabilizing the economic position of the average physician."

In other words, the central problems of the book are: What service can be best rendered by dispensaries, and how can they perform that function efficiently? Happily the authors combine with their answers to these questions the data on which their conclusions rest and a clear indication of their method of procedure.

From their study of the dispensaries themselves, Dr. Davis and Dr. Warner found that some are primarily charitable agencies, caring for the "indigent sick"; others have as their chief purpose the teaching of medical students; a third group is concerned with the prevention of disease; and finally there are commercial dispensaries like that of the Mayo brothers.

From their study of dispensary patients, they found that while many are below the poverty level, a still greater proportion is not dependent except for the cost of medical care.

An examination of medical service at large shows a shortage of general practitioners, inadequate professional equipment for the majority of physicians, and a lack of specialists outside the cities.

On the basis of these facts, the authors recommend for cities: health centers, doing primarily preventive work, district dispensaries for ambulatory patients who cannot secure medical care elsewhere, and teaching dispensaries for the training of medical students. For rural districts they believe in the traveling dispensary. For small towns they

urge local dispensaries, to be visited at regular intervals by specialists whom no single town could support.

The financial aspect of the dispensary movement is stated in the following words: "The central principle by which the cost of better medical service for the whole community can be financed is the distribution of the burden of illness so that this does not fall upon an individual or family at the very moment when their ability to bear it is less than usual. Such a distribution of the burden is not inconsistent with the maintenance of individual responsibility for self-support, or for the payment, by the individual, of at least his fair, average share of the total community's burden. The methods by which the distribution can be achieved are either by mutual insurance or by public taxation. Both methods are likely to be followed, each to cover a portion of the field."

Altogether this is a very useful book, not merely for the specific information which it contains, but also because it is a sample of genuinely scientific work.

STUART A. QUEEN

GOUCHER COLLEGE

Junk Dealing and Juvenile Delinquency. An Investigation Made for the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago. By HARRY H. GRIGG and GEORGE E. HAYNES. Text by ALBERT E. WEBSTER. Chicago, 1919. Pp. 60. \$0.25.

This investigation consisted of (1) local reports from police and school authorities, boys' clubs, and other agencies, (2) reports from other cities, (3) a detailed study of one hundred delinquent boys with specific reference to their experience in "junking," (4) the "trailing" of junk dealers to discover their transactions with children. The conclusions of the investigators are summarized in the following words:

The retail junk business in Chicago is a most serious factor in juvenile delinquency. Dealers repeatedly violate both state laws and city ordinances in their relations with children. Junk men not only readily accept the fruits of the boys' illegal acts, but frequently urge them to steal.

On the basis of concrete data presented, a number of recommendations are offered. They include: (1) vigorous prosecution of offending junk dealers, (2) the elimination of "written consent" of parents for children to sell junk, (3) collection of junk along railroad rights of way by the companies themselves, (4) "municipalization" of the junk business, just as many cities have taken over the collection and disposal of garbage.

STUART A. QUEEN

GOUCHER COLLEGE

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Lumping versus Individualism.—As little societies coalesce into a big society; as tribal and local cultures vanish before the spread of a general culture; as men are drawn into organizations and more departments of human life are regulated, less play is given to individuality. All of the same group or class are lumped together, the differences between them being ignored. Industry, manners, morals, laws, policies are fitted not to the individual, but to the average. Since most men vary appreciably from the average, most men experience a certain discomfort under the social régime. Factory industry subjects the worker to an impersonal régime, and the machine-made product, too, is impersonal. In warfare joint action triumphs over individual action and the tyranny of the average is therefore well-nigh absolute. Imperial governments check the aspirations of small nationalities. The religious bigot who wishes to impose one form of religion on everyone is a victim of the lumping fallacy. The educator, too, is often guilty of checking human diversity. The classification and instruction of children in our schools are regulated without taking sufficient account of individual variation of ability. The poor are too often regarded as a class whose condition is due to one general cause, while a close acquaintance with the dependent discloses a great variety of characters and causes. In time it is seen that equal treatment of unequals is a crying injustice. As the odious old classifications of people are forgotten men dare make new classifications based on need, service, or social value. The finer these classifications, the less is the sacrifice to the average.—Edward A. Ross, *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1919. O. B. Y.

State Morality.—It is generally presumed that the national state, which is regarded as a historical formation with its independent life, is practically exempt from the moral laws. If states in their mutual relations are actuated by evil motives which we condemn in individuals, they do not incur the same severe censure as the individual. We should bear in mind that what is wrong, dishonorable, sinful for the individual man is equally so for the group. Since the state is only a tool, an institution which men create under given circumstances, the organ or the servant of the state should come under the moral law and should be held responsible for what it does. It is the community-egotism and overestimation of self that leads states to discard moral laws. The conception of the state's responsibility is vague because the sense of responsibility in the nation is weakened by being distributed among so many and partly because of patriotic feelings. The state has the same moral duty as the individual not to violate another's right or act inequitably toward anyone. State societies cannot possibly express the highest idealism in human endeavor, unless they likewise represent the highest grade of morality.—Brædo Morgenstierne, *The Quarterly Review*, July, 1919. C. N.

The Effects of the War on Moral Values.—At the beginning of the war there seemed to be two great and dominant influences in America, namely, materialism and the "fetish of efficiency." "War is a moral teacher" and it has taught us that there are higher motives and objects for which we should strive than material success or efficiency to effect it. By the war our altruism—an unselfish desire to aid our struggling fellow-men across the sea—has been increased and intensified. The unity of purpose in a great cause resulted in a broader and deeper comradeship among all classes of the people. Men who side by side faced death on the battlefield estimated one another from the standpoint of the fundamental elements of character, courage, patience, modesty, self-sacrifice, and forgetfulness. Experiences in comradeship enlarged one's views of the nobleness which exists in men of every station. Unparal-

leled fortitude, unconceivable experiences, infused into the individual idealism. Our standards in judging our fellow-men will be those of moral worth rather than how much they are worth. We have come to realize that we have valued too highly our individualism. The war has enlarged our moral conception of what life really should be.—Edward O. Otis, *The Journal of Sociologic Medicine*, June, 1919. C. N.

The Challenge of Peace to the Educational Policy of the Church.—The word "peace" is used as a euphemism for the present condition of the world. If by peace we mean a general condition of humanity in which people are busy in reproductive labor, reasonably contented and prosperous, and not spending a large part of their energy merely struggling against others, then we are yet some months, and very likely years, from a condition of peace. This condition constitutes the main element in the challenge of the present time. Two principal sources of unrest and struggle have appeared in recent years. The first may be called the problem of aristocracy, if that term be taken broadly enough. There is, on the one hand, the efforts of individuals, groups, classes, nations, and races to gain, increase, or maintain power over the destinies of other groups, industrial, social, religious, national, or racial without the consent of the latter, and on the other hand a resistance to such domination, which is increasing in power and violence. The second evident source of disturbance and conflict throughout the world is that of economic conditions. The United States income-tax returns afford food for thought. Seven thousand five hundred and eight persons or families reported an income of \$50,000 or more for the year 1914, and 19,104 persons reported an income of \$50,000 or more for the year 1917. But only about 4½ per cent of the men of the United States reported an income of \$2,500 or more. There is good authority for the statement that 95 per cent of the wealth of the country is in the hands of 5 per cent of the population. Manifestations of discontent with the situation are world-wide, ubiquitous, and ominous. Christianity has from the beginning taught the principle of the fatherhood of God which implies the brotherhood of man. If the doctrine of the brotherhood of man were practically and universally applied to human relations all fundamental conflicts between men could be peacefully worked out. An educational policy for the adequate application of this theory of life to humanity's needs would seem to involve two elements: (1) definition in plain terms of the specific meaning of the brotherhood of man as applied to the fundamental problems of today; (2) a policy as to the means and methods of educating humanity in the religious faith and practice of human brotherhood in these specific applications (a program of social reform is outlined by the author).—E. Albert Cook, *The Biblical World*, September, 1919. O. B. Y.

War-Time Gains for the American Family.—From the earliest beginnings of history there has been a conflict between the interests of the family and the demands of war. The family in Europe has suffered severely from the effects of the war, yet it has come through the great upheavals less disturbed directly in status than the seemingly more powerful institutions of government and property. In this country the war has not had the same degree of destructive influence as in those countries which bore the burden of the struggle. Our homes as a mass have not been disturbed and there is little change in the balance between the sexes. Because the American boys served a comparatively short time in the army they still retain the attitudes and values of civil life. The status of the American family has been affected by certain economic, political, social, and religious forces of which five lines of influence stand out conspicuously: first, the establishment of new standards of public health, particularly with regard to the health of children and to venereal disease; second, the establishment of national prohibition; third, changes in standards of living, including wages, hours, and housing; fourth, the greater entrance of women into industry and responsible public service; fifth, the drive toward equality. Yet the greatest gain is the hope and deep resolve that war itself shall cease. War has disregarded the family under the plea of a higher necessity; it has habitually trampled upon many of the family sanctities; it has lowered birth-rates and loosened marriage ties; it has often quenched in death the family life so happily begun. For these reasons the demand that wars shall cease receives its deepest urge from the interests of the family.—James H. Tufts, *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1919. O. B. Y.

Der Einfluss der männlichen Geistesarbeit auf die biologische Höherentwicklung der Menschheit.—The organization of man's brain occupies an exceptional position in the history of evolution. When a certain stage of perfection has been attained, the further evolution of man has almost exclusively been confined to the brain even at the expense of other parts of his organism. The biological significance of this points to three possibilities, namely, further development, stagnancy, or decadence. Spencer represents the optimists who believe in an onward evolution of the brain. But there is no proof for this point of view. A number of modern scholars like De Candolle, Schallmayer, etc., hold that human intelligence is in stagnancy or even decadence. Physiologically it can be proved that intellectual work has a bad influence upon the sexual function of mankind. This is more profound with men than women. There is an inner connection between the brain and the reproductive organism; both stand in an insoluble conflict and underlie the great tragedy of life. There is not enough respect for man's function as father. The only solution of the problem lies in protection of men from overstrain, especially in youth and in an early marriage. There are signs that man's mental capacities are decreasing more rapidly than those of women, as the statistics referring to the Paris and Berlin situation among mentally deficient children have shown. Humanity cannot continue this piling up of dead intellectual wealth at the expense of the living men. No generation has the right to consume the mental capacity inherited from the previous one. Organic development of the brain, early marriage, and reform of school life are needed in order to realize a progressive development of intelligence.—Dr. Vaerting, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, October, 1918.

Caste and the New Indian Constitution.—The reformed Indian constitution through the Southborough Committee has given communal representation to the following classes: the landlords and commercialists, the Europeans and Eurasians, the Sikhs and Indian Christians, in addition to the Muslims, who already enjoyed that privilege. Many argued to make caste the basis of representation for the simple reason that it is a social institution outside of politics. It is to be remembered that there are about 164,000,000 Hindus in British India who are divided into many castes and subcastes and that about 25 per cent of them are regarded by the others as "untouchables" or "unapproachables." Such a classification naturally does not make for union or progress in social legislation because each group of castes has special duties and morals of its own. What is right for one caste or group of castes may be wrong for another caste or group. Consequently, there exists many conflicting moral standards as each caste or group of castes looks to the public opinion only of their own caste-fellows. The caste walls, however, are steadily becoming weaker and only with their complete collapse can the social, moral, and material progress of India become possible.—St. Nihal Singh, *The London Quarterly Review*, July, 1919. C. N.

Social Control in Russia Today.—Conflicting conclusions about the Russian situation grow out of the conflict between the once privileged and oppressed classes, which represent 7 per cent and 93 per cent, respectively, of the Russian population. The privileged class formerly held complete control of Russia. Of this class 1 per cent, mainly Germans, furnished the organizing and managerial ability. When war was declared these Germans returned to Germany, leaving the economic order of Russia paralyzed for want of leadership. The effect of this paralysis eventually led to the downfall of the army and of the old social order. The old forces of social control were, for a time, shattered. The village mirs, however, soon formed district, provincial, and municipal soviets which joined with the Workmen's Councils and became the all-Russian National Soviet. This has been the only genuine binding force in Russia since the autocracy went down. The Bolsheviks, as a party, captured this organization and stamped their formulas upon it. The success of their program grew out of the revolutionary spirit which was fostered for generations by the oppression of the privileged class. The actual force for social control, however, is the soviet structure behind the Bolshevik party. While this is a revolutionary force, it must be judged on its merits in the light of Russia's history, rather than our own. Considering it from the standpoint of the 93 per cent that has been downtrodden, we get a better appreciation of this new attempt at social control.—Raymond Robins, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1919. F. A. C.

Soll Deutschland in den nächsten fünf Jahren Geburtenpolitik im bisherigen Verhältniss weitertreiben?—The campaign for an intensive increase in the birth-rate has been founded upon the desire for expansion and power of the state. With the downfall of militarism the intensive birth-policy is a nonsense. The burden of raising children rests chiefly upon proletariat and middle class which have suffered most by the war, and accumulated the number of those who represent the charge or ballast upon the healthy individuals and society. It is proposed in this article to introduce a new policy of regeneration of Germany by a stricter enforcement of hygienic methods and an indirect tax upon those families which have less than four or no children. It would be required from every person desiring to get married to have such an amount of property as would enable him or her to educate at least two children. It is in the interest of the German nation to limit the number of children in the proletarian families.—Dr. J. R. Spinner, Zurich, *Die neue Generation*, February, 1919. J. H.

Organisation der Ehevermittlung.—To promote the increase of population many reforms are advocated. These are better care for infants, protection for children of unmarried mothers, campaign against venereal diseases, taxation enforced on bachelors and old maids, financial assistance and other help to fathers of families, housing reform, restriction of anticonception remedies, etc. This article advocates a way to bring together both sexes desiring to be married. Former ways of meeting of the sexes do not answer to the changed situation of the present time. The large cities with shifting population do not offer opportunities for young people to get acquainted with each other. The problem is to make it possible for those desiring marriage to meet as many persons of the other sex who are coming from the same class of population as possible in a repeated and free contact so that they can get acquainted with each other without any binding obligation and in such a way that could be later a basis for mutual understanding, and if congenial lead to marriage. Clubs of youth ("Klubs der Jugend") are proposed which would be similar to the English clubs and equipped with lunch-, play-, and reading-rooms, billiards, and where social evenings with dancing could be held every Sunday. Administration of these clubs should be in the hands of so-called "gremiums," or associations subvented by cities and controlled by the state. Those admitted could be only single persons of both sexes, after registration of their occupation, age, education, religious status, and other things of interest to the members of the opposite sex. Such clubs could be organized all over the country and be divided into three classes corresponding to the strata of population. Membership in one of these clubs would entitle to membership in all of them.—Dr. W. B., *Die neue Generation*, January, 1919. J. H.

Making Christianity Safe for Democracy (V).—It is comparatively easy to trace the attitude of Christian thinking toward the experiments and theories which have developed into democratic forms of government. Industrial democracy has no such definite institutional form but is an ideal making for industrial revolution. It is compelled to make headway against strong vested interests and is often tempted into movements of radicalism which complicate the judgment of fair-minded men. The fundamental question in industrial democracy is that of the control of the processes of industry and of the distribution of the profits of industry. The characteristic feature of a class system of ethical standards is that the relations between the classes are so shaped as to make the preservation of the dignity and honor of the upper class the supreme good. The habits and the morals of the lower classes must be fitted into this prior necessity. This means that the formulation of ethical duties is really in the hands of the upper class, and the moral condition of society is judged with reference to the respectability of the aristocracy, much as the character of a city today is judged by the appearance of the houses along the boulevards rather than by the condition of the slums. The paternalistic ethics of slavery was to a large extent carried over into the relationship between employer and employee. To make possible a certain amount of comfort within the limitations of the standards of living thought proper for the laboring class, was always urged as an ethical duty. There have been many attempts to prove that Christianity was from the beginning opposed to the social system which makes possible class distinctions. But it is useless to look for revolutionary ideals on industrial organization in Christian literature. In general Christianity

has taken for granted the existing industrial order and has interpreted life in terms of a deepened sense of moral responsibility within the limits of this order. To introduce personal relations of love into the existing system was the aim of primitive Christianity, not to disrupt conventional relationships. The general Christian attitude is expressed in Augustine's principle that the Christian should use the world but should not enjoy the world. Nothing is to be valued for its own sake, but only as it can contribute to making life acceptable to God. Such a way of thinking about industrial life has its bad as well as good side. If we are to have any morality in business at all industrial interests must not be permitted to pass final judgment on human relations. This always means the sacrifice of human values to the mere technique of financial profit. The practical application of this principle of Augustine's is the familiar doctrine of stewardship. This doctrine introduces a powerful influence for good into an autocratic industrial system. But the doctrine of theological stewardship is open to the same objection as the doctrine of the divine rights of a king. In neither case is there opportunity for democratic control.—Gerald Birney Smith, *The Biblical World*, September, 1919. O. B. Y.

Industrial Unrest.—Great Britain is in the throes of an industrial unrest, the gravity of which it fails to appreciate fully. It is the common assumption that a conflict between the government and organized labor is inevitable. The first essential to avoid such a conflict is to discard the idea that a conflict is inevitable and that the contending interests in industrial relationships cannot be reconciled. The British workers, as a rule, are an intelligent, law-abiding class, preferring progress by evolution rather than violent revolution. However, it is folly to accept the economic and industrial conditions which existed before the war. The second essential, therefore, to prevent a conflict is to reorganize industry. National welfare, during the war, made it necessary for the government to assume control of the nation's resources and key industries. The problems and needs of the Reconstruction Period require, in the interests of the common welfare, an extension of state control in order to co-ordinate the national resources and secure the maximum production. The necessary co-ordination and sympathetic co-operation of industrial forces requires the nationalization of the key industries and the national resources. In the coal industry, for example, private ownership is out of question. Private ownership under government control has proved inefficient because private interests have interfered with the government's control, which has made successful operation difficult. The remedy is government ownership as well as control. A conflict between organized labor and the government is unnecessary if steps are taken to prevent it by reorganizing industry. Should the people, however, continue to regard such a conflict as inevitable, eventually the inevitable will happen.—The Right Hon. William Brace, M.P., *The Contemporary Review*, September, 1919. F. A. C.

Joint Industrial Councils in Great Britain.—A committee was appointed in October, 1916, with the Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P., as chairman, (1) "to make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen"; (2) "to recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen shall be systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future." The committee submitted five reports which were adopted by the British government. The committee proposed that "joint standing industrial councils should be formed in the various industries where they did not then exist, to be composed of representatives of employers and employed, for the purpose of considering 'matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community.' Co-operation between employers and employed is to be effected not only through these national industrial councils, but also through district councils representative of trade unions and of employers' associations in the industry, and, finally, in the workshop through the organization of the works committees, representative of the management and of the workers." The aims of the councils are to give the employed a direct voice in determining workshop conditions and to bring employers and employed regularly together in joint consultations. This plan presupposes

well-organized associations of employers and employed in the various industries which is the case only of a certain number of industries. To meet the situation as it exists, trade boards, under the ministry of labor, are to be formed in the poorly organized trades. For moderately organized trades, interim industrial reconstruction committees, fostered by the ministry of reconstruction, are to be formed. The progress of forming these councils and committees has not been phenomenal. Some workpeople resent the extent of government control; some do not believe that the proposals are seriously meant; others are suspicious that some sinister motive lurks in the background; while still others are more or less satisfied with arrangements already existing in the forms of shop committees, trade unions, trade boards, etc. Nevertheless, some industries are adopting the plans. The pamphlet from which this extract is made is one of more than 200 pages and in addition to containing many official reports in full, has also accounts of various plans of joint government in industries, some of which have been in operation for more than thirty years, and of which various plans the Whitley report is a culmination.—*Bulletin of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, No. 255, July, 1919. S. C. R.

The Economic Future of Women in Industry.—An obvious conflict is arising in British industry owing to the demand of the women for the larger place which the war had temporarily given them. On the one hand, the highly organized men's trade organizations resist the encroachment of the women wage-earners. On the other hand, there is a growing body of women, possessed not merely with determination to enter every occupation, but fully conscious that the franchise is a weapon for the attainment of their ambitions. Prior to the war some trades employed both men and women while others were strictly men's or women's trades. During the war these well-defined divisions were disregarded and 704,000 women replaced men and did men's work. While they proved less efficient in many respects, on the whole, they demonstrated their ability to assume much greater responsibilities in industry. In the reconstruction of industry, therefore, a fitting place must be assigned to women by the government, not merely to increase production, but because women by their skill and ingenuity merit it. Three principles should govern the future position of women in industry: (1) they should be entitled to such employment as is fully commensurate with their economic attributes and industrial qualifications; (2) the work at which, and the conditions under which women are employed must be compatible with their sex peculiarities; (3) women must not be allowed to undercut and displace men. Pay should be in proportion to output. Recognizing these principles women should be free to enter new trades and, to some extent, men's trades.—Lynden Macasey, *The Quarterly Review*, July, 1919. F. A. C.

Americanization in Cleveland.—During the war the Cleveland Americanization Committee carried out a quite extensive plan of practical experimentation in the work of welding Cleveland's diversified industrial population into a community with united and constructive purposes. The Committee began work on the basic principle that Americanization is a much larger task than merely changing a few externals; rather is it a matter of fundamental principles that will influence the foreigner inwardly, and whose outward expression is to be left largely to the future. The "beginning of Americanization is a recognition by Americans of the value of the newcomer." Education is the master-key. Schools and classes were established in factories, settlements, and libraries for the various national groups whose numbers and residence sections had been ascertained by a racial survey. To induce the foreigner to take an active part in American life was the aim in which the various courses of study sought to unite. The English language received first attention, but results in this direction were not all that might be wished, in that only those who were at work in factories or in other ways actively associated with native elements, had a concrete incentive to learn to speak English. The Americanization Committee established an information bureau, gave assistance to draft officials regarding questionnaires and exemption claims, and extended legal aid to the foreigners particularly in the matter of naturalization. Other organizations in Cleveland entered into active co-operation with the Committee, the foreign branch libraries, community centers, federated women's clubs, federated

churches, and social settlements all contributing to the movement. Now that the war is over, a committee of fifteen has been selected to continue the work.—*Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's War Board.* R. W. N.

The Problem of the Mental Defective.—Our knowledge of mental defect began in France about sixty years ago through the work of Itard. The measurement of the intelligence level or the mental age determines insanity or feeble-mindedness, (a) by means of a scale of tests arranged according to the ages at which normal children succeed in them. A person is feeble-minded if he is more than five or six years retarded or more than 40 or 50 per cent retarded in general intelligence; (b) by means of physical measurements and study of the personal and family history of the individual. The most frequent causes of feeble-mindedness are: (a) heredity causing about twice as much mental defectiveness as accident, illness, or disease; (b) environment producing malnutrition, disease, or other unfavorable physiological consequences; (c) certain diseases such as syphilis and alcoholism. There are two main classes of feeble-mindedness: (a) the psychological cases which show no morbid physiological complications, but only arrested development of intelligence; (b) the pathological cases produced by accident, illness, or organic or functional defect. The menace of feeble-mindedness appears in all social problems and can be partly solved by the following suggested remedies: (a) public-school education in eugenics, (b) sterilization of defectives, (c) restricted marriage laws, (d) isolation of defectives in institutions under custodial care.—Edgar A. Doll, *School and Society*, August 16, 1919. C. N.

Mental Defectives in Indiana.—A survey of eight counties for the purpose of ascertaining first, where; second, of what type; third, how dangerous to the community; and, fourth, how many are the mental defectives in Indiana. As sources of information the investigators relied on physicians, school authorities, township trustees, persons, or organizations interested in community welfare, state records of charitable and correctional institutions, and also county clerks, judges, and prosecutors. Numerous charts show in tabulated form the results of the survey by counties, as well as from other angles of interest. Conservatively estimating from the information brought out by the investigation, 2.2 per cent of the total population of Indiana are judged to be mentally defective, and wholly or partially dependent upon as well as dangerous to the community. But many of these are of sufficiently high class to become practically self-supporting if taken out of competition with normal people and placed by the state upon farm colonies. Among the immediate occasions of mental defect heredity is first; but more remotely traced, it can be said that over 50 per cent of the cases are due to syphilis, alcohol, and habit-forming drugs. Concrete illustrations are listed and certain families of mental defectives are traced as far as possible. In the opinion of the investigators a vast majority of the cases are preventable. The report concludes with a summary and specifications of what Indiana can do to extend the work of caring for mental defectives of the present and curtailing the menace in the future.—*Second Report of the Indiana Committee on Mental Defectives.* R. W. N.

Rural Community Organization, by E. L. Morgan.—This pamphlet deals with the state of Massachusetts and the author points out that "community" must not be confused with "neighborhood." Massachusetts has a town system of government, and, as a rule, the town forms the natural community. Agriculture, education, public morality, etc., should be stimulated and developed. Various organizations already exist for this purpose but are often working at cross-purposes and in utter disregard of each other. There should be some co-ordinating power. The various local groups should get together for mutual understanding and an appreciation of the work to be done. A practical, comprehensive plan for future development should be worked out. Many communities in Massachusetts have been trying to do these last-named things and have been rewarded with much success. Communities differ one from the other, but four principles are laid down as essential to success. (1) In any redirection of rural interests the community is the natural unit of activity. (2) The progress of the rural community represents one problem and one only.

(3) Improvement plans must be based on actual farm and village conditions. (4) Those things by which the people live must be adequately organized if substantial community progress is to be brought about.

A community council, made up of one member from each local group and a few members-at-large, should be the co-ordinating institution. Each local group should definitely state its plans and purposes for six months in advance and conflicts should be avoided. If some necessary interest is not provided for a committee should be appointed for that purpose. Each local group should have the sympathy and support of every other local group. There should be an annual community meeting at which (1) reports should be made of work done by any organization or group during the past year; (2) the council committees should report the working plans for the coming year; and (3) the officers for the ensuing year should be chosen. The pamphlet records much that has actually been accomplished through community councils during the past decade. The latter half of it deals with the following subjects: "What It Is That Needs to Be Done?" "The Community Survey," "The Community Asking Itself Questions," "What Some Communities Are Doing," "Some Things Yet to Be Done," "County Farm Bureaus and Community Organization," "The Community Secretary," and "Where Your Community Can Get Help." *The Massachusetts Agriculture College Extension Service Bulletin No. 23*, Amherst, September, 1918. S. C. R.

The Probation Officer in the New Social Realignment after the War.—The probation officer stands in a prominent position, at present, for two reasons: (1) the war has enhanced the position of the social worker; (2) the steady growth of state socialism makes it necessary to have high administrative efficiency on the one hand, and intense local political and social activity on the other hand. The probation officer should, therefore, rise above the mere routine of his work, and above petty politics, and assume a place of constructive leadership in organizing the community for preventive and protective work. On the one hand, he must acquaint the public with this larger function of his office; on the other hand, he must keep in touch with the new currents of thought started by the war and the consequent change of attitude in the minds of the people with whom he deals. He should utilize the various constructive forces released by the war which aim at better health, better recreation, more respect for law and order, and the reclamation of people from the human scrap heap by physical and moral surgery. Further, he should enlist the help of the large number of trained volunteer workers who served in various capacities during the war. A new dignity and value will be attached to the work of the probation officer when he assumes the constructive leadership which he should give to the community in the social reconstruction of the future.—A. J. Todd, *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1919. F. A. C.

Canada's Drive for Better Housing.—Since the war ceased Canada has started to deal with housing as a national problem of reconstruction. This housing project is under the direction of the federal, provincial, and municipal governments with the responsibilities divided as follows: (1) the federal government acts as adviser on provincial legislation, prepares plans and specifications, and makes loans for carrying out the standardized projects, etc.; (2) the provincial government is responsible for repaying loan to the federal government, administers the general scheme within its territory, and attends to other phases of the scheme; (3) municipal government is held responsible for repaying loan to the province, for supervising and carrying out all housing schemes in accordance with the principles and standards adopted. Thus, the real work and responsibility rest with the municipality in handling the loan which is given under the following conditions: (1) approved housing scheme must include minimum standards for purposes of health, comfort, and convenience; (2) the amount of loan is \$3,500 for frame or veneered dwelling, \$4,500 for dwelling of more durable construction; (3) money is loaned to the provinces, municipalities, housing societies, etc., at 5 per cent interest; (4) the period of loan is limited to twenty years for local improvements, thirty years for land and permanent buildings. The money is repayable, in most cases, in six equal monthly instalments of principal and interest.—Thomas Adams, *National Municipal Review*, July, 1919. C. N.

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PLURALISTIC BEHAVIOR A BRIEF OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY RESTATED

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I. THE DYNAMICS OF PLURALISTIC STRUGGLE

I. LIFE AS PLURALISTIC

Outside my window seven belligerent sparrows make a machine-gun din as they fight over a crust bequeathed to them by an unscientific philanthropist. While I watch them, a motor-cycle policeman charging into the street arrests a speeding automobile flying blue flags and laden with violets and girls. In two minutes the boy "bunch" of the block has assembled to learn whether the car will be permitted to go on to New Haven, in time for "the game."

Of occurrences fundamentally like these life largely consists. Living bodies "carry on" to sustain and to perpetuate themselves. On occasion they fight. Their activity is more, however, than a struggle for bare existence. It is an endeavor to enlarge life and to enrich it. Conscious life is a struggle for satisfactions, including individuation, and for achievement.

Perpetuating itself, life multiplies itself, and the multiplication of individual lives complicates and intensifies the struggle for existence. The casualties are countless. The organisms that are most "fit," in the sense of being best adapted to their

circumstances and best equipped to meet crises, survive. There is a natural selection.

The activity of a living body is reaction to stimulus, and reaction is behavior.

All reaction is a physiological behavior, and many reactions of tracts and organs are physiological only; but whatever the entire organism does as a unit is also behavior in a psychological meaning of the word.

The behavior of plants and of the lowlier animals is unconscious, or perhaps infinitesimally conscious: it is subinstinctive. Such, for example, is the turning of the leaves of heliotropic plants to the sunlight. Truly instinctive behavior begins with organisms that have acquired an automatically reacting nervous mechanism. It is accompanied by awareness, including sensations, with which, in the vertebrates (the higher ones, at least) are associated also emotions, simple ideas, and memories. These higher animals behave instinctively, and also by habit: in the individual span of life between birth and death they learn much by haphazard trial and elimination. The behavior of mankind is instinctive, habitistic, and rational. Self-consciousness has appeared, speech has been acquired, and hit-or-miss trial has been overlaid and brought under control by experimentation in thought, which ranges from guessing to systematic induction. Ideas, accordingly, have been correlated and co-ordinated.

The sum of behavior is the total struggle for existence and achievement. By far the greater part of it consists of effort to meet instant needs. A lesser but large part consists of efforts to obtain desired but not imperative satisfactions. The remainder is a free expenditure "for the fun of it," not at the moment productive, but tending always to become experiment, including exploration of the environment; and experiment leads to discovery, without which there could be no achievement.

In a world of limited inhabitable area the multiplication of individuals (whether cells or organisms), living by trial and error and tending to explore their environment, causes contacts and creates groupings of living units.

The earliest and simplest groupings are an incident of birth.

Usually an organism in its lifetime reproduces itself more than once. Until they scatter, plural offspring are in form a group. They share good and bad fortune.

The cells that compose and constitute a plant or an animal are united in the intimacies of structure and process. Their collective life is physiological. Usually they cannot break away from the organic whole, or live apart from it.

The coelenterate polyps that secrete coral are attached directly, or through branches, to a parent stem. They cannot get asunder, but one of them torn away by violence could be the parent of a new zoöphyte. They do not constitute an organism. Their collective life is conjunctive only.

The bees of a swarm, the beasts of a herd, the beavers of a dam, the men of a community, move about in individual detachment. Any one of them could live a hermit life for a while; but usually individuals of a kind act with reference to one another and keep near one another.

Keeping near one another, notwithstanding physical detachment, is behavior, and the collective life of physically detached individuals is behavioristic only.

Accordingly, the multiplication of lives not only intensifies the struggle of each individual for existence and complicates its conditions; it also in certain instances creates for all or nearly all individuals of the kind a physically collective life, and in other instances it complicates and organizes behavior and creates for all or nearly all individuals of the kind a behavioristically collective life.

The behavior that constitutes the collective life of swarm, herd, pack, or community is pluralistic. Any one or any combination of behavior inciting stimuli may on occasion be reacted to by more than one individual; as the bread crust is by the seven sparrows, and as the "cop" and the car are by the gangster boys of the block.

The reactions of the individuals of a plurum to a stimulation common to them all in the sense that it reaches all may be similar or they may be dissimilar. To the same stimulus or to like stimuli like organisms normally react in like manner, as crows in the corn-field take wing at a gun shot and boys in the street run after the fire engine.

Alike or unlike, pluralistic reactions may be simultaneous or they may "string out" from prompt to dilatory. They may be substantially equal in strength, or unequal. They may be equally, or unequally persistent.

Like acts by detached individuals may be competitive, or they may fall into combinations, as when animals in a pack follow the same quarry or beat off a common enemy. When it is often enough repeated, combined action becomes habitual group action.

Whether they are dissimilar or similar, rivalistic or combined, simultaneous or not, equal or unequal, pluralistic reactions to a common stimulation make a strictly individualistic struggle for existence impossible. Above all is this true of the human struggle for achievement. It is a pluralistic struggle.

Pluralistic behavior, in distinction from individual behavior, has its own conditions, forms, and laws.

In early youth I often drove cattle on the highway, and I learned that the secret of keeping them moving in good form lay in the "crack" of the stimulus that I relied on. In later youth, conducting and teaching a rural school, I learned that there also one secret of orderly co-operation lay in the cogency of the stimulation applied. Whether physical, utilitarian, or moral, it must be adequate. From these experiences, however, I learned also another thing not less interesting. It was that the part played by resemblances (or differences) among nervous systems is always significant and may be determinative. Two or three unruly steers in a herd could tax the powers of any driver. Two or three conceited morons in a school could tax the ingenuity and the patience of any teacher.

These instances are not oddities; they are representative relations. Always the character of pluralistic reactions (as similar or dissimilar, simultaneous or not, equal or unequal) is determined by two variables, namely, (1) the strength of the stimulation, and (2) the similarity (or the dissimilarity) of the reacting mechanisms.

Pluralistic behavior is the subject-matter of the psychology of society, otherwise called sociology, a science statistical in method, which attempts, first, to factorize pluralistic behavior, and secondly, to explain its genesis, integration, differentiation, and functioning

by accounting for them in terms of the variables (1) stimulation, and (2) the resemblance (more or less) to one another of reacting mechanisms.¹

2. REGIONAL INFLUENCE

Stimuli are infinitely various. In character they range from compulsions, impulses, and constraints to inducements and allurements.

Among stimuli that all living bodies react to are phenomena of the surface of the earth, including its life-sustaining resources, and of the atmosphere, including variations of temperature and of precipitation. All these are unevenly distributed. Geography is a variegated thing. There are regions that forbid, repel, starve, and kill, and there are regions that nourish and attract. Therefore, the teeming life of the earth is apportioned and segregated, here in energetic aggregations, there in sporadic, ineffective examples according to the regional dispersion of environmental bounty and exaction, incitement, and constraint.

The distribution of inhabitable areas on the earth's surface is neither haphazard nor uniform. It is a grouping by coastal plains, river basins, and mountain systems, or in relation to them. The river deltas and the tide-water lowlands are relatively accessible. The bottom lands and lower levels of the watershed are abundantly productive of primary means of subsistence, the remoter plains and plateaus less so. Least bountiful in primary food products, least accessible, and, in general, least inhabitable are the high altitudes, in particular the continental divides, where river systems take their rise.

For brief periods of time the physical environment is normally static—approximately—but if its permutations throughout long periods are observed, it is seen to be highly kinetic. It "breaks out" in volcanic disturbances and in earthquakes. Variations of climate from cold to hot, from wet to dry, range from enormous revolutions consequent upon subsidences and elevations of the earth's crust, or upon the advance or retreat of the polar ice cap,

¹ The psychology of society and social psychology are different things, as I pointed out in an article on "The Psychology of Society," in *Science*, January 6, 1899. One is identical with sociology, the other is not.

down to minor fluctuations that are measured by familiar periodicities of maximum and minimum rainfall.

The relative advantageousness of physical environments for sustaining, energizing, and stimulating pluralistic life is a factor of all social phenomena. It determines the density and the composition of every population. It provokes and limits collective effort. It fixes the possibilities of organization and of collective effectiveness. Directly, and indirectly through collective effort and effectiveness, it makes and limits the possibilities of well-being and of individuation.

3. CIRCUMSTANTIAL PRESSURE

If the foregoing propositions are undeniable, the physiographic or "environmental" theory of history is true, as far as it goes. It is an inadequate and unsatisfactory philosophy, however, because it fails to perceive and to explain the media through which a physical environment acts upon conduct. We are creatures of circumstance.

For among the stimuli that incite and sustain behavior are various annoyances, hardships, dangers, and adversities that bear so heavily upon individuals living in isolation or unaided by neighboring fellow-beings that they constrain great numbers of animals of various species and great numbers of men to live in aggregations; and constrain great numbers of group-dwelling men to overlook many of their differences, to minimize many of their antagonisms, and to combine their efforts. These constraining circumstances may be conceived as constituting a circumstantial pressure upon living beings.

In its totality circumstantial pressure, like chance (as the mathematicians define chance), comprises innumerable small causes. Rain drives beasts and human beings into momentary assemblages. So does the glare of noonday sunlight. When winds are cold some creatures—hogs, notoriously, and sheep—huddle together for warmth. Drought, drying many springs and streams commonly resorted to and compelling assemblage at those that remain, is often a pressure of extreme intensity. Darkness

with its fearsome uncertainties occasions recurrent consorting of individuals (animal or human) that feel sure of one another. These pressures are not in themselves causes of co-operation, whereas accidents and attacks upon persons and possessions commonly are.

The curve, however, of circumstantial pressure is not a normal frequency distribution. It is skewed by relatively large causes of various magnitudes. Of these the most general, perhaps, is a diminishing return to effort in the struggle for existence. Diminishing return in the economist's meaning of the phrase is a special case. Economic adversity or threat is another. An important instance is an extensive dessication, like that which periodically recurs in Western Asia.¹ Little if any less general and more unremittent is the pressure exerted by the hardships and dangers of isolation. Continuous but highly variable is the pressure of foreign economic competition, the reaction to which is protective tariff legislation. Intermittent but most tremendous of circumstantial pressures, and in its consequences the most far-reaching, is war, and war is a product of countless factors of more than one category, as the failure of all attempts to account for the European war of 1914 by any one cause, for example, economic interest, has abundantly made clear.

The hardships and dangers of isolation are measured by urbanization, namely, the percentage of the population of a given area that dwells in towns and cities of a designated number, or more, inhabitants. Urbanization is the best basic measure of circumstantial pressure. The chiefly important phenomena of society are more highly correlated with it than with more density of population. Supplementary measures are fluctuations of prices,² the foreign exchanges, and the statistics of war.

IV. DEMOTIC FACTORS OF LIKE-MINDEDNESS

Regional and urban aggregations of human beings increase in two ways: (1) by births in excess of deaths; (2) by immigration

¹ Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*.

² The newspapers report that the Sultan and pashas of Turkey have cut down their harems to one wife each, because of the high cost of living!

in excess of emigration. A population growing chiefly by births in excess of deaths is predominantly a genetic aggregation. A population growing chiefly by immigration in excess of emigration is predominantly a congregation. A normal population is both a genetic aggregation and a congregation.

Normally, a population is composite. It is composed of the young, the middle-aged, and the old; of males and females; of the native- and the foreign-born. It may comprise more than one color-race, and the foreign-born usually comprise more than one ethnic stock and more than one nationality.

Normally, as time goes on, there is intermarriage among nationalities of the same color-race, with resulting amalgamation. There is a tendency toward ethnic homogeneity within the limits of the numerically dominant color-race.

As reacting mechanisms, the nervous systems of individuals of the same color-race are in general more nearly alike than are the nervous systems of individuals of different color-races; and within the limits of the same color-race the nervous systems of individuals of the same ethnic stock (for example, the Germanic) are in general more nearly alike than are the nervous systems of individuals of different ethnic stocks (for example, the Germanic and the Celtic). The proof is, that it takes a stronger stimulation to obtain like reactions from individuals of different color-races or of different ethnic stocks of the same color-race than it does to obtain like reactions from individuals of the same stock or race. Try the experiment and repeat it until you are satisfied.

The young, however, react, in most cases, more readily to novel stimulation than the old do. An amazing example (as most observers regard it) is the world-wide interest of youth in revolutionary radicalism. The phenomenon is not new, however. It has been witnessed in every century. A significant and important consequence of it is that it is easier to obtain like reactions from the young of intermingled stocks or races than from the old. Revolutionary radicalism and internationalism go together.

The sum of like reactions, instinctive, habitistic, and rational, is like-mindedness.

The measure of basic like-mindedness is an index number, obtained by decreasing the weight of successive increments that diminish the homogeneity of their sum; for example: white, native-born of native parents; plus white, of parents foreign-born, divided by two; plus white, foreign-born, divided by four; plus all colored, divided by eight.

The chiefly important phenomena of society—for example, per capita taxation, per capita expenditure for schools, and a habitual exercise of the political franchise—are not highly correlated positively or negatively with basic like-mindedness. The meaning of this extremely significant statistical fact is that alert and progressive social life is associated not with strict and exclusive similarity, or with extreme dissimilarity, but with that intermediate degree of mental and moral homogeneity which is an adequate meeting of minds for practical purposes and yet is tolerant of individual difference and dissent.

The best measure of radical like-mindedness is the percentage number of individuals of the numerically dominant color-race whose ages fall between the limits twenty and thirty-nine years. The best measure of conservative like-mindedness is the percentage number of individuals native-born of native parents whose ages fall in the class forty years and above. The radically like-minded are normally more numerous than the conservatively like-minded because they are indifferent (as the conservatives are not) to the distinction "native-born," or, going a step farther, "native-born of native parents." War tends to consolidate radicals with conservatives and to merge these measures.

When the stimuli to which living bodies react have become a circumstantial pressure, and the resemblances of reacting mechanisms have become like-mindedness, every social phenomenon thenceforth and every social situation is a function of two variables, namely, (1) circumstantial pressure, and (2) like-mindedness, each of which varies under the influence of the other, under influences that affect them differently, and under influences that affect them similarly.

II. THE REACTIONS OF ASSEMBLED LIFE

5. COMPLEX PLURALISTIC RESPONSE

Simple pluralistic behavior is complicated and developed by interstimulation and response. Each individual of a group or assemblage is a complex of stimuli to his fellows, and each responds to fellow-stimulation.

The interstimulation of similar organisms differs from stimulation otherwise arising. It has a distinct character. Normally it is not repellent. It does not cause shrinking, recoil, or retreat. The reactions also of resembling individuals to one another are significantly different from the reactions of non-resembling individuals to one another.

Organisms of like kind stimulate each other non-repellently, not only because, first, they are similar complexes of stimuli, and because, secondly, they are similar complexes of reaction, but also, thirdly (and this is important), because the behavior of one organism *a* which functions as stimulation to another organism of like kind *ā* (for example, the caw of a crow, the yelp of a dog, or the whinny of a horse) normally calls forth from that other *ā* among various reactions a behavior (there is an answering caw, or yelp, or whinny) that is so like the initial behavior of *a* that it might have arisen in *a* by self-imitation. Such interstimulation cannot be repellent in a high degree, although in a degree it may be antagonistic. Two dogs may bristle and fight on first acquaintance, but they do not hasten to part company, as the horse shies from the rattlesnake or from the bumblebee. The fight ends in toleration or in the submission of one dog to the other.

Reactions of either similar or dissimilar individuals to one another may be unconscious or may be conscious. Unconscious pluralistic reactions of similars to one another are factors of various herd instincts and of numerous herd habits, all of which combine in gregariousness.

The synthesis turns upon and proceeds from the distinctive peculiarities of stimulation of kind by kind and of reaction of kind to kind, above set forth. The movements of organisms, like the motions of inorganic bodies, follow lines of relatively low resistance. Repellent stimulation and recoiling reaction open lines of relatively

high resistance. Non-repellent stimulation and forthgoing reaction open lines of relatively low resistance. Also reactions to stimuli that resemble self-stimuli are relatively facile. These reactions include automatic imitations innumerable. On mechanistic principles, therefore, a reacting locomotor organism tends to go toward or to go with objects (including other locomotor organisms) from which non-repellent or otherwise non-resistant stimulation proceeds.

In distinctive stimulations of kind by kind, then, and in characteristically facile reactions to kind we discover relatively simple mechanistic factors of innate gregariousness or "herd instinct," the chief manifestations of which are a matter-of-course toleration of one another by individual units of a kin group, an automatic tendency to go with kind or at least to avoid separation from kind, an automatic imitation of kind, and an unhesitating reaction to herd stimulation.

This account of gregariousness is opposed to a commonly accepted one which makes characteristic reaction to kind a manifestation of an unexplained herd instinct, so putting cause and effect the other way around.¹

In the processes of interstimulation and its reactions pluralistic behavior is dramatized. Action which, in the first instance, is performed without reference to possible reaction by fellow-beings, but which in fact is followed by fellow-reaction, is likely in subsequent performance to be affected thereby. In the presence of fellow-beings action becomes acting, and thenceforward things are not merely done, they are enacted.

Under common danger, and often under common opportunity, similarities of behavior more or less dramatized develop into spontaneous collective action. The individuals participating in it may not be, or they may be, aware that they are combining their efforts; and they may not be, or they may be, aware that by combination they are producing results; but whether conscious or unconscious, co-operation commonly produces results advantageous to the individuals participating in it.

¹ See William McDougall, *Social Psychology*, chap. xii, and W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, pp. 1-23.

The probability of collective action increases with circumstantial pressure.

6. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF KIND

In mankind interstimulation and its reactions have developed into communication by means of vocal signs. Everything is talked about. Pluralistic behavior having been dramatized is now also conversationalized.

Not only outward behavior and material things are talked about. "Ideas" and "feelings" as "states of consciousness" also are talked about. Thenceforth a conversationalized consciousness and its states may legitimately be included in a study of behavior, viewed as an objective phenomenon.

Stimulation and reaction are accompanied by sensation. Differences and similarities among stimuli, differences and similarities among reactions, are "felt" in consciousness, and presently are perceived. Differences and similarities among objects, among the activities of things, and among behavioristic acts are felt and perceived. Differences of individuals one from another and similarities of individuals one to another also are felt and perceived. The idea of "kind" arises. Individuals become aware of themselves as a "kind," and as being of one, or of more than one, "kind." This consciousness in human individuals of their differences one from another, of their similarities one to another, and of their "kind" is the "consciousness of kind." More precisely, the consciousness of kind is awareness of a concrete case or possibility of like-mindedness, and of such physical traits as are commonly associated with it.

The consciousness of kind allays fear and engenders comradeship. It converts instinctive consorting into a consciously discriminative association. Without it there is no society: there is only gregariousness. Of the instinctive herd it may be said as Rousseau said of the state created by force, "*C'est une agrégation, s'il vous plait, mais c'est non pas une association.*" The members of a society are aware of themselves as preferentially associating similars. For example, if they are Presbyterians, Republicans, and Americans, they consciously prefer to associate in religious communion with Presbyterians like-minded with themselves than with Metho-

dists or with Episcopalians; to associate in politics with Republicans like-minded with themselves than with Democrats; and to associate in nationality with Americans like-minded with themselves than with the people of any European land. The consciousness of kind is becoming not less but more potent in large affairs. Perhaps the greatest manifestation of it ever seen is the nationwide demand in the United States at present for the Americanization of alien residents. They must be made like-minded with Americans.

Odd as it may seem to the uninitiated, the statistical study of the consciousness of kind to the extent of obtaining excellent measurements of it, on either a small or a large scale, is not difficult. The data are frequency-distributions of preferences. The curves which these approximately fit are in form like the familiar curves of utility, demand, and price.

7. CONCERTED VOLITION

In the course of pluralistic behavior above the instinctive level conscious agreements arise. Propositions are put forth and are "talked over." There begins to be "a meeting of minds." Collective choices or decisions are made. There is a concert of wills, a concerted volition.

Like the volition of an individual, concerted volition is of various degrees of completeness. There may be only an incipient impulse, that dies out before behavior is visibly affected and that is known in consciousness only as an unexpressed choice or perhaps only as a wish. Or there may be a consciously apprehended decision, which is expressed in words or in gestures or through other media. As the vote of a committee or of an assembly or, on a larger scale, as a political election, concerted decision expressed in words is an important behavior. Finally, concerted will may be expressed in collective action, brief or persisting.

In a normal population there are individuals of every grade of mentality, and more individuals of each intermediate grade than of the lowest or of the highest. Inasmuch, however, as all highly reflective individuals are also dogmatic, sympathetic, and instinctive, and all dogmatic individuals are also emotional and instinctive,

and all emotional individuals are also instinctive, there are always in a normal aggregation more individuals that are alike in motor reactions and in appetites than are alike in sympathies, more who are alike in sympathies than are alike in beliefs, and more who are alike in beliefs than are alike in critical intelligence.

From these facts a law of concerted volition follows, namely:

In a normal population the percentage number of individuals participating in a collective decision diminishes as the intellectual quality of the decision rises.¹

This law does not mean that "the intellectuals" and the "masses" cannot get together. They can and do concur for practical purposes, but only as one element yields to the other. The masses may "believe" that it is expedient to follow a lead that they do not understand but do trust; or the intellectuals may compromise with a crowd that stubbornly holds an antagonistic belief. Conviction of the expediency of yielding, trusting, or compromising strengthens and extends as circumstantial pressure increases.

Circumstantial pressure determines the amount of concerted volition in an aggregation in any respect heterogeneous. In a homogeneous group, a majority of all individuals may alike react to varied stimuli, and the stimuli are not necessarily powerful. In the heterogeneous group a majority of all individuals can react in identical or resembling ways to but few stimuli, and these must be powerful; but the more powerful they are, the larger will be the absolute and the percentage number of individuals in like manner reacting to them. This law holds good of conscious decisions as of instinctive acts.

If one hundred or more persons vote "yes" or "no" on each of twenty-five or more propositions, and the number of "yes" votes for two propositions, for three, for four, for five, and so on, is plotted, the resulting frequency-distribution is a skew, whether the voting group is homogeneous or heterogeneous. In many experiments I have not obtained a "normal" (or "chance") distribution.

¹ In New York City the East Side vote on constitutional amendments is light. The heavy vote is in the election districts of Greenwich Village, Morningside Heights, and Washington Heights.

Into the "infinite number of small causes" operative in politics and in legislation a few big influences intrude; which means that great interests always can be and always are manipulated by the purposive will of man. The proposition means, further, that for great historical calamities, like wars, a few individuals are, in the last analysis, morally responsible. Statistical sociology affords no basis for historical fatalism.

Concerted volition working itself out in combined action is conscious and reasoned co-operation, a pluralistic behavior in which like activities or complementary activities are correlated and directed upon a useful achievement through conscious planning.

8. SOCIETY

The commingling and the pluralistic activities of individuals who are conscious of themselves and of their behavior, and whose consciousness is conversationalized, is association.

The consciousness of kind, becoming sensitive especially to resemblances and differences that please or displease, converts association into society, in the elementary sense of the word. The associating unit becomes the socius, loving and seeking acquaintance, forming friendships and alliances with other socii like himself, imitating them and setting examples for them, teaching them and learning from them, and engaging with them in many forms of common activity. Every human being is at once an animal, a conscious individual mind, and a socius.

Association takes on the quality and the color of the prevailing like-mindedness, which may be ideo-instinctive only, and charged with suggestibility; or sympathetic, explosive with contagious emotion and undisciplined imagination; or dogmatic, compact of uncritically accepted beliefs; or reflective, wherein belief is displaced by knowledge and by judgments based on evidence. The concerted behavior of associates, therefore, may be a turbulent "direct action" or an orderly procedure.

Reacting to circumstantial pressure, association generates a social pressure, which increases with the multiplication of like responses to common stimulations, as the pressure of a gas increases with the number and the velocity of its molecules.

Reacting in its turn upon the pluralistic behaviors that have created it, social pressure assembles and combines them in new products, through which it distributes itself. The reacting individuals it constrains to type conformity.

Subjected to social pressure, pluralistic behavior of any kind may become habitual. It may be imitated by one group from another. It may be learned by one generation from another. The accompanying ideas, histories, explanations, and instructions are transmitted from group to group, and from one to another generation in "talk." They become folklore. To the countless co-operations and other pluralistic behaviors that "everybody" participates in and that continue through generations, Sumner gave the appropriate name "folkways," which immediately found place in sociology and soon became a folk noun.

Folklore and folkways are comprehensive. There is no phase of the struggle for existence that they do not enter into and more or less affect.

In its original mode social pressure is not consciously willed. It is not planned or intended. It is only an inevitably arising product (or by-product) of pluralistic behavior.

But having, as a force devoid of intent, created folkways, social pressure, elemental yet, converts folkways into *mores* and *themistes*, which in turn distribute and apply social pressure and through these reactions develop it into an intended, planned, and consciously concerted pressure.

Mores are folkways that have been selectively affected by emotion, belief, reflection, and conscious inculcation, and that to some extent are socially enforced. Like primary folkways the *mores*, chiefly by penalties of disapprobation and neglect, bear on individuals as such and primarily with reference to their own well-being; but also they are thought of and are made to serve as media of social pressure affecting fellow-beings. The sanctions that enforce them are informal, but may include the use of force in private vengeance.

Themistes are important *mores*, of religion, for example, and above all, of justice. They are *mores* of concerted volition and

apply social pressure through boycotting, outlawry, and other social dooms, including death.¹

In *mores* and *themistes* under the reactions of the social pressure which they themselves gather and distribute, pluralistic behavior is traditionalized.-

Folkways of every kind, including *mores* and *themistes*, are the most stable syntheses of pluralistic behavior; yet they are not unchanging. Under new and widening experience they suffer attrition and are modified.² Instincts, and with them emotion, and imagination, which largely fills the vast realm between instinct and reason, are reconditioned. The word means simply that reflexes and higher processes subjected to new experiences are in a degree or entirely detached from old stimuli and associated with new ones.³

From time to time also traditions are invaded and habits are broken down by crisis. Pluralistic behavior then is scrutinized, criticized, estimated, discussed. It is rationally deliberated.

Viewed broadly as reaction instead of strictly as reflection, deliberation arises in the individual mind as a conflict of reactions

¹ See Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis*.

² Numerous ballots on hypothetical candidates for admission to social organizations have been taken at my request in colleges, merchants' associations, and labor organizations. The grounds of exclusion are offenses against morals and manners and certain personal matters. They are named in a list of twenty-seven items made in advance and submitted to the voters. The method of proceedings has been carefully explained and controlled. More than 50 per cent of the voters blackball for notorious cruelty, dishonesty, frequent drunkenness, gambling, sexual immorality, and personal uncleanness of body and dress. Less than 50 per cent of the voters blackball for habitual borrowing of money from acquaintances, ungrammatical speech, atheism, inability to write a correctly worded letter, questionable political affiliations, and shabby dress. Notorious cruelty is the vice most objected to by both men and women. Dishonesty ranks second in offensiveness to men and sixth to women. Frequent drunkenness ranks second in offensiveness to women and thirteenth to men. More men than women object to personal uncleanness of body and dress.

³ A piece of meat in a dog's mouth causes a flow of saliva. A Russian psychologist, Pawlow, tried the experiment of tinkling a bell when the dog was fed. In course of time the tinkling of the bell without the presence of the meat called forth the reflex and produced the salivation (Robert Sessions Woodworth, *Dynamic Psychology*, p. 82). Hundreds of similar experiments suggested by Pawlow's have demonstrated that simple reflexes and elementary instincts can be reconditioned, practically at will. This possibility is the basis of our power to learn.

to stimulation. On the larger scale of social phenomena deliberation arises when there are conflicting group or class reactions to a common stimulation.

Therefore the probability of deliberation in a social population increases with the multiplication of groups that react differently to a common stimulation and with the approximation of the differing groups to numerical equality.

The members of a group in which pluralistic behavior is both traditionalized and deliberated talk much about the group as a group, and of their membership relation to it. They converse about their common lot—of danger or opportunity. They profess to think about common interests, to care for group performance and achievement, and to be sensitive to group prestige.

There is, accordingly, a complex of pluralistic behavior facts which includes common situation and common stimulation, similarity of reaction, a consciousness of kind, co-operation, tradition, discussion, a proclaimed concern for the group, and sensitiveness to its prestige. This complex is the social solidarity.

Otherwise named, the social solidarity is the social mind. This name does not denote any other consciousness than that of individual minds; it does denote a consciousness of individual minds similarly reacting, and reacting in reference to and upon one another. The social mind is the phenomenon of individual minds in communication with one another, acting upon one another, and acting concurrently. The self-consciousness of a class or of a group is the consciousness of each individual that there is a group, that he is a member of the group, and that the other members of the group are feeling toward it as he feels, and thinking of it as he thinks.

The decision of the social mind is social purpose. The momentum of the social solidarity is a consciously controlled social pressure of almost irresistible power. It may constrain pluralistic behavior and curtail individual liberty to any degree. The individual himself it both constrains and disciplines. It makes the many individuals upon whom it bears increasingly alike in nurture and in habits. It produces conformity to a type.

The degree or intensity of social constraint, however, is not determined by reasoned choice. It is governed by circumstantial

pressure, to which it is elastic. When we entered into the European war many timid souls feared that we should lose our liberties. They believed that we should become militaristic and Prussianized. They were right in part but largely they were wrong. The war restricted liberty, as the Civil War did. Peace removes restraints as it did after 1865. And war is not the only circumstantial pressure that limits liberty. Herbert Spencer was right in his insistence upon the constraining effect of war, but he did not adequately measure the importance of other circumstances also that curtail freedom. To mention one of recent occurrence, when infantile paralysis became epidemic in 1916, hundreds of American towns and cities established local quarantines. Guards stationed on highways stopped and searched automobiles, and suspicious parties were turned back. Furthermore, the social pressure through which circumstantial pressure constrains is not only political and legal and brought to bear by government; it appears and develops also as a spontaneous pluralistic action, unorganized at first but tending to become organized. For example, the modes that it has assumed in money-raising drives are numerous and many of them are highly coercive.

Society not only constrains its members, but also by disciplining them and forcing them to conform to type it selects, conserving some and rejecting others.

Biology unaided by sociology cannot show where, when, or how the "better" may be the "fit" that survive. Darwin saw the problem and its solution, but he did not work it out.¹

Society favors individual units that have team-work value and directs its adverse pressures upon units that obstruct or imperil the collective struggle.

Tolerance, sympathy, and intelligence have team-work value in a pre-eminent degree and therefore survival value in a pre-eminent degree, in society.

Society, therefore, converts the "survival of the fit" into the survival of the "better," if by the "fit" we mean individuals who by organization and instinct are adapted to a situation as nature has made it, and by "better" we mean individuals who by feeling

¹ *The Descent of Man*, chaps. iii, iv, v.

and intelligence are adapted to a situation modified and being modified by combined effort guided by reflection.

How much the social community may achieve, transforming the "fit" into the "better" and, in its pursuit of happiness, obtaining substantial results, is a problem in the utilization of energy.

The strength, or potential energy, of a group is the product of the number of individuals composing it, by various weighting coefficients, among which are vigor, intelligence, and knowledge.

The working efficiency of a group of given strength is a function of certain arrangements which may have had an accidental origin, which in part are products of a merely random experimentation, but which in a large and always increasing measure are brought about intentionally by superior individuals.

These arrangements are the social organization.

[To be concluded]

SOME STRUCTURAL MATERIAL FOR THE IDEA "DEMOCRACY"—*Concluded*

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THE COMMUNITY AS TRUSTEE

We should take it for granted, third, that the total of external resources will always be regarded as a trust to be administered by the community as an endowment for the human process in which the enterprise finds its ultimate expression.¹

I am trying to indicate the large outline of the socio-educational policy which would correspond to the most objective analysis that can be made of our present American situation. This is not an attempt to draft a curriculum or a program of school management.

It should be remembered too that the leading proposition of each of these sections is one of a series attempting to indicate the general purposes which might have been expressed in the cabin of the "Mayflower," if the Pilgrims could have foreseen as far as we now see in the matter of geographical expansion, increase of population, development of economic technique and output, and if those Pilgrims could have had the modern social outlook instead of the conceptions of their time.

Without attempting to compare their views of life with our own, either in the matter of pertinence to the circumstances of the respective periods or with respect to the probable approximation of either to a final version of the human career, it is beyond dispute that our national situation presents details and aggregates which could not possibly have entered into the Pilgrims' imagination. Whatever we conclude about the group consciousness of the Pilgrims as compared with our own, it is beyond dispute, among those who are acquainted with the facts, that a few people in America (let us call them for convenience the people of the social outlook, whether from academic or other stations) are

¹ *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XIX, 435.

thinking about our present situation and our policies for the future with as distinct consciousness that Americans are concerned in a great common adventure as the Pilgrims' consciousness that their struggle for existence in the New World must demand the co-operation and loyalty of everyone in their company. We need not go into detail about the way in which the different local adventures in the American colonies gradually merged into a continental enterprise. Here we are, with this enterprise in full cry. With our consciousness enlarged and quickened by our insight into the relations involved, we people of the social outlook are asking, for ourselves and for our fellow-citizens, what the most rational courses of conduct would be, in consideration of everything of which we are able to take account in the present circumstances.

Two items impress themselves over and over again upon our minds, whether we regard them as of much or little importance in directing the course of our attempts to answer the main question. First, the pioneers of American civilization, at the various points on the Atlantic Coast, had very different ideas from ours about the nature of the process which they were inaugurating. In so far as their opinions have molded American institutions, they are in vital respects contrasted with the opinions which the process has meanwhile forced upon those who have consented to be taught by the process at all. Second, American civilization has turned out to be bigger, more unwieldy, less amenable to the control of anyone's preconceptions, than could have been anticipated. The opinions and volitions of resolute men of many types of belief have gone into its operations, but the process itself, in its mass and manifoldness, has been more inexorably compelling than any or all of these subjective factors. This process has not only deposited social institutions in many respects as no one would have fashioned them out of hand, if he could; but in so doing it has reconstructed the social consciousness of those from the least degree to the highest degree classifiable as people of the social outlook. Those of us who accept this experience as not only in fact but in right the most effective teacher are trying to sum up the results in the form of a methodology. In a word, the process of civilization as it has already developed does not exhaust itself in mere testimony as to

what it has been. It is the most reliable evidence within our reach as to what the process of civilization henceforth must be. What has been is an unassorted mixture of the accidental and the essential, of the temporary and the permanent, of the provisional and the substantial, of the pathological and the functional. The social process as a whole up to the present time must nevertheless be the criterion by which to determine under which of these aspects we must consider each separate detail or phase of the process thus far, and by which to evaluate alternative policies and programs with reference to conduct in the future. We must learn to distinguish between the trunk line of continuity which makes up the integrity of the process, and each of the more or less casual and trivial episodes in the process. We must learn to differentiate opportunistic accommodation to incidental conditions from steady drive in certain directions. We must subject our sense of proportion to constant correction by comparing the main output of the process with its miscellaneous by-products. We must form our criteria of value, and shape our purposes accordingly, by thinking of these different aspects of the social process as it has unfolded so far in their relations as functions or arrests of function within all of the process that we can visualize and interpret.

Assuming that these conclusions are commonplace with people of the social outlook, and assuming that we are substantially agreed about the previous theses, our present proposition is not only a logical inference from the preceding but, if it were not, it is a formula of the obvious functional economy of a society whose aim is that which has been defined in the foregoing sections.

In American experience up to date certain things have occurred which would have occurred in some form and degree if from the beginning there had been the sort of social consciousness and the degree of prevision which we have supposed. There have been both integration and differentiation of interests and of groups. This action and reaction in various cycles has proceeded with a certain degree of irresponsibility. This is what Ward meant by "unconscious evolution." Considered as a process of, for, and by the American people, it has been a process of which very few of the American people have ever been very fully aware, and most of those

individuals who were most responsive to the fact of a progressing process were able to visualize and interpret it only in part. The consequence has been that the control of the process has been correspondingly imperfect. The same is true of every large society. A considerable percentage of all civilization is more like the natural evolution and distribution of vegetation than it is like horticulture. To use another figure, rather more evidently than the older civilizations American civilization has been very much like a Chicago park of a fine summer day. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of families have gone to it for an outing. All were moved by the same ground motive—relief from physical discomfort and enjoyment of physical comfort. All have to observe certain police regulations, but with that trifling exception each has followed his own bent. There has been no system in the pleasure-seeking. There has been greedy grabbing of the most favorable spots for games or picnicking. A great deal of physical relaxation, a great deal of amusement, a great deal of incommoding one another, a great deal of irritation, some quarrelling, some injuries, much bodily weariness, and at the close of the day a liberal allowance of wondering whether after all it had paid, would be a fair summary of the day's account. From time to time the park commissioners have attempted to modify the regulations and to improve the accommodations of the parks in the interest of a larger ratio of satisfaction to effort. To the outsider there is still in the sight presented by these parks of a midsummer Saturday or Sunday much to suggest the query of an aristocratic Englishman when taken to a similar resort and told of the number that visited it—"Why should anyone *want* to come here?" In spite of this relative heterogeneity and incoherence of American achievements, we have arrived at a large number of valuations of things desirable. These valuations often exist among us in the form of graded series of valuations referring to generically the same objective activities. At the same time, there is notable lack of such co-ordination of these valuations as would amount to a very definite social standard of things desirable in order to control cultural advance in accordance with a conscious ideal.

The last two propositions may be illustrated in this way. As to the first, Americans generally want, for instance, "good roads."

When we have said that, we have said something which a visitor from any other of the countries in the world would be sure to misinterpret to either our advantage or our disadvantage if he were not in possession of further details. A "good road" to a great many of our western ranchmen would mean a trail over the ranges which a tenderfoot from Chicago would be unable to follow unless he were mounted on a pony with more reliable instincts than his rider. A "good road" in some parts of Illinois is a public right of way fenced off from private holdings on either side, passable in the spring only by semiamphibious vehicles, and after freezing only by animals and rigs that might make their way over plowed ground at the same season. A "good road" in some parts of Chicago is a highway that once was paved with wooden blocks, but is now an undulating surface alternating between the gullies made by the decay of some blocks and the ridges made by the survival of others. A "good road" in other parts of Chicago is an avenue wide enough for several lines of automobiles and smooth enough to permit their constant passage at high speed without a jar.

Similar gradations and geographical distributions of valuations might be illustrated in the case of almost every range of human want. As to the second proposition, it is by no means certain that the gradation of valuations in a given locality with reference to certain wants will correspond with the gradation of valuations in the same locality with reference to other wants. For instance, states might be mentioned which have a comparatively exacting standard of action with reference to the liquor traffic, while as compared with certain other states that might be named they have a notably inferior standard for their school system. So in many other particulars that might be recited.

All this incidental observation is necessary in order to attest the quality of our presumptions about Americans. That is, when we use the expression "endowment for the human process," we are employing a combination of words which severally and collectively have no meaning whatsoever to the great majority of Americans. Even if some translation of the words could be made which the majority of Americans might understand, the content which could be put into the words by general consent would be

pitifully fragmentary and uneven. For reasons that have been referred to in part in the previous sections, Americans have not very generally learned to express their valuations in terms of the human process. We talk the language and we think the relations chiefly of the subsidiary material process. We have not learned to judge very definitely whether the things that we pronounce good are good with reference to a program of physical exploitation which we may have finally in mind, or with reference to some ideal of moral achievement to which the physical achievement should be preliminary. In short, we have not yet learned to ask the questions, and to subordinate everything to the questions: What sort of people and relations between people are our physical and social programs tending to produce? What are the things to do with the aim of producing better types of people and better types of relations between people?

But I repeat, to people of the social outlook these are almost elementary questions in the rational conduct of life. If we were adjusted to the outlook which I am indicating, these questions would be ever present with us, and our answers to them or our failures to answer them would be incessantly revising our valuations of the activities which make up our actual programs.

The prime difficulty, therefore, in trying to expand the main thesis of this section, is that the proposition deals with ways and means of promoting something—"the human process"—the very reality of which is dubious in the minds of most Americans. We have to be talking about a program with reference to something the very existence of which is not admitted. We have to accept an unavoidable appearance of detachment from facts, of speculation about purely imaginary circumstances. This is really the question: If Americans really believed, *as they do not*, that the main business of people is to work out a paramount human process by means of the subsidiary physical and mental and moral processes; and if Americans really believed, *as they do not*, that the total of physical resources within our national control should always be administered as a trust to endow the moral process, how would Americans alter their present programs?

Under the circumstances, the thing that may be expected to show all the immediate effects from the theoretical side upon the

objective process, that may reasonably be looked for at all, is tireless preaching, both by word and, so far as opportunity offers, by example, that the perceptions on which we have put the emphasis thus far are true. Preach! Preach! Preach! wherever a listener can be found, the *functional*, the *moral*, the *human* rendering of life. Pass the word around that in the final analysis the type of people we are and the type of dealings which we practice with one another are the most important things in sight. Keep harping away on the loose connection and even the reverse connection between large bulks of our activities and this ultimate social aim. To the degree in which we can hold attention upon this rendering of life, we shall have established our base of operations for the further campaign to win general conviction that we are not efficiently using our resources toward the indicated end, and to organize effort toward convergence of thought and action upon a more adequate program.

Every detail that follows presupposes that the persons addressed have arrived at the social outlook indicated in the previous sections.

Yet one who has that outlook in his mind's eye is at a well-nigh insuperable disadvantage in developing the main thesis of this section. The reasons have been presented in part in the foregoing paragraphs. Because Americans in general do not look at things from this social point of view, because they have virtually no co-ordinating scheme of life within which material values are functionally subordinated to moral values, persons who are convinced that there should be such subordination, and who want to convince others, face the double problem of commending the general proposition by means of particulars which may be quite as debatable among Americans generally as the main proposition itself. That is, we are facing the task of getting the conviction lodged in our American consciousness, first, that moral considerations should govern our national programs, second, in particular, that all our community resources should be administered as an endowment for the human process which is the substantial affair. Canceling for the present the difficulties which confront effort to justify the former proposition, when we are working upon the latter, opposition presents itself at every step in two forms, first, *challenge of the*

main proposition, second, challenge of alleged particulars which we might cite as specifications of human factors in the process.

Everything that follows in this section is accordingly in the nature of a brief in support of particular claims which will be contradicted in turn by attorneys for the opposing view. I specify merely illustrative particulars which I regard as in themselves valid. I do not attempt to set up a whole co-ordinated scheme of concrete moral relations as something to be indicated *in toto*. That would make the task still harder, and it is hard enough if one tries to do only a little of it at a time.

I assume then that, in the rest of this section, we are dealing with a state of mind which consents, for the sake of argument, to waive the previous question of principle and to consider what it would mean in application. That is, let us imagine the attorney for things as they are demanding: "Very well, let us suppose ourselves in agreement that physical resources ought to be held as an endowment for the human process. What would that mean in practice?"

If that question were actually put to me in the course of debate, I should have to answer in my own mind, even if I did not speak out the answer, with some sort of a general formula of which all possible particulars would be illustrations. For instance, I should think of the human process, distinguished from the physical process, as correlations of activities in which the persons concerned in operating the necessary technique are, first, becoming more capable of self-direction in control of that technique, that is, less tools in the hands of others and more self-initiators in ability if not in literal performance; second, they are becoming better acquainted with the relations of their special technique to the larger processes to which it is tributary, and they are correspondingly widening their conceptions of what their work means, both for themselves and for others; third, they are developing latent capabilities of more comprehensive or more specialized functions or both, either within the occupation or in some other occupation for which the former may become a preparatory school; fourth, the conditions of the occupation are favorable to the graduation of more highly developed

persons into corresponding types of function; fifth, these immediate occupational phases of activity are incidental to similar conscious integration into and voluntary co-operation with extra occupational activities, so that the persons in question are not confined in their personality to their mere occupational program, but so that they are in a way toward realizing some degree of partnership with all the normal activities of mankind. This is a way of outlining the content of my idea "the achievement of completer personality."

Now in what follows I am not even hinting at a judgment of the relative importance in the United States at the present moment of activities which might be specified under this general description. That would shift the attention from the question of principle, with which I am now concerned, to debatable questions of practice, which ought not to be taken up until the principle is secure. I am arguing now not for a program but for a view of things which is entitled to precedence whenever we are trying to work out programs. It might be possible to project an architectural combination of details which might fall under this head, i.e., a symmetrical social structure embodying the principle of the service of the material to the moral. I am now deliberately avoiding all encouragement of such architectural schemes. Such devices saddle altogether too heavy handicaps upon the main proposition, viz., that a thoroughly sophisticated society would know at least some points where excessive valuation of material was retarding progress of the moral, and that some portion of the material resources of a thoroughly sophisticated society would be held as reserve for whatever work was necessary to rectify the balance.

For instance, in the newspapers of April 28, 1914, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York, was credited with remarks at a dinner of the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, to the effect that ignorance and inefficiency among the country's farmers, rather than big business, make up the fundamental cause of the high cost of living. Mr. Vanderlip was represented as saying: "Land is being utilized with but 40 per cent of efficiency, yet the farmer is not held culpable, he is not answerable to society, as is the railroad manager who produces anything less than 100 per cent."

The vision of capitalists, while in the earlier stages of digesting a New York banquet, shifting responsibility for the high cost of living upon the farmers, is sufficiently humorous to relieve the tension of the most serious sociological argument.

At the same time there is literal force in the consideration which Mr. Vanderlip very likely dealt with in a facetious way. Discounting the differences between the situation of the farmer and that of the railroad manager in the ratio of help from the legal and industrial system as indicated in my discussion of "the social gradations of capital"¹, we may take it for granted that the American farmer is not functioning up to capacity either economically or socially. It would be very unjust if we did not take it for granted also that the fault is not all his own. It is in part the fault of the American people as a standard-setting group. The reception which the nation at large, and many farmers in particular, gave to the Roosevelt-Bailey Commission on the improvement of rural conditions is conclusive as to the moral attitude on both sides. On the one hand many farmers resented the idea that their affairs could not take care of themselves, and on the other hand the people generally seemed to feel that those newspapers which made fun of national inquiry into rural conditions had hit it off about right.

Without assuming any details whatsoever about farming conditions in the United States, but taking the mere hypothesis that there is substantial truth in our variation of Mr. Vanderlip's alleged statements, what would be the rational policy of the people of the United States with reference to the situation, and why?

We may answer by first inverting the order of the clauses in the question, Whatever should be the policy of the people of the United States, the *reason* for the policy should be a particularized version of the main proposition which this section is developing. That is, assuming that Americans accept something like Mr. Vanderlip's statement as true, the situation would presumably involve something more than mere failure to produce the desired *economic* results of farming. That failure would indicate certain kinds of mental and moral deficiency as partly causes and partly effects of that economic failure. Without assuming anything about

¹ *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XIX (May, 1914), 721.

the relative significance of this and other factors in American life, in and of itself this undergrade condition of farmers would constitute a national failure, of which there should be national effort to rid itself. If farmers do not understand their functions, do not take interest in them, do not get enough out of them to support themselves in making the life on the farm satisfactory, or do not apply what they produce on the farm in such a way that it tends to make them better farmers and better citizens, there is a national phase of this inefficiency. It is a matter which should have a relation to national effort similar to that which discovery of pollution of its water supply should have to the effort of a family. In either case the material resources of the group are the indicated means of normalizing the situation, in the interest of hygienic, economic, and at last moral results. In either case, thorough examination of the conditions would be first in order, and thereupon thorough canvassing of available ways and means of improving the conditions. No more in the one case than in the other should there be any hesitation about applying wealth which might otherwise be converted into new capital to correction of the disordered conditions. Suppose it were decided, for instance, that the chief source of the evils discovered might be traced to occupancy of farm lands by tenants rather than by immediate owners. Suppose it were evident that a gain in economic and moral efficiency would result from conversion of tenants into proprietors. Then it would be an intelligent use of public resources to apply funds within control of the public to purchase of farms and sale of them to persons now tenants, at a rate of interest so low that it would yield no return over and above the average risk involved in the transactions. Suppose the most important lack were found to be capital for developing one-family farms. Loans of funds raised by the public, and on the same terms, might be the wisest use of resources. Suppose the defects were accounted for chiefly in connection with lack of facilities for local communication and transportation. It might turn out to be socially wise to make large investments in roads, telephones, telegraphs, rural delivery, etc., from which there might never be a direct pecuniary return. Suppose it turned out that the key

to the inefficiency of farmers is to be found in the poverty of what we commonly speak of as "cultural resources," opportunities for amusement, recreation, education, and religious worship. Again community wisdom would draw upon recently acquired knowledge that, in the social body as in the organic body, the health of the whole depends upon the health of the parts. It is a shortsighted view of social utility to suppose that the maximum attainment of the whole community can be reached if parts of the community are allowed to stop with arrested development. In Russia and Germany and France the peasant is a type of human being so undeveloped that it is practically impossible in a single generation to transform him into the urban type. It has always been an element of strength and a source of pride in the United States that a farmer's boy might go to the city and in a few years be indistinguishable from the born-and-bred city man. There is a shrinkage of our national assets wherever this ceases to be the case. In so far as this shrinkage may be prevented by supply of cultural resources at general expense, which could not be provided from local means, this again would be an intelligent investment. This conclusion is not based on sentimental grounds. It is not a prescription of charity. It is a reading from our modern discovery of social interdependence. It is in the long run a foolish nation which permits permanent cleavage between types of its functioning members, along lines which assure to those on the one side ability to use their social functionings as a means of contact with all kinds of human achievement, while those on the other side are effectively barred from all-around improvement of their condition. Lincoln's dictum, "No nation can live half slave and half free," is probably a formula that might be much more widely generalized. Thus: No nation can live (on the cultural plane which we have indicated) if privilege pampers one class and consequently arrests the growth of other classes.

This illustration uncovers a social *desideratum* which has been referred to in part in the twelfth proposition¹ of the brief that I am

¹ The proposition reads: It would follow, *twelfth*, that adequate provision must be made for the function of keeping all the members of the community *aware* of the reciprocal nature of the enterprise in which they are engaged, and of the implied liabilities of all to each and of each to all (*op. cit.*, p. 439).

now developing. The part of the social demand least suggested by that twelfth proposition calls for casual mention here. A relatively self-conscious society would provide itself with some sort of a standing committee of outlook. It would be a commission charged with the sole function of reading the signs of the times with reference to the workings of the social process in the large view which we have considered. It would have the duty of discovering and making known to the whole society where parts of the society were falling behind their indicated functions, and it would be expected to advise the society as to the relative urgency of these delinquent functions for stimulus. That is, it is conceivable, for example, that something like Mr. Vanderlip's alleged assertions might be found true at a given time. It is conceivable that at the same time the outlook commission just suggested might find serious deficiencies in local, state, or national government in connection with farming interests. It is conceivable that other confused or arrested functionings might be discovered in the operation of the credit system so far as it affected farmers. In such a situation it would be a function of the commission to point out these concurrent facts, and the commission or some other agency of the public would then have the task of attempting to ascertain whether there is a possible order of sequence in which attempts to correct these conditions might best proceed, because one or the other of them is a more radical cause than the rest; or whether modification of the situation must deal with them simultaneously, and, in either case, by what methods. Our constant emphasis in this section is on variations of the proposition that a relatively self-conscious society, being aware of the paramountcy of the process of "human realization" in the complex of social activities, would constitute agencies for ascertaining when, where, and in what respects this indicated relationship was embarrassed; and the society would have means ready to assist in correcting the disarrangement.

Suppose the most importunate demand for social readjustment in the human interest, as contrasted with the capitalistic interest, were reduced to the proposition of a member of the Iowa legislature reported May 3, 1914, that in the interest of humanity the United States government should acquire ownership of some or all of the

Colorado coal mines. In the first place, if the American people had been as completely self-conscious from the outset as we have supposed for the sake of hypothesis, neither those mines nor any others might ever have become private property. Since there has been a hiatus in our self-consciousness, or postponement of this range of social self-consciousness, awakening of it would appropriately be marked by application of community means to restoration or establishment of a normal social condition in this particular. Assuming of course that this specific adjustment were important enough to compensate for the inevitable disturbance of other interests, the resources of the nation should be regarded as properly used if they were diverted from other channels to the extent necessary to affect change from private ownership to public ownership of the mines.

Suppose again the suggestion which Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, of Berlin, made casually at the University of Chicago in April, 1914, should appeal to Americans as the most vital constructive problem in the United States at present, the quality of citizenship being the criterion. Dr. Oppenheimer remarked that large numbers of the European immigrants to this country are skilled cultivators of the soil, but unskilled in any other occupation. In the absence of organized means of directing them to accessible land, and of financing them while they might get a foothold upon the land, deplorable numbers of these immigrants lodge in eastern cities. In city conditions they are worse than useless, while they might become valuable citizens if they could be placed at their indicated occupation as cultivators of land. Again given a well-attested conclusion to this effect, it would be a counsel of wisdom, both for economic and for moral reasons, to concentrate social means for dealing with this situation. The fact that such measures would have very obvious economic justification need not obscure the further fact that, aside from the economic reasons, there are human reasons weighty enough to demand the measures. Human beings being voluntarily or involuntarily dislocated from normal social functionings not only become a drag upon the economic factors of the process, but they tend to arrest the moral factors.

The propositions in this series are so interlocked with one another, each turns out to be in so many ways a phase of all the

rest, that it is impossible to go far in developing the implications of either of them without expressing them in terms of some of the other propositions. The sort of social survey which these propositions constitute proves therefore to be merely a formal outline map. After we have traversed the territory time and again, from these different points of departure in turn, range after range of new detail may be drawn into the same forms. I pass then to preliminary development of the fourth proposition.

We should regard it as settled, fourth, that the undertaking will always be conducted with a view to encouragement, in each individual, of every excellence, and the highest degree of every excellence which can be harmonized with the efficiency of the whole process of human development.¹

It is one of the humorous or tragic paradoxes of history that the most confident and exuberant individualistic nation thus far developed has never seriously undertaken to find out the laws governing the production of individuals! The late President W. R. Harper never uttered a remark which revealed more of the contrast between himself and most other men than when he said, after he knew that he had but a few days to live, "It has always been my ambition to find out the strong points in as many men as possible, and to help them make the most of themselves." Our American civilization has been conspicuous for its assertion of the right of each man to make the most of himself in his own way. As a people, we have never so much as formed the conception that it is a part of the business of Americans to learn how we may combine our resources so as to enable one another to make out the indications of each one's best, and how to realize that best by co-operations of the resources of each and all.

For our immediate purposes particulars drawn from the academic sphere may serve as the most convenient illustrations. If one were covetous of the reputation of defamer of Americans in general and of American scholars in particular, one might rather easily gain the unenviable end by writing up the accessible evidence on the subject of jealousies among American scholars. Even those of us who have spent our adult lives as members of academic faculties are accustomed to idealize such groups as characteristically

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 436.

magnanimous. In so doing, however, we picture them as we think they ought to be, not as they actually have been. It would be unwarranted to assert that American academic men have been less generous toward one another than the average of their fellow-citizens. It is true that the record of American academic men in their relations with one another shows them to have been as a class so much like the average of their fellow-citizens in this particular that they offer good illustrative material displaying the characteristics of Americans in general. As this argument is academic and addressed primarily to academic people, there is peculiar pertinence in illustration from academic sources.

Without having attempted to study the subject systematically, I have casually accumulated a large number of instances, from widely separated institutions, all tending to the conclusion that American academic men as a rule have had very much interest in magnifying themselves but very little interest in stimulating their colleagues. Perhaps my conclusion is an illustration of Mark Antony's half-truth—

The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

At all events, the narrownesses of our academic men have gone into certain records. I suspect that the rule has been typified by a number of colleges of which I have personal knowledge.¹

To state the facts about these institutions with restraint, it was the rule for the professors to employ all sorts of devices, from petty to heroic, to exalt themselves and their own departments. The instances are rare in which they have been known to display praiseworthy intelligence or zeal in emphasizing the importance and in co-operating in the development of one another's departments.

To draw from my own experience: At the age of twenty-seven I was elected professor of history and political economy in a New England college. The establishment of that roomy department was

¹ I must add with emphasis that the institution which I know best has furnished a larger volume of more convincing evidence to the precise contrary of my present contention than any other academic institution within my acquaintance.

at the urgent request of the president and against the united protest of the other members of the faculty. During the first year the faculty so stoutly insisted on their prescriptive rights to the time of the students that I was permitted to teach only four hours per week! If I were tempted to speak bitterly of this treatment, the impulse is more than neutralized by the consideration that this very illiberality turned out to be a blessing in disguise. It gave me time to find myself in a way which amounted to the difference between failure and success. The college had no primary and pitifully little secondary historical material. At that time economic literature fit for the use of college students was scarce, and the selections from it in the library of that college were meager. It was a genuine case of bricks without straw. Thanks to the fact that for seven years I was never allowed to teach more than eight hours per week, I was permitted and forced by the situation to concentrate an amount of time and work upon self-education which laid a basis for my later work that I should otherwise have lacked.

Whether other young men have been the unintended beneficiaries of similar conditions, I do not know. There was abundant evidence that in other New England colleges at the time the usual attitude of professors toward other subjects than their own was essentially similar. In notable cases that are now legendary, men of the highest reputation were in a state of feud with one another which in memorable instances culminated in physical conflict, in place of co-operation in a liberal spirit.

The first notable exception to this rule came with the organization of Johns Hopkins University. President Gilman may never have formulated his policy in just the words of Dr. Harper, but he anticipated him in putting the policy into practice. One of my regrets is that I missed the opportunity to contribute a paragraph to American academic history by neglecting to find out from Dr. Harper to what extent he was conscious of building on Dr. Gilman's foundations. The year 1876 certainly marks the setting of an academic standard which by contrast has served to show up the older type of academic relations; and the Johns Hopkins example has notably tended to socialize professed academic ideals throughout

the United States. President Gilman was never tired of reiterating variations of his formula, "A university is a *company of scholars* each trying to give the most help to every other, and to get the most help from every other, in the pursuit of knowledge." The chief impression of President Gilman's personal influence and of the moral and intellectual atmosphere of Johns Hopkins, which remains to me from the year of my residence there (1888-89), is that it was an intense realization of that ideal. Everyone seemed to be an active factor, not in a vain practice of mutual admiration, but in stimulating reciprocity of intelligent appreciation. Everyone seemed to want everyone else to do the best work in his power, and everyone seemed eager to know how to give every other one's best its proper place in the scale of respect.

Returning to Dr. Harper's exemplification of the same ideal, his conception of the function of a university was that it should be an organization for the selection of men of the highest order of intellectual ability, and for furnishing them with equipment and opportunity to develop and apply their ability under the most favorable conditions. Not equal suffrage for mediocrity, but equal scope for as many different kinds of eminence as there are different divisions of knowledge, was his aim. In so far as our American universities have arrived at articulate consciousness, their profession today corresponds with the vision of these two leaders, rather than with the unsocial academic reality of the earlier period. This ideal does not mean that if a Goethe or a Hegel or a Darwin should appear in an American university, the endowment and equipment of the foundation would or should be turned over to him for the sole exploitation of his interests and genius. It does mean that all academic eyes should be keen for exceptional excellence in any department of intellectual activity, and that there should be a delicate divination of proportions, and a turning of academic resources, so far as consistent with the permanent interests of the whole, toward stimulation and support of talent which gives the most credible promise of unusual results.

Academic men are in a position to make good use of this case as a pointer toward social policy in general. It cannot at present be repeated too often that even those who have given most attention

to study of social relations have not yet found a convincing expression for their conception of the normal correlation between individual and social interests. Our utterances on the subject almost invariably put an emphasis on the one term of the problem or the other to the depreciation of the term not emphasized. That is, we state the standard of life in which we believe, either as a matter of individual rights, or at any rate of *desiderata* for the individual which leave in a hazy and ambiguous state the relations between individuals, both as ends in themselves and as conditions necessary for the individualistic phase of achievement; or at the other extreme we put so much stress on the importance of *social* relations, the type of give and take between the members of society, that we obscure the individual factors, both as ends in themselves and as prerequisites of the most evolved interchange of service of all sorts between all the individuals of a society.

It would be futile to speculate about the ways in which equilibrium and reconciliation between the conflicting tendencies is to be affected. At present it appears that the best which the most socially conscious of us may do is to magnify each of these complementary aspects of reality in turn, with the alternations following each other as closely in time and space as possible. Even if we cannot succeed in framing a satisfactory verbal expression of the correlation between the individual and the social, persistent reiteration of the importance of both, and of the dependence of each upon the other, will in time lead to a better-balanced appreciation of both factors in the actual equation than has thus far been realized.

Without attempting at this point further account of the two poles of the human reality, the individual and the social, the matter now to be emphasized is that there has never been a type of modern sociological theory in which the importance of the individual factor did not bulk large. Even if the formulations of the theory seemed to ignore the individual and to picture social structure and functions as something so far transcending the sphere of individuals as to make them by definition of no account, further prying into the meaning of these formulations would bring to light that after all these paramount social relations had to borrow their meaning, in the minds of their champions, from something which they were

supposed to bring to pass for inevitable individuals. No social theorist has been able to glorify the social side of human conditions exclusively enough to escape the necessity at last of analyzing that glory into terms of elements to be lodged in achievements of individuals. Whatever our differences in theory about the ranking order of the individual and the social factors in our sociological problem, we really do not differ about the plain proposition that social progress is inconceivable which does not somehow register itself in objective or subjective variants of individuals.

In a word, no one can give an account of his own rendering of normal society without putting it in some version of the better securing or the better equipping or the better qualifying of persons. We cannot satisfy ourselves that this world has any meaning at all if the meaning is not located in the process of sublimating persons. To all of us the bettering of persons is an incident, at least, in the workings of sane life. When we fix our attention on this *desideratum*, therefore, we are not surrendering to a sociological or a practical sectarianism, real as the sectarianisms are which rally around individualistic phases of life. We are rather trying to insure open-minded recognition for everything, welcome or unwelcome, which the reality of the individual imposes upon our consideration.

The substance of the main thesis of this section then is that a fully self-conscious society would make encouragement of the maximum development of individuals a cardinal clause in its program. As I have hinted, this would be an immeasurable step in advance of the traditional American theory and practice. Our theory has been that our republican form of government furnishes every man equal opportunity, and that it is the possibility, the right, and the duty of each man, without the help of anybody else, to make the most of himself simply by using the opportunity for all it is worth. We have held that a program of active co-operation in the development of individual excellence would be un-American. Being un-American, we have assumed that it would for that reason be absolutely unreasonable.

In other words our American individualism has been virtually a theory, and so far as we were acting in conscious consistency with

our theory a practice of the principle that every individual should be free to make the most of himself by his own efforts, but that it is no concern of Americans as a whole to promote the development of better types of individuals than isolated initiative can produce.

Without going into particulars, we may note in passing that the presumed "equal opportunity" varies in several ways from the facts in our American life. Taking our property system and our educational system together, it turns out to be far from true that a potential genius has the same prospect of finding himself in one stratum of society as in another. Entirely aside from those facts, however, American civilization has been in principle jealous and intolerant of the very idea of excellence. Along with the assumption of "equal opportunity" we have cultivated a presumption of equal ability, equal quality, equal competence in all spheres, and we have more or less overtly resented the inevitable differentiations in contradiction of that presumption.

In his book, *Democracy and Liberty*, Lecky has supported the thesis that democracy is necessarily a reign of mediocrity, that it must inevitably work to the discouragement of excellence and to standardization of the commonplace. Whether Lecky turns out to be right or not, it is beyond dispute that there is no more unpromising task in sight than that of convincing Americans that the common interest demands systematic stimulation of specialized excellence. The intensity of selfish competition, the spurs of individual ambition, the various prizes to be gained by the fortunate adventurer in many activities, and not least the operations of pure chance, have combined to differentiate Americans in spite of our persistent presumptions of uniformity. These very differentiations, however, often have the effect of confirming our preference for sameness. The differences are so frequently and so obviously not the result of merit nor in correspondence with merit, but they are so notoriously the play of accident or the outcome of schemings that they confirm instead of weakening our national prepossession in favor of sameness and our general belief that all variations from the average type are vicious.

In the present state of the American mind, it would be utopian in the most fantastic sense to propose a general program for the

promotion of specialization. Americans as a rule do not believe in specialization except as each believes in his own kind of specialization. My theory to account for this fact is that in the minds of most Americans all specialization except one's own is pictured as privilege. Accordingly it seems to me that there can be no great change in concerted American attitude on the subject of specialization until we grasp the idea of specialization as social *function*, and until we recognize the economy, whether from the individualistic or from the collectivistic standpoint, of developing functionaries of the highest grade of efficiency for every place in the social process.

The grade of social schooling which is indicated, therefore, as next in order for Americans involves discovery of the ways and degrees in which functional specialization makes for the general good. It is obvious that whether we occupy the individualistic or the social standpoint our practical demands coincide in calling for certain kinds of functional differentiation with efficiency in each activity at the highest attainable degree. Whether we are individualists or collectivists, we do not want to depend on the blacksmith to repair our watch, nor on the barber to perform our surgery, nor on the schoolmaster to conduct our law business. We do not want the doctors to manage our railroads, nor the politicians to select our teachers, nor the advertisers to run our newspapers; unless our calling happens to be one of those required, we believe it is better for us to distrust ourselves and to assume the greater competence of others when it is in order to plan a building, or paint a picture, or perform a chemical analysis, or navigate a ship. There is so much specialization in our society, and we are in such constant dependence upon it, that we may well be puzzled at the mystery of the social psychology which is still so inhospitable to the constructive indications of this interdependence. With allowance for the negligible few sociological theorists who are exceptions, it has not occurred to Americans that Americans as a community have any reasons to concern themselves, still less to bestir themselves about an active community policy of cultivating excellence for every variation of social function which the community can employ. It has never become a controlling part of American thinking; it has not even become prominent in American

thinking, that the community is dwarfing itself by omitting to develop its functionaries. By coining a new expression for it Professor James put into circulation in a few minds the commonplace that most men do not "energize" their equipment to its capacity. No one has succeeded in drawing public attention to a nation-wide generalization of that commonplace. Americans have not stopped to think that we are all living within our capacity, if for no other reasons than because we are not making the most of each potential co-operator in our group-process. Better farmers and foresters and fishermen and foundrymen, co-operating with better functionaries throughout the length and breadth of our society, to the other extremity of politicians and philosophers and poets, would amount to civilization of higher power. Since the later days of the Roman Empire we have known that, when land that might raise corn is merely feeding sheep, things are tending toward economic and social poverty. We have not yet found out that a land capable of stimulating more effective men is not realizing its possible progress. Of course the bulk of our material gains shuts off our view of our relative mental and moral sterility. We mistake "prosperity" for progress. We accept wealth as the equivalent of civilization. Neither Englishmen nor Americans have thought it worth while to find out whether Ruskin had his eye on something real when he wrote "where wealth accumulates and men decay." It is not necessary to assume the burden of proof that Ruskin's phrase tells the story of our American balance sheet. All that is necessary to the present argument is assertion that American intelligence and efficiency in the matter of promoting the human factors in civilization compare unfavorably with our intelligence and efficiency in developing the technique of physical production.

We must stop to pay our respects to the rudiments of American history in order to protect the present analysis against the possible charge that it ignores the foundations of American institutions. It is true, as we have been taught to believe, that no stimulus to the development of human efficiency had ever been offered in a single time and place equal to that involved in the establishment of the American colonies and the foundation of the American Republic. Within conditions like those which prevailed previous to these

events, and even later than the middle of the nineteenth century, no more effective stimuli of personal achievement are conceivable than the types of "freedom" and "opportunity" actually afforded by our early institutions. Nor was this an accident, something not contemplated by the early colonists and the founders of the Republic. On the contrary, these men had an intensity of purpose to conquer the conditions of human realization, as they understood both conditions and realization, with which nothing in the typical American of the present generation is closely comparable. Nothing in this analysis actually or by implication calls in question the indisputable fact that our nationality was begotten and born and nurtured by the purpose to secure conditions in which men might make the most of themselves. Moreover the ideas of what is involved in men making the most of themselves, which were behind and before and within this purpose, were high and worthy. All this is taken for granted. But external circumstances change, and subjective attitudes toward objective circumstances change, and the resultant at a given time is by no means necessarily as fortunate a conjunction of circumstances and attitudes as may have existed at an earlier time. The thesis of this section is virtually an assertion that the present is a case in point. While "freedom" and "opportunity," in the historical American sense, are the most powerful promoters of human progress in conditions like those of our earlier periods, they become relatively diminishing factors as physical space becomes more occupied and social contacts become more intense and complex. Under the latter circumstances, the older type of "freedom" and "opportunity," literally reproduced, would get for a man no more than the career of a tramp and the fortune of a rolling stone. The "freedom" and "opportunity" possible in an evolved civilization are no longer a roving license to follow one's fancy in picking out a vacant section of the earth's surface, and there employing one's unaided powers in drawing upon nature's supplies. In a relatively settled civilization "freedom" and "opportunity" at their best are transformed into facility of functioning in an established system.

Therewith the minor factors that served the purpose of realizing the primitive types of "freedom" and "opportunity" imperceptibly

lose competence. The home, the school, the church, if operating in accordance with traditional types of individuals, put the individual in possession of certain standards of virtue, certain elementary knowledge, and certain habits of co-operation which are beyond price; yet the individuals so endowed, and no further introduced to the specific conditions in which they must find themselves, are as unprepared for the type of life they must enter as girls who have been in a convent until they are eighteen are to venture alone into city conditions. The old freedom of access to unoccupied lands, the old presumed equality before the law, had their share in making the old "freedom" and "opportunity" real and effective in the development of efficient men. The former of these conditions has so far disappeared, and the latter has become in effect so changed, that neither can have the same relative influence in clearing the way for spontaneous assertion of personality which the original conditions exerted. The chief substitutes at present for the older lure of limitless natural opportunity are private stimulation of technical excellence in the employ of private profit-producers. The born Daniel Boone may now live and die unrecognized in the job of division superintendent of a railroad. A possible John Jacob Astor may reach the limits of the powers that have a chance to develop, as a floorwalker in Marshall Field's. An embryo Eli Whitney now enters the employ of a manufacturing company, under condition that every invention which he may devise shall be the property of the corporation, and without assurance that his own income shall be so increased from the revenues of his invention that he may have scope to prove whether he is a potential Edison.

I would not be understood as denying that the factors last referred to are important in stimulating certain kinds of excellence. I would give them all the credit due. Perhaps they should be spoken of as one of the great assets of present society. So be it. Let us use them as object-lessons then in learning how to do more and better than which the motive of private profit has done in part.

A query touching this matter was raised in an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* of May 18, 1914.

A NATION OF UNSKILLED

We are a nation of unskilled. We are sending cotton to France, but we import artistic gowns from Paris. We export copper to Germany, but we import surgical instruments from that country. We sell our raw material cheap and pay high prices for the finished product.

Why are we not turning our cotton and wool into beautiful gowns at home? Why are we not manufacturing our own surgical instruments? Why are American workmen, American manufacturers, and dealers not getting the enormous profits involved in the field of industry which lies between the raw material and the finished high-grade article?

The answer, according to C. A. Prosser, secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, lies in the fact that we have no skilled mechanics in this country. The United States has neglected the education of its workers, Secretary Prosser says. We have the best institutions in the world to train technical leaders. But we give the manual laborer—and there are some seven millions of him—no thought. The American working-man may be the most intelligent in the world, but his intelligence cannot make up for the lack of that skill which comes from training.

We are satisfied in this country, it is pointed out, with a common school education for the great mass of laborers. In Germany every boy who leaves the common school for the factory attends some sort of continuation school in the evening. The boy who works as a machinist goes to a night school which, besides teaching him better citizenship, tries to make a better machinist of him. The boy who works as a clerk in a store or office goes to the sort of school that furthers his knowledge along business lines while taking care of his general education.

The workers of the United States, according to Mr. Prosser, are beginning to realize their educational deficiencies. In the New England states alone half a million dollars is spent by workers annually for correspondence-school instruction. The deficiencies of our mass education are too great, however, to be benefited by the necessarily shallow and inefficient instruction of a correspondence school. The United States will have to take to industrial training in earnest, he says, or stand the consequence and great financial loss which the creating of a totally unskilled and untrained working population involves.

It is in every instance a question of detail whether a relatively self-conscious community might serve itself best by employing its government much or little in securing either of the functions which we are discussing. Our main proposition in each case amounts to this: A thoroughly self-conscious community would devise means, whether governmental, or voluntary, or a combination of both depending upon circumstances, to secure so and so.

Accordingly the present thesis may be expanded in this way: That which every well-managed corporation does in its private interest in the way of developing special talent for each detail of its functions should be done by every national community with reference to every function that is vital to its community interests. That is, each community should consciously assume its responsibility as an organization of persons destined to co-operative achievement of their physical, mental, and moral possibilities. Each community should, therefore, provide, first, the necessary agencies for progressive discovery of the indicated implications of the physical, mental, and moral possibilities of its members; second, means and methods of co-operation through which most efficiently to approach realization of these possibilities.

It is worth while to notice that the proposition so expanded deals with terms that were familiar to the economic philosophy which was becoming dominant early in the nineteenth century and which became classic a little later. That is, the theorem, "He serves the interest of the community best who serves his own interest best," contains, in somewhat less expanded form, all the terms of our proposition. We have merely organized those terms from a standpoint opposite to that from which the earlier proposition was composed. There is only one truth about the factors in question, and both approaches are necessary before we can close in on it with the utmost precision. Both propositions recognize the factors (1) interest of the individual, (2) interest of the community, (3) interdependence of these two types of interest. The weakness of the earlier proposition appeared in the fact that, in application, it came to mean, "He serves the interest of the community best who serves his own interest best, *as he sees his own interest.*" The formula consequently soon became a sanction for the most unsocial forms of economic self-interest. Our formula implies the opposite proposition, "He serves his own interest best who serves the interest of the community best, as the community destiny defines that interest." That is, we have a broader conception than people had at any time in the nineteenth century of what is involved in "the best interests of the individual." We no longer suppose that those best interests may be infallibly

judged for himself by the typical individual. We assume on the contrary that the best interests of the individual usually involve more consideration of the best interests of the community and of one's functional responsibilities to the community than the typical individual is equipped to bring to bear upon the problem. We conclude therefore that, in functioning toward the most and the best that associated human beings can ever bring to pass, the community factor in defining aims and in providing means for reaching those aims must bulk larger than was presumed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophy. This not to retire individual initiative but to reinforce and steer it.

As the community judgment of its own interest has to be formed by persons, it is certainly true that prevalence of our formula might lead to such interpretation of the community interest that an extremely limited conception of the interest of individuals might remain. As I have indicated in another place, the implicit appeal from the prejudice of both these views is to be to the objective process of human experience.¹

In other words, we are in the process of finding out the correlation of social functions in which there will be the closest possible coincidence between the interest of the individual as he sees it and the interest of the community as the community sees it. So far as we can see now, that conjunction of interests will be an incident of a social condition in which the members of the community will habitually think of themselves not as detached adventurers, each working out a salvation of his own, but as persons achieving their personality by functioning in a community process. On the other hand, that conjunction of interests will be a factor of a social condition in which all community programs will be governed by such recognition of the members as persons that their functionings in the community processes will always be tributary, not merely to the accomplishment of the programs of the community as an organization, but at the same time to progressive realization of the personality of the members.

Returning from the digression in the last paragraph, we may indicate the sort of procedure that would correspond with mature

¹"The Evolution of a Social Standard," *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XX (July, 1914), 10.

social self-consciousness by referring to the tentative scheme of a survey of social achievement proposed by the present writer,¹ and still the most available set of categories with which the writer is acquainted for basic survey of community conditions.

For convenience this conspectus was divided into six "grand divisions," i.e.: (1) achievement in promoting health; (2) achievement in producing wealth; (3) achievement in harmonizing human relations; (4) achievement in discovery and spread of knowledge; (5) achievement in the fine arts; (6) achievement in religion.

The schedule, which was intended virtually as the first draft of a questionnaire to be used as a guide in a large social survey, was introduced by the following paragraphs:

The main point is that human welfare is a compound of achievement in each of these divisions and subdivisions of effort, and that no estimate of a social situation is complete that leaves any portion of either division of achievement out of the account.

It is thus assumed that the whole exhibit presents a series of problems of proportion and correlation. No claim is made that the conspectus is itself a sufficient correlation of the topics suggested. They are presented merely as a tentative catalogue, as a preliminary survey, not as a theory of relative values.

The outline was followed by this paragraph (p. 727):

The problem of understanding our social situation may be expressed as the problem of making a better outline than the above of the facts that have a bearing upon individual and social welfare at the present moment. The problems of social technology are presented by the several situations discovered in such survey, and considered as partially realized satisfactions of human interest.

That is, adequately self-conscious social procedure would begin by securing periodically a sufficient inventory of social assets and liabilities. Whether or not the conspectus referred to contains an approximately adequate list and classification of the necessary items is not a material question. *Some* list and classification of the important items is necessary. The more improvement upon the schedule proposed the better. Assuming then that Americans have supplied themselves with a credible exhibit of just where and how they stand in the work of achieving the conditions and the reality of human well-being, the part of the program with which

¹ *General Sociology*, pp. 718-27.

this section is concerned calls for inspection of that exhibit to discover the points where work evidently remains to be done, to discover the sort of talent and equipment necessary to the performance of the work, and then calls for social resolution to enlist and train and equip persons for fitness to perform the work. This formula applies to every major or minor function which is visibly under-supplied or undermanned throughout the six groups in our classification of functions.

A typical case, varied only in detail from the generic form, is presented in the following editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* of the same date as the quotation above.

MISS LATHROP WINS

Certain interests represented in the house of representatives do not like Miss Lathrop and the federal children's bureau, of which she is the efficient head. In committee the appropriation for her work was cut to \$25,000, which meant starvation. Miss Lathrop wants to investigate infant mortality and dangerous occupations of children. The house did not agree with its committee that this important social service should be paralyzed. It added \$139,000 to the sum allowed by the committee "for the investigation of infant mortality and dangerous occupations of children."

Now the Senate appropriations committee has confirmed this appropriation and unless the interests exploiting children are stronger than we think they are in the Senate the work of Miss Lathrop will proceed.

If any expenditure is justified from the point of view of constructive statecraft it is an expenditure which conserves the sources of citizenship. Sound manhood and sound womanhood make a state, and these no state can have unless it protects the soundness of childhood in body and mind. Here in Illinois we know that Miss Lathrop has an exceptionally level head and we are confident that her bureau will be directed with common sense, discernment, and courage. The member of Congress who fights her work has something to explain. The community which permits its representative to try to defeat it needs to take thought and examine its conscience.

That is, here is a function of investigation. Miss Lathrop and her subordinates in the Children's Bureau may or may not be the most talented and the best-trained persons in the United States for the needed work. Whether they are or are not, circumstances have indicated them as the most available persons at the present moment for that particular function. Neither they nor conceivably

more capable persons could perform the function without public payment of the expenses of the work. The needed supplies augment the powers of the workers as functionaries. Their experience in this particular functioning will make them more capable of further functionings in the future. Whether from the standpoint of an ideal of maximum individualizings, or from the standpoint of the ideal of maximum productivity of social assets, this instance of public provision of means for particular efficiency is exemplary. The argument of this section is that similar actions should pass more and more out of the exceptional class and become the systematized program of society.

Passing propositions 5, 6, and 7,¹ which are relatively self-explanatory, we will close this analysis by an expansion of proposition 8, viz.:

We should foresee that from year to year and from decade to decade the enterprise will show an increasing surplus of material and spiritual goods. This accumulation will of course be held as a trust fund by the community, and it will be used as a special endowment to reinforce those operations which, in the general interest, from time to time most require stimulation. Experience will develop a code of equity to govern the administration of this material and spiritual wealth. It will be dedicated to the assistance of all persons and processes that increasing enlightenment discovers to be worthy of exceptional support. It will be jealously guarded against concession in the form of permanent privilege, and it will be held without prejudice at the service of every interest in the community which needs temporary encouragement in developing activities that give assurance of contributing ultimately to the good of the whole.

I have already said substantially that each proposition in this series is largely a variation of every other. If we were engaged principally in showing what logical technique can accomplish, it might perhaps be demonstrated that the whole series of propositions might be reconstructed by starting with either of them and drawing legitimate deductions. That is far from the present purpose. These propositions do not purport to be a logical series in the Aristotelian sense. They are attempted readings from the pragmatic logic of the actual workings and arrests of working in society. Put in dogmatic form, in place of the contingent form in which this whole argument is composed, each proposition would

¹ *Amer. Jour. of Sociol.*, XIX, 436.

read: Americans as a group are immature in social self-consciousness. If we were mature we should face our group problems with the assumptions so and so, and we should consequently aim in that connection thus and thus.

No proposition in the series is a more direct and radical challenge of American preconceptions than the one now to be expanded. Not one of these propositions more distinctly represents the challenge of the individualistic conception by the social conception. Whatever takes place in the next few centuries, it must tend either to credit or to discredit the interpretation of the human lot of which the present thesis is perhaps the most critical expression.

On the one hand this thesis is extravagantly utopian. It is a counsel of perfection. It looks toward such a comprehensiveness of vision, such unity of judgment, such harmony of co-operation, as no large society has ever achieved, and such as it seems extravagant to suppose a democratic society can ever achieve. It contemplates a nation conducting its whole life upon a budget basis. It thinks of the nation taking long looks ahead; inquiring what its developing interests will demand in the next year, decade, generation, century; counting the cost of the different enterprises which these requisitions will involve; deciding upon the order and combination in which these related enterprises should be undertaken or enlarged; and organizing its resources with reference to consistent promotion of the whole program as deliberately as the German or the Russian government accumulates a war chest.

On the other hand, the most obvious reply to this side of the case, if it is urged as an objective, is that every item to be mentioned under this head is already in operation in some form and degree. Not a detail to be rehearsed, and certainly not one that will be magnified, in this section, but may be illustrated in the concrete by some sample which is probably fairly well known as a reality somewhere in the United States. The element that is lacking is group initiative and systematization of these details. Here again the group is in a condition of retarded energizing of its functions, and also in a state of loose co-ordination of its functions. Many of the most valuable of these details are provided for, to the degree in which they are provided for at all, not by group initiative, but

by private initiative. Even the individualist in creed is likely to believe that the best society thinkable would be one in which there would be a system of gentlemen's agreements among individuals, so that everyone who wants to leave the world a little better than he found it would not take the same specific method as everyone else of like mind, because it would be undesirable for the world to have a plethora of one kind of benefit, and a shortage of others. Thus it would be a crude world which had produced a large number of rich men with a hobby for building libraries, and none interested in building hospitals; or many ready to build hospitals but none willing to endow centers of research; or many generous toward charities and none concerned in finding out and removing the causes of poverty. Whether we are individualists or collectivists, therefore, in our abstract social philosophy, we cannot avoid the conclusion that civilization is retarded or advanced according to the efficiency of the team work between the persons concerned. Even the philosophical anarchists—indeed it is not quite fair to them to insert the word even—if we listen with judicial ear to what they say for themselves, do not want a society without team work. They want team work by consent, not by compulsion.

Without stopping for further argument on the merits of individualistic versus collectivistic philosophies, the present discussion is based on the belief that civilized societies will always find it to their own interest to consent to a large amount of compulsion. This compulsion will be increasingly that of persuasion rather than of force. It will accordingly be in practice genuine consent rather than compulsion. The approval of the types of team work adopted into the *mores* will more and more have gone ahead of the specific call for action, and when that call comes the dormant compulsive power will not have to act, but the response in the individual will take the place of external constraint.

Thus every good citizen recognizes his obligation to pay his share toward public expenses. Many a good citizen—perhaps far from enough of them—sometimes feels called to fight against the actual practices in levying and collecting taxes. Given approval of the technique of taxation in force, the good citizen does not wait for the sheriff to summon him, or for the court to pass judgment

upon him. He draws his check for the amount of his assessments. Compulsion is in the background, consent is the actual mode of operation.

It is not necessary, therefore, for anyone who is actually looking for the high spots in the conceivable future of civilization to putter about the question of the relative participation of individuals and of governments in the process of arriving at those high places. That is comparatively a matter of detail, and there is a sense too in which it is a matter of words and words only. If fifty people decide to make a summer excursion to Europe together, if they agree upon the general plan, if they thereupon agree to put details into the hands of one person authorized to use his own judgment about particulars under the general plan, each of the fifty persons will then be subject to the decisions of the one; yet the decisions of the one would be impotent if he were not the repository of the general decisions of the fifty. The fifty know that, on the whole, each of them will get many times more out of the excursion, in everything except bafflement and irritation, by falling in with the composite decision than by consuming a large part of each day in reducing the impulses of the fifty to a workable consensus. Assuming that association with the fifty was in itself desired, the individuals are actually getting more of what each wants by creating an agency of co-ordination and by co-operating with it than either of them could get if each tried to originate a program of his own.

This is the story of civil government, especially of democratic civil government, in a nutshell. If we regard it as a tool and actualize it as a tool, we cannot properly ask the general question whether it is to be used or not. The real question is when and how the tool may be used to the common advantage and when and how the common advantage may be more surely gained by some other means.

This section then does not raise the question of social technique in the form governmental action versus individual action. It deals simply with a section of social need.

For convenience we may return to the "conspectus of social achievement" referred to under proposition 4 (*supra*, p. 326). For reasons of another kind, that same skeleton will serve our purpose

here. A relatively mature society would periodically present to itself a complete prospectus of its purposes. Presumably the schedules which would be adopted from time to time, on the one hand for the conspectus of achievement, on the other hand for the prospectus of purposes, would advantageously react upon one another. From taking account of our achievements we should become more sensitive about things desirable but not achieved; and from peering ahead along lines of desirable operations we should acquire precision in analyzing and evaluating what had already been done.

Every well-conducted private business periodically takes account of stock, but not that alone; it periodically reconsiders its possible scope, its methods, its unexploited territory. If our group consciousness were relatively as mature and as intelligent as the more competent sort of private business consciousness, we should follow that model literally in conducting our group affairs. There are no better reasons why we should take a national census every ten years than why we should adopt a national program every ten years. After we have arrived at the stage of social maturity contemplated in proposition 1, after we have become fully convinced that life is a community affair, it should not be long before the program will bulk larger in importance than the census.

The old catechisms taught that the chief duty of man is to "love God and enjoy him forever." Functional acquaintance with reality teaches that the chief duty of man is to improve all the conditions which affect the possibility of increasing percentages of men becoming better men—better physically, mentally, and morally, better in ability to do more effective team work with one another in the decisive affairs of life. No one trained in modern business methods could get that vision of the meaning of life and retain much respect for our present haphazard habits of allowing the big social interests to take care of themselves. There is relatively less attention to the problem of the sort of people Americans should be in a hundred years than to the ways and means of supporting the prices of our industrial and transportation securities in the money markets of the world. It may not follow that there should be less of the latter. There certainly should be more of the former.

Taking our main classification of achievements as a convenient basis for illustration, it is not utopian to assume that, during an immeasurable future, there will be discoveries to be made in each of the six realms—discoveries first in the way of new knowledge available for the supply of human needs. That probability being given, it is an obvious indication of wisdom that measures should be taken for the most far-sighted prevision possible in the way of anticipating the developing wants of society. There should be differentiation of a system of agencies which following the present business fashion we might call the *Public Efficiency Service*. The business of the persons performing this service would be to do for every division of human need what may be outlined for illustration under the title "health." The first problem of the Public Efficiency Service would be to answer the following questions: (1) What is known about conditions that make for longer life, less physical suffering, greater physical capacity, which has not been fully incorporated into the American *mores*? (2) What measures are necessary in order that Americans may avail themselves to the full of this dormant knowledge?

Within each of the main departments of activity, and between these departments, the Public Efficiency Service would have the further task of investigating and of recommending to the public an order of precedence and a scale of proportions between the many activities which would be involved in making the most of the unutilized possibilities of improvement. For instance, to what extent should "the city beautiful" or "the city efficient" have precedence over the other in remodeling Chicago? And how may the two conceptions have each its due proportion of consideration with a minimum of deterrent effect of either upon the other and a maximum of assistance from each to the other?

When the University of Chicago was founded, the most optimistic imagination did not picture its future in terms that approached what had actually been realized at the end of a decade. After the first estimate that three city blocks, running north and south, would be sufficient for the needs of the new institution had been expanded into acquisition of four blocks, forming, with discontinuance of the intersecting streets, a compact square, an

architect was commissioned to draw a general design for buildings to occupy the four blocks. The design was made, and it now hangs on the wall of one of the public rooms of the University. It has been a factor in the projection and erection of the most symmetrical group of academic buildings in the world. Not all the locations have corresponded precisely with the original sketch. Not all the space has been filled as it appears in the picture. The ideal has still been both a stimulus and a restraint in conforming the building program to a large and expansible conception.

The incident might well be used as an index to wisdom in social construction. Folklore of all times and peoples is rich with precepts urging individuals to live purposefully: "For which of you intending to build a tower," etc.; "Look before you leap"; "A rolling stone gathers no moss"; "Have an object in life"; "Hitch your wagon to a star." Such are sayings that remind us of a great volume of proverbial wisdom about individual conduct. Neither in precept nor in practice does *social* purposefulness bulk very large in the nations of the world, and among civilized nations it is least in evidence in America. We need not repeat reasons for this which we have already discussed. "The Unrealized Possibilities of American Life" might well be the title constantly referred to for correlation of the whole curriculum of American experience.

In the *Century Magazine* for May, 1914, is an article by Goddard entitled "What Is Wrong with the Colleges?" (p. 49). It is a mixture of rollicking satire, acknowledged exaggeration, and serious educational theory. The whole might be taken in very much the proportion in which the pedagogical ingredients are compounded as an allegory of social philosophy. The concluding paragraph might easily be translated into an ideal for our Public Efficiency Service, and for the people who employ it. The paragraph runs:

Encourage among teachers and students, in the classroom and still more out of it, every influence that tends to unify, to socialize, to humanize knowledge. And let it be remembered that one important means to this end is simply the creation of a current of vital ideas. Let everyone *talk*, then, talk ardently and endlessly, each about the subject of his special interest, but all about that larger something in which these special interests inhere, and for which, indefinite as the term is, we have no better name than *life*.

There can be no deliberate, intentional, coherent, continuous progress in a society which lacks the intellectual alertness and interest of which this fancy picture of desirable college life is a miniature. Social life without fore and after thinking of the life by the members of the group is more vegetative than volitional. Everything in this series of propositions might be expressed as a system of corollaries drawn from the major theorem. A normally progressive society will first think its life in the brain of each of its members, and will then conform its group action to this thought. Group taking-of-thought of group life is of course an essential precondition of normal social procedure in the premises covered by each and all of our main propositions. Every sociologist knows, and to refer to it in connection with the foregoing quotation is merely to change the form of our observation that Americans have practically no social consciousness, that relatively few people in the world do any coherent thinking about the larger aspects of life. As a positive, objective, unitary reality, life is not interesting to many people. It is too big, too remote, too impersonal, too intangible, for our powers of attention. We seem to come in contact with it only in spots, and it seems to have interest for us only within confined areas. If we want to spit on the sidewalk or in a street car, we have no interest in finding out what there is in the requirements of public hygiene to limit our liberty. If we want to give Sunday over entirely to physical enjoyment, we resent suggestions that the social value of religious observance is a subject which we are bound to consider. If it is inconvenient for us to be at the polls, whether on the primary or on the final election day, we easily excuse ourselves from serious reflection as to the consequence if all the qualified voters took political duties as lightly as we do.

In short, everything that we are saying in this analysis becomes feasible only in the degree in which individual Americans become socially conscious. At present, it must be confessed, we are talking to and for a mere fraction of Americans who are capable of and interested in becoming propagators of the social impulse.

Returning to a detail in the actual situation already briefly noticed, each of the main departments of social interest, as we have classified them, is represented on the watchtowers, and in a great

deal of constructive action, by public as well as private efforts to steer the course of American life toward intelligent goals. For the very reason that there is so much actual conformity to the demands of the present thesis, our claim is cogent that the conformity should be more determined, more systematic, more general, and more co-operative.

So much for the record to June, 1914. At that time little evidence was in sight that the subject of democracy was likely, in any near future, to attract more than the sluggish and intermittent academic attention which had been its quota during the previous generation. The fact that the world's thought and action now pivot more or less consciously and preferentially upon the idea of democracy may be a mere spasm, or it may indicate a permanent set. However that may be, for the present at least there is no more central interest in the world than the problem, *What* may, can, or must democracy be, and *by what means* may, can, or must democracy be? We do not know precisely how the world is divided numerically between those who are asking the question in the hope of averting the omen, and those whose hopes for democracy are like ancient Semitic longings for the Messiah.

Without attempting to mediate between these two types, we submit a formulation of the problem which may help to simplify our next procedure. Let us assume that the term democracy is the algebraic x for the sort of stabilization of social conditions that would cover and correlate the aggregate demands of all sorts which believers in democracy at this moment know how to make. To approach completeness and coherence of these specifications, we must, negatively, rid our minds of all holdover imaginings that democracy can be a mere structure of society, or structural machinery finding the end of its existence in a perfection of social control. Democracy will not be a form of government only, whether of creed, or of economics, or of politics, or of all combined. It will not be merely a form of government *perfectly discharging certain prescribed functions*. Human psychology foreordains that such a consummation would be repudiated as democracy, or that the term democracy would be repudiated as a name for the supremely

desirable social condition. Positively, *we must project our democracy primarily upon an attitude of mind common to the members of the group; secondarily upon a mode of behavior of the members toward one another, and toward other groups, corresponding to that attitude of mind.*

The attitude of mind which must be taken as the minimum condition of satisfying democracy may be described as *an equally sincere desire on the part of each member of the group for the welfare of each other member, and of the members of other groups, as for his own welfare.* Not an equally intense desire. That would call for nullification of mental and moral dynamics. An equally sincere and candid desire for one another's welfare as for one's own, insuring, upon its becoming enlightened, adjustment by rational accommodation, rather than by aggression, of each one's programs for welfare to the programs of all other well-disposed members of society.

We may not go beyond algebraic variation of our expression for the secondary foundation of democracy. We may re-word it in this way: *Democracy will be a way of living together which men will ultimately work out after they have arrived at universal interest in one another's well-being. This will be a way of living together in which the requirements of conformity for the sake of assuring the team work necessary for the good of the whole, will be balanced by assurance of the kind and degree of liberty which proves to be necessary in the supreme adventure of achieving the personality of each.*

Whether we think well or ill of this formulation as a theory, it is the program by which men, consciously or unconsciously, are converging toward consensus of understanding and of effort in working out their destiny.

THE RECREATIONAL VALUE OF RELIGION

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ANENT COMMUNITY CENTERS

At the outset let me say that I take the words "recreation" and "religion" in their widest sense and perhaps in their truest. "Religion" comes from two Latin words, *re* and *ligo* "to rebind." It is the conscious acknowledgment of the dependence, the intrinsic binding of the creature to the Creator; the acknowledgment of the effect to the cause; the allegiance of the human spirit to its First Cause or, if you will, its Creator God. If the law of causality has any logical force and we and the world are always acting as if it had, it must be admitted that ultimately there must be a First Cause, a Prime Mover, whom I shall call God. Religion is the practical acknowledgment of this truth. It finds its highest expression in the free acknowledgment of man, its lowest in the necessary obedience to the laws of nature in the least of creatures. Hence it has been said with truth that man can rise, "from nature up to nature's God." Or as the poet has beautifully phrased it:

Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind.
Whose soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky way.

The man who pretends to ignore religion, or even the so-called atheist, must admit that there are times, serious moments in the life of every thinking man, when he asks the all mysterious "whence" and the all important "whither." Hence religion, aside from its dogmatic or denominational aspect, has a psychic and a philosophic side which no educator can deny or even obscure. The normal expressions of religion lift man from the groveling earth and the madding crowd; its highest expressions lift him to the heavens and to communion with invisible spirits. Here the

rational man, with his wonderful faculties of memory, will, and understanding, finds his native sphere of action; here he parts company with his lower self and his fellowship with the brute and material creation. Hence religion is a synonym for what is best in man and his aspirations; it crystallizes for him the true, the good, and the beautiful.

But how has this religion, this link between the human and the divine, a recreational value? When we analyze the word "recreation" we find that it means "to re-create," "to make new," "to revitalize," "to rebuild." Recreation in itself can make use of any of a thousand means. If its effect is to rejuvenate the body or revive the mind, it is recreation. As a matter of fact it may have been a brown study or manual labor. Religion's highest recreational function consists in this, that it lifts the mind and heart from the humdrum, the noise, the turmoil, the commonplaces of life, to the calm, consoling strata of another world. These recreate the body as well as the mind because they bring change, variety, and forgetfulness of the pressing present, which are the very substance of recreation. But let us come down to earth.

How can religion be of value to a community center in terms of recreation? For after all the work of a community center must be expressed in terms of recreation. The reading, studying, singing and dancing, club activities, domestic science, and the manual arts must be made attractive; they must recreate if they are to succeed. This is particularly true of a school center which is conducted at night when the attendants are more or less fatigued and have borne the burden and heat of the day. If what is offered is not a recreation it will lose its appeal and is doomed to failure. A community center must be a place of recreation first and last.

In claiming a recreational value for religion, I do not wish to say that recreation is religion's prime function. I would rather say that it is its by-product. The essence of religion, as was said before, is a personal affair between Creator and creature, and this relationship exists primarily through the worship of the Creator and in the service of our fellow-men.

In carrying out the essentials of religion, men from the earliest ages have used human agencies and human things; they have

dignified these creatures in the service of God and, at the same time, exalted themselves with ideals and service that brought with them, as a by-product, the very soul of recreation. When the children of Israel chanted their canticles they were refreshed in body as well as in spirit; when they praised Jehovah they at the same time lifted themselves into the realms of a higher world; they recreated themselves. When Abel and Abraham offered sacrifice to the Almighty they at the same time attuned their spirits to generous impulses, which in the very nature of things affected their generosity to their fellow-men. They recreated themselves and their fellows. When the Jew or the Gentile fulfils his laws of charity toward the poor and the oppressed and the stranger within his gates he may be actuated by hope of a future reward as a denizen of heaven, but he makes himself at the same time a better citizen of earth. His religion emphasizes and promotes his social as well as his individual progress, and with the vision of hope, born of religion, he triumphs over the failures of life, assuages its pains, and turns its sorrows into joy. In a word, religion recreates him.

What is true of the religion of the old dispensation is eminently true of the new, for here we have love instead of law and mercy instead of justice. The heaviest burdens of life are those that press upon the mind and heart; they are psychic and intangible and beyond the succor of creature-comforts. They must be lifted by a psychic and intangible power, and that power is no other than religion. There is worldly wisdom as well as divine inspiration in the invitation of Christ: "Come to me all ye that labor and are heavy burdened and I will refresh you." Here is recreational value raised to the highest power. The experience of the individual and the history of the race proclaim this with a common voice and make proof unnecessary.

Recreational value is not the only by-product of religion. On account of the intrinsic connection of body and soul and the fact that the supernatural life is built upon the natural, the church has for the most part, in its ministrations, fostered every social and economic progress. Thus if we turn the pages of church history we will find that she was the fostering mother of social centers over a thousand years ago.

In Ireland, way back in the fifth century, the people were attracted to settle around the Christian abbeys, and under the influence of such master-characters as St. Bridget and St. Columbkille these abbeys in a short time developed the arts and crafts, the social sense, and the recreational advantages of a modern settlement house.

By the seventh century, the Benedictines, priests, and friars had established schools and monasteries throughout Europe, and these were the forerunners of civilization until they were destroyed by hostile hands. Moreover, these institutions were in the truest sense community centers on a large scale. Besides focusing the religious life of the neighborhood, they were primary school and college; they taught agriculture and handicraft; they were the public libraries and in a limited degree circulated the books of that period; they staged plays and pageants in which the whole community took part, either as actors or musicians or stage people. In a word, they were the centers of religion, culture, and recreation. More than this, the prior-superior often represented the state and the law, and was the judge of their misconduct or the arbiter of their disputes.

The monastery as well as the church was considered the property of all the faithful, and hence the poor, the distressed, and the traveler naturally turned to its doors for relief and turned not in vain. Today we would call such an institution a charity bureau, a legal-aid society, a municipal lodging-house, all in one. It was all this and more, for it was free from the investigations and humiliations necessarily connected with our modern institutions.

No wonder Europe was poor when these ennobling and beneficent institutions were no more! No wonder we have lost the keen social sense and community conscience which they fostered!

The community consciousness received its death blow by the doctrines of individualism, preached in religion by the reformers of the sixteenth century, in politics by Cromwell and his cohorts in the seventeenth century, and by Ricardo and Adam Smith by the laissez faire school of economics in the eighteenth century. With the advent of the industrial revolution and materialistic capital, the worship of the individual reached its zenith, and the social sense was buried. Today with might and main we are trying to

bring the world back to the social consciousness which flourished in the Middle Ages, due primarily to the religious doctrine of the brotherhood of men.

In colonial America we had examples, in a degree, of this social consciousness, where the Pilgrims of Massachusetts or the Cavaliers of Maryland grouped themselves around their houses of worship, making them the centers of the community. With the development of the country the church gradually gave way to the town hall as the center of community life, and with the march of time and the change of circumstances the town hall in turn gave way to the schoolhouse. Today we are reverting to the schoolhouse to teach anew the present generation a needed lesson in community thought, feeling, and action.

But we are more concerned about the ordinary and social recreational attributes which play a part in the program of every community center. I take it that the chief functions of a community center are exercised when we teach and encourage citizenship, learning, art, dramatics, singing, dancing, and the manual arts; and I contend that, in each and every one of these, practical religion has ever stimulated and promoted them in a far higher degree than we are perhaps willing to admit.

To begin with citizenship; it has been truly said of religion that it is the foundation and bulwark of citizenship. Religion not only teaches the responsibilities of man to his Maker but with equal force teaches the responsibilities of man to his neighbor. The second commandment is like unto the first: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

The essence of citizenship consists in conspiring under authority with your fellow-man by common means to a common good. This demands a sacred regard of correlative rights and duties and of these rights and duties religion is the supreme criterion and sanction. A citizen is a unit in an organized group, and organization demands order, law, and sanction, and only religion, which is the acknowledgment of the eternal order of things, can give these three essentials.

The lawgivers of the world, pagan, Jew, and Christian, give common assent of the value of religion to the stability of the state.

Citizenship is impossible without morality and morality is impossible without religion. Washington in his farewell address reminds us that it is impossible to expect that our Republic should live unless it rests on the solid foundations of morality.

Religion, it is true, holds up the Ten Commandments as the basis of the religious life, but there is no better basis for citizenship. Could the Ten Commandments be put into practice universally in our civic life, we would in a fortnight reach the millennium of government and citizenship; in fact, universal brotherhood would be at hand. Custom and patriotic impulse and legislation do much for the observance of a country's laws, but after everything has been said these alone cannot make a man honest, a woman pure, or a child docile, and these three are the best assets of the state, the best materials for citizenship. An honest man, a pure woman, and a docile child are the specific products of religion in proportion as moral conviction is superior to legal ordinances.

Learning is the second item in our community-center program. By learning I mean information and knowledge, and this is conveyed to us for the most part, in the form of literature. We are the heirs of the ages in this respect, and when we survey the literature of the ages, and leave out what has come to us as religion, or what has been preserved by the representatives of religion, we would be poor indeed. I need but remind you of the superlative wisdom and beauty of the Old Testament; of Isaiah, Job, and the wonderful social and religious precepts of Moses. Then there is the New Testament, proclaiming its supreme doctrine in supreme letters. I need but remind you of the eloquent epistles of St. Paul and the sublime parables of the Master, and, above all, of that highest achievement of literature, as well as of thought, the Sermon on the Mount. Then there is all that best thought of Greek and Roman antiquity preserved for us by the monasteries during centuries both light and dark. Add to this the original contributions of the Middle Ages, which were almost exclusively the work of religious men and women. Today historians of every school are agreed that the monasteries of the church were not only the homes of religion, but they were the nurses of schools and scholarship, the libraries and repositories of learning and culture, and from them went forth the

big universities of the world, Oxford and Cambridge, Paris, Padua, Salamanca, and the rest.

It is a far cry from these to a school community center, but that should not prevent us from paying religion the debt we owe her in the fields of learning and literature. These fields, besides being useful and ennobling, also recreate; and again we have the recreational value of religion.

Then there is the field of fine art—fine art in all its phases, painting and sculpture and architecture and bronzes and laces and tapestries. No one denies the part played by religion in all ages as the promoter and patron in all these elevating, recreational factors of life. From the Temple of Solomon in ancient Jerusalem to the Church of St. Peter in modern Rome, from the humblest chapel to the most gorgeous cathedral, the architecture of religion has taught more craft, more devotion, more beauty, more poetry, than all the secular architecture of the world. Even the masterpieces of Greek art centered around the worship of the “unknown God” and found its most exalted expression in gods and goddesses and the porticoes of temples.

Perhaps the supreme contribution of religion to art is found in painting. Put religious paintings aside—take from them only the Madonnas—and our art galleries would lose half their attraction. We need but recall Michelangelo, Da Vinci, Murillo, Raphael, and the galleries of Florence, Dresden, and the Louvre.

What is true of the fine arts is equally true of the manual arts in their humbler way. The best achievements of today in this line are content to imitate because they cannot equal the work of the Middle Ages; and the work of the Middle Ages was for the most part done under the eye of the church, under the *aegis* of religion. Do the handcrafters of today realize their debt to religion for the joy and recreation which they find in their work?

Not the least recreational feature of the community center is dramatics in all its phases, including pageantry. The first play, the first actors, were of a religious nature; more than that, they were in reality acts of religion. They had their origin in the ritual of the Old Law and their dramatic influence has been going on throughout the world ever since and still is felt in the ritual of the

church ceremonies of today. As the Hebrew, so the Greek drama was essentially religious in subject and action. Not only its literary value but its lofty themes have made the Greek classics the unsurpassed, and perhaps the unsurpassable of dramas. The dramatic influence of the church's ritual and pageantry brought forth the miracle and the morality plays which were originally enacted in the church itself, or in the churchyard. Survivals of these are still seen in the well-known passion plays of Europe. From these plays the modern drama likewise took its rise. Perhaps I should say the "best" in modern drama so as not to malign the past.

There are many⁷ other reasons for including singing in the curriculum of the school center, not the least of which is the one that music always recreates; it is recreational in a high degree.

What has religion done to promote music? Is she not the heavenly maid, and is it not natural that religion should express itself in the symphony of sounds? And so, in fact, it has been. The Psalms of David have sounded down the centuries; they are chanted in our choirs today and will be chanted as long as religion and music shall live.

Under the Old Law the music of the Temple filled a very elaborate rôle. Prophets were elated by sacred music, and high priests sang the paeans of victory. In the primitive church St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, tells them to sing "spiritual canticles and to make melody in their hearts to the Lord." The classic hymnology of the church goes back to Ambrose and Hilarius—the fourth century—and since their day music has ever been the handmaid of religious worship everywhere.

The emotions of religion have given rise to the sublimest music from the soul of the composer—Beethoven, Haydn, Palestrina, Mozart, Rossini, Gounod, and a host of others unbidden come to mind. It is not without reason that in the popular mind St. Cecilia is the recognized patroness of music, for the connection between religion and music is universal. Even the simpler strains of song of the community center are better and richer because of the sacred soil from which they sprang. They always recreate, and when

the religious note is added they give anew hope, aspiration, and vision.

It is difficult to overestimate the recreational value of music, for amid the discordant notes of daily life, harmonious sounds give a quiet and a poise of mind that lead to thoughts and intuitions better and deeper than those of formal argument. Did not Browning say:

The rest may reason and welcome,
'Tis we musicians know.

The community center should be grateful to song; it should equally be grateful to religion.

Last but not least of the recreations of the community center is dancing. When kept within normal bounds and propriety it is an ideal recreation. The rhythm of music and of motion make even the present as well as the past fade away. It, too, is a creature comfort ordained by the Creator to be used and not abused, to be, like the rest, stepping-stones to higher things. Hence dancing in itself is good and not, as some may opine, the work of the devil. It teaches beauty of rhythm as perhaps nothing else does, and it is not surprising that from the earliest days it has at times been used in the direct service of religion. In measured stateliness it has become an act of worship, and so it was that the Jews danced before the Ark of the Holy of Holies; so in Spain children dance before the Blessed Sacrament. Thus religion has contributed to what is best in dancing, which is, as we have said, eminently recreational.

The program of a social center, while it does not include religion, must if it is intelligent have respect for it, because back of nearly all its exercises it is religion that supplies the uplifting character. Citizenship, without the dictates of the moral conscience, would be a slavish observance of man-made laws. Learning merely for learning's sake would soon become a mere vanity and lead to unsocial conceit. Art divorced from the spirit would lose its chief charm, for beneath the canvas or the stone the spirit senses hidden springs of delight. Even the manual arts lose much of their roughness when they are wrought with hands steeped in religion. The drama, to be true, must hold the mirror up to

nature, and if it neglects religion, the soul of nature, it soon degenerates into a lifeless and unworthy art. Music and dancing, limited to their naturally sensuous appeal, if not checked by a moral standard, will do more harm than good; here moral restraint, the voice of religion, is imperative.

But what practical deductions are we to draw from this brief study of the recreational value of religion? Since, as we have seen, religion inspires so much of the activities of a community center, it should encourage the workers, conscious of the dignity as well as the utility of their work. However, we must all admit that the lessons of the school center would for the most part be better taught in the home and the normal school, and hence in its last analysis a community center is only a second-best thing, but nevertheless a valuable substitute for home and school, in many neighborhoods made necessary by social and economic conditions.

Since religion is primarily not a recreational function, it is obvious that it has no formal place in a public community center, and this is good practice as well as good theory, on account of the varied confessions of faith of those who attend the center. In fact, if doctrinal religion or any of its practices were introduced, they would readily lead to discussion and disunion, and to the prejudice of the proper work of the school center. However, this should not lead to a hostile attitude on the part of the community-center workers toward religion, which has done so much for the historic background of the modern community center. It seems to me that the obvious attitude should be one of encouragement for religion and the spirit of religion. Wherever the religious feeling or character manifests itself it should always be sustained, and on it should be built the superstructure of life.

In a public community center religion should not be made the subject of strife or the object of derision. A man's religion, if he is sincere, is a sacred thing; it is the jewel of his life and no one should try to rob him of it. Above all there should be no proselytizing. If it must be done, the community center is not the place; there it will breed discord and discontent, if not destruction. Religious controversy at its best is difficult. It requires a peculiar

setting and trained exponents which a community center cannot give. Like many other profound problems of life and death, religion should be respected for all the good that it has done. Its discussion and criticism should be left for other minds and other times. The social center and its workers should be content to recognize with gratitude the recreational value of religion and with truth say in the words of Wisdom: "All⁷ good things have come to me together with her."

A PROGRAM TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE SHORTAGE OF RURAL TEACHERS

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THE PRESENT EMERGENCY

Our rural schools are confronted with an emergency that may bring even greater disaster to them in the immediate future than they have suffered in the past. The war has proved itself a catalytic agency in breaking down the supply of rural teachers. Many teachers either directly or indirectly entered war service. Various activities closely associated with the prosecution of the war attracted others. Clerkships have proved more remunerative. New lines of service teeming with possibilities and promising less monotony than the humdrum life of a country teacher have appealed to the more ambitious. The country schools have sustained an indirect loss of their teaching force as well, for no doubt the towns and cities have drawn the best teachers from the rural schools to supply their depleted teaching forces. In all these cases the rural schools have lost the more experienced, the better trained, and the more ambitious teachers in them.

That the war is over does not assure the return of these teachers to the country schools. Many of them will retain their newly acquired positions. Others will find new opportunities open to them. Just what the actual shortage of teachers is is impossible to determine accurately. There are no reliable figures to be obtained. The United States Bureau of Education has placed estimates well up in the thousands. Even were the number of rural schools without teachers available, the actual shortage would not be indicated, for in many cases untrained and unprepared persons have been put into the vacant positions. Many of these are, no doubt, capable of rendering efficient service if permitted additional training.

Before the war rural schools were not provided dependable sources from which teachers might be drawn. Prospective teachers have been told about the disadvantages, not the possibilities, of country life. The normal schools have been taxed to the utmost in supplying elementary teachers for city schools. Few have dared to put courses for rural teachers on a par with those offered teachers of town and city schools. In most instances where such bold steps have been taken carefully paved avenues with glaring guideposts lead frightened members of the rural pilgrimage back to the smoother highway of safety with least possible loss of time and energy when they have stumbled over the slightest obstacles in the rugged pathway of pioneers. Others without a blush of shame offer inferior courses to inferior students who are sent into the country schools. Others are content with offering a few courses to such rural teachers as may be induced to attend a short summer session. The greater number still contend there is no need for specialized courses and give the most desultory attention to, or benignly ignore, any conscious responsibility in the training of rural teachers. In recent years the teacher-training departments in the high schools and the county training schools have supplied the larger number of country teachers having professional training. The total output from all these agencies has not met the demand. Every study and investigation of rural schools has pointed out the striking lack of preparation on the part of rural teachers. A study completed recently by Dr. H. W. Foght of the Bureau of Education shows that in the period immediately preceding the war one out of three had had no professional training whatever. Attendance at a summer session or the completion of short courses in reputable institutions were rated as constituting professional training. Less than half have completed a four-year course in a standardized high school. Almost 5 per cent had less than eight years of training in an elementary school. On the average, according to his findings, the rural teacher teaches for about forty-five months, or 6.5 school years of seven months each, which is the prevailing standard of our rural schools. As is pointed out in the study, the majority teach a much shorter time, for the average was materially raised by a comparatively small number

reporting from fifteen to thirty-seven years of experience. Approximately 350,000 teachers are needed to supply our rural schools. Under pre-war conditions 50,000 new recruits each year is a conservative estimate.

The demand last September was much more urgent. The effects of the war demand a mobilization of rural educational forces in the period of construction which is upon us. Those engaged in the field are challenged to renewed, redirected, and highly concentrated efforts. Just before the war we had begun to turn our attention upon the rural schools. Our country-life program, if we may lay claim to such, was largely that of propaganda. Pupils not absent for twenty days were given colored certificates of attendance. Brass plates above the doors of certain schools labeled them as standardized. School sites were enlarged and made more sanitary. School buildings were remodeled and in many cases new ones erected. Local district, township, county, and even a state-wide interest was awakened in rural-school problems. More comfortable living conditions have been provided for teachers. Many have been invited to participate in community affairs as permanent citizens. Long walks to and from schools on cold winter days have been eliminated. New equipment has been purchased. Hot lunches have been prepared. Old stoves have been jacketed and furnaces put in. Artificial lighting systems have been installed. Bubbling water fountains have replaced the public but unsanitary old water pail. Surveys have been made and much talked about. Successful health campaigns have been waged and school nurses introduced. The salaries of teachers have been increased. The social life of communities has been fired with a new zeal. Consolidation has been advocated and in many cases put into effect. The advantage of the larger and more effective county unit of organization has been championed. Rural conferences have been held at which workers fresh from the field have described most remarkable projects. Agitators overintoxicated with the spirit of rural reformation have in most glowing terms pictured a new day. Conscientious, hard-working rural teachers have left these "feasts of inspiration" in a bewildered state of mind. They have been depressed that others should do so much as compared with

their own humble efforts. They have been imbued with the idea that each of the successes reported was a part of a nation-wide scheme rather than the sporadic attempt of many individual schools. Much of this constructive work was considered by its instigators in the light of temporary expedients rather than permanent policies. Suddenly these, and many other movements which might be enumerated, were arrested by the demands of the terrific struggle from which we are just emerging. Inadequate as our rural program has been, it was almost completely demoralized by the war. Teachers were left without encouragement to continue their work. Schools were forced to close because of the scarcity of teachers. Many incompetent persons were put in other schools. Institutions turned their attention to other lines and left the rural schools to shift for themselves.

As the din of battle is hushed, the pitiful murmuring of our weakened and depreciated rural teaching force is heard. The rural movements in which we were interested before the war have been unceremoniously swept away from the center of the stage. The most constructive ones occupy only subordinate positions. All spot-lights are focused on our enfeebled and depleted force of rural teachers huddled together in the center of the stage. Relative values are being determined. Our experiences before the war convince us that much activity may radiate from a school system in which there are a few well-trained teachers. The confusion resulting from the demoralization of our rural forces during the war is even more convincing that we dare not depend on a *laissez faire* policy. The immediate emergency facing us at the close of the war demands a rural teaching force trained to cope with the problems involved in the organization, management, and operation of a one-room country school and leaves us firmly convinced that such a teaching force is indispensable.

THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PRESENT EMERGENCY

This is an inopportune time to be confronted with this shortage of teachers. The mass of information collected concerning our soldiers confirms our former suspicions that our rural educational program has not been accomplishing all that might be desired.

Quoting from one of the investigators on the psychological staff in one of the larger training camps,

Educationally speaking I think this war is a wonderful thing. The mental lethargy of the whole world is being overcome. Back in the farthest recesses where man lives new ideas are going. Men are having to come out and the interest of home folks goes with them, and they begin to feel the need of the ability to write and to read, so as to keep in touch with things.

I have talked with many boys—I do individual examining entirely—and I have found scores of them who come from families, none of whom can read or write. They have never been away from home in their lives. They never rode on a train before coming to camp, and in many cases they never saw a train either.

Here is a sample case which is fairly typical: John ———, the thirteenth child in a family of twenty-two children, none of whom can read or write, has done nothing but farm work. Says that Uncle Sam is president. Knows that he lives in ——— (state) but does not know where he is now. (He was in a training camp in an adjoining state.) He can name the days in the week but not the months in the year. Doesn't know the present day, month, nor year. Cannot make change and cannot count. Is married and has three children. ——— children have fits—epilepsy—mother having same kind of spells.

Other investigators verify these conditions. There are millions of native-born adult citizens in this country who can neither read nor write. Many of our foreign-born citizens are unable to read or write in our language. Unless our rural schools are supplied with trained teachers, ten years hence we shall have a larger number of illiterates than we now have. It seems a travesty that while we have a bill in Congress designed to repair the wrongs of the past by wiping out adult illiteracy we should permit so many rural schools to be without teachers and so many more with unprepared teachers.

The war has had a depressive effect on teacher-training institutions. Many young persons who under normal conditions would have entered these institutions have been attracted to other lines of preparation. This applies especially to those in the rural field, for many of the newer fields are rated as higher types of civic and social services than "merely teaching a country school." Many normal schools have been compelled to retrench in their expenditures. Budgets, meager in times of peace, have proved inadequate to meet the increased demands of the war. Rural departments

have been the first to be hampered by war economy. Increased responsibilities find them with shrinking budgets. Some have been discontinued. Others have reduced the number of instructors. High-salaried specialists have been replaced by those not so well prepared but willing to accept a lower salary. Other institutions have postponed the organization of departments until more prosperous times. Since we have not had dependable sources from which trained rural teachers might be obtained, our problem is intensified by being one of construction rather than of reconstruction.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MEETING THE EMERGENCY

The most hasty survey of the facts involved lead to the conclusion that some immediate means must be taken to meet the critical situation. Just where the obligations for supplying the teachers and through what agency or agencies such training can be best given are more perplexing problems. In the past we have shunted all educational responsibilities which might be so shifted on local communities. We have consoled ourselves by a more or less fatuous faith in local initiative. Not until we were compelled to act as a national unit did we realize that local initiative might be just as irrevocably set against educational progress as in its cordial support. The data gathered about our soldiers indicate that certain communities have not provided their children with elementary schools offering training in such common essentials as reading and writing. Large areas, including whole counties, states, and even wider areas, appear almost destitute of the most commonplace educational advantages.

When we first began to train elementary teachers for city schools, the matter was left to such cities as were willing to bear the expense. City normal schools were once earmarks of school systems keenly awake to educational progress. Such is not the case now, for city normal schools have been superseded by state institutions. Only a few of the larger cities can afford such a luxury. The teacher-training departments in the high schools and the county training schools are the only remaining teacher-training agencies organized on the theory that the local community should train its own teachers. They have gone a long way toward

working out a technique for the training of rural teachers. No doubt the instructors in the more efficient institutions of each state supporting them possess a keener professional insight toward and are more highly skilled in meeting the problems of the rural schools than any other equally large group in the respective states. In spite of their efficiency it is unlikely that such a large number of institutions organized in separate local school systems, many of which have adopted "educational retrenchment" as their watchword during the period of the war, is able to meet the present emergency.

State normal schools have assumed the responsibility of training elementary teachers for the city schools. As has been stated, few have accepted the task of training teachers for rural schools. In the period preceding the war it is doubtful whether any normal school in the country was able to supply its territory with an adequate number of trained rural teachers. Few have a sufficient number of members on their faculties with the training and rural contacts necessary to offer the specialized training. None are prepared to train their full quota of rural teachers to meet the emergency with their present teaching staffs. This means an added expense that their meager budgets will not meet. In many respects they are prepared to meet the situation. The training demanded has much in common with that offered other elementary teachers. They have the plants, equipment, library facilities, opportunities for observation of good teaching, and facilities for participation; and much of the practice teaching may be supplied by expanding the present facilities. Practically all are accessible to a sufficient number of rural schools to provide actual rural-school practice. During the period of the war technical schools and colleges were used in training war workers. Schools of chemistry were mobilized for similar purposes. Colleges were freely opened to the Students Army Training Corps. The normal schools may be used just as effectively in meeting the present emergency caused by the shortage of rural teachers.

In the past the federal government has not concerned itself with elementary education. Many phases in the present situation

demand federal action. The shortage is the result of a call for national, not local, services. The need is generally distributed throughout the country. Teachers must be trained on a large scale. The urgency calls for immediate action. Climatic conditions and the kind of crops produced call for a mobile teaching force. For example, in the southern states attendance of the older children during May, June, and July is all but impossible, while in North Dakota and other northern states these are much more favorable months for school attendance than the severely cold winter ones. The expenses of organization, administration, and supervision are much less when organized on a national basis than if the states were to take up the matter individually. There is opportunity for standardization. State normal schools train elementary teachers for the city schools; state universities through their colleges of education supply trained teachers for the high schools; state agricultural colleges subsidized by federal aid under the Smith-Hughes Act prepare teachers of the vocational subjects; the War Department has provided for the training of convalescent soldiers in hospitals and of soldiers during the period of demobilization; the Smith-Sears Act makes provision for the re-education of soldiers incapacitated for service in their former vocations; pending legislation plans to wipe out illiteracy among the adults; through the Ordnance Department children congregated on munition reservations were promised the best type of elementary education at the expense of the federal government; but the children in many of our rural schools are either without teachers or have untrained ones, and no means has been taken for supplying them with adequately prepared teachers. It is quite evident that the national government is under obligations to assume leadership and bear much of the expense incurred in supplying these schools with teachers of the best training present conditions will permit.

PROGRAM FOR MEETING THE EMERGENCY

The success of any plan inaugurated depends to a very large degree on the proper co-ordination and utilization of the resources belonging to teacher-training departments and county training

schools, to normal schools, and to the federal government. The shortage of teachers calls on each of these agencies to render valuable assistance. The technique for the training must be sought in the experiences of the teacher-training departments and county training schools. The services of their most efficient instructors will be demanded. Immediate action to meet a temporary shortage is urgent. Neither the state nor the federal government can afford to waste time and money by investing in sites and buildings. These should be freely shared by the normal schools and other teacher-training agencies with the federal government. Dormitory accommodations and meals should be provided on the same basis as for the training of war workers. The federal government should provide the leadership needed in organization, operation, and supervision of the training.

The plan here presented provides for three months of intensive training. Prospective teachers should be pledged to a term of service which will tide us through the present shortage of teachers. The candidates should possess physical fitness and at least have completed a four-year course in an accredited high school or its equivalent. No person should be received whose general average for the two years of school attendance preceding induction falls below C. They should be required to put in five and a half days per week during the course of training. The training should be offered at such institutions as the government may designate. If at any time after a candidate has completed the course of training it is deemed advisable for her to continue the training, she shall proceed to do so. During the period spent in training the federal government should provide transportation, food, and living quarters, and pay each the salary drawn by a private in the United States Army.

Approximately one half of the time spent in training should be given to professional courses and the other half to schoolroom practice. The standards of admission should insure adequate preparation in subject-matter. In all courses the work should be closely associated with actual school practice. The term of training is short, hence the prospective teachers should be kept submerged in schoolroom activities.

THE COURSE OF STUDY
PROFESSIONAL COURSES

	Weeks	Periods
1 <i>a</i> Principles of teaching.....	10	50
2 <i>a</i> Rural-school management	10	50
3 <i>a</i> Teaching reading.....	6	30
Teaching language.....	2	10
Teaching music and drawing.....	2	10
1 <i>b</i> Teaching geography.....	6	6
2 <i>b</i> Teaching history and civics.....	6	6
3 <i>b</i> Teaching hygiene and sanitation.....	6	6
4 <i>b</i> Teaching nature-study.....	6	6
5 <i>b</i> Teaching gardening.....	6	6
6 <i>b</i> Teaching arithmetic.....	3	3
7 <i>b</i> Teaching penmanship.....	3	3

SCHOOLROOM PRACTICE

	Weeks	Half-Days
1 <i>c</i> Observation of, demonstration of, and participation in, teaching.....	2	10
2 <i>c</i> Group teaching.....	3	15
3 <i>c</i> Room teaching.....	2	10
4 <i>c</i> Teaching in primary and intermediate grades....	3	15
5 <i>c</i> Teaching in rural schools.....	2	20

The professional courses—1*a*, 2*a*, and 3*a*—make up the program for one half-day five days of the week. Each should be carefully worked out under the personal direction of the national supervisor by experts in methods of teaching and management of rural schools. A syllabus of each course should be at the disposal of those offering the courses. The work in 3*a* should include the presentation of principles and concrete demonstrations of how to put them into actual practice. At least half of the time should be spent in observing and appreciating the work of skilled teachers.

Schoolroom practice completes the work of the five days. Full half-day sessions should be devoted to this activity. Instead of making these periods opportunities to recuperate from the more severe strain of the classroom work, they should be the most searching and exacting tests of the prospective teachers' mettle. Definite and fixed responsibilities should be assigned. A carefully prepared syllabus should be in the possession of each practice supervisor.

The five types of schoolroom practice follow closely the scheme that has proved so successful in the teacher-training departments. All the resources of each emergency training school should be concentrated on the rural practice provided during the last two weeks of each term.

Courses *1b*, *2b*, *3b*, *4b*, *5b*, *6b*, and *7b* are planned for Saturday forenoons. At least half of the periods on this half-day should be double ones. A portion of the time should be given over to a demonstration of principles as applied in the classrooms. The courses should be offered by the teachers of the special subjects in the normal schools. If they are skilled in teaching pupils of elementary schools, they may very well be relied on to give actual demonstrations of expert teaching. If they are not so skilled, the assistance of capable teachers in the practice schools should be secured. The practice supervisors of emergency training should be present and free to offer suggestions adapting the material to the specific problems of the rural schools. If the normal school employs an instructor in agriculture, he should be given charge of the courses in nature-study and agriculture. In each course there should be a carefully prepared syllabus worked out under the direction of the national supervisor.

In order to carry out this emergency training in a normal school with practice-teaching facilities at its command, a special staff of five members would be required. Such a force could train from sixty to ninety teachers each term. It is possible to have four terms during the year, giving an annual product of from two hundred and forty to three hundred and sixty teachers. A supervisor of emergency training prepared to offer courses *1a* and *2a* should have general charge of the work in each normal school. Courses *3a*, *1b*, *2b*, *3b*, *4b*, *5b*, *6b*, and *7b* should be offered by regular members of the normal-school faculties. The schoolroom practice should be placed in charge of three special emergency training practice supervisors. Three important factors should be considered in selecting these supervisors: actual rural school experience, former success in training rural teachers, and skill in grasping and imparting the principles underlying good teaching. They have a far more responsible service to perform than merely giving criti-

cisms. Their ability to give instruction in the organization and presentation of subject-matter will often be just as severely tested as that of those offering instruction in special subjects, such as geography, history, etc. Principles and actual classroom applications should never be dissociated in the course of the training. There should be a follow-up supervisor whose duty would be to look after the welfare of both teacher and public after she has entered her school. This person should place teachers, arrange for their living quarters, assist teachers in improving their instruction, check them up, and investigate and adjust all matters of complaint.

If the enrolment in an emergency training school should approximate sixty, the students should be divided into two sections; if it should reach ninety, three sections would be necessary. During the morning one section would be taking the professional courses while the other was engaged in the schoolroom practice. In the afternoon the order would be reversed. If the enrolment were but sixty, each supervisor would have twenty students under her; if there were ninety students, each would have thirty. This would not be an excessive load as compared with what some of the instructors in the teacher-training departments are now carrying. During the last two weeks of each term when the rural school practice is being given each of the five instructors would have supervision of from twelve to eighteen students.

The federal government should assume control of the overhead organization. The general control might very well be placed under the direction of a committee of experts. This committee would delegate the responsibility of executing its policies to a federal supervisor of emergency training. The duties of this person would be both administrative and supervisory. Assistants would be needed to give adequate attention to the many departments. In performing the administrative duties the national supervisor would act directly with the administration of the normal school and indirectly through the assistant supervisors and the local supervisors of emergency training. The supervisory duties would be rendered through the assistant supervisors to the local supervisors, to the practice supervisors, to the instructors in the normal schools offering the professional courses, and to the follow-up supervisors.

Those advocating federal aid to educational enterprises have been confronted by at least one valid objection. The danger is always lurking that local school systems will be relieved of duties in which they should be interested and for which they should make sacrifices. In this case certain districts might greet the measure as an opportunity to employ a good teacher at a meager salary. To overcome this objection, no teacher should be permitted to complete the course of training and enter a school on a salary less than that received by the lowest-paid teacher in the group, including the one-fourth of the rural teachers drawing the highest salaries in the county.

It is not contended that the course of training here outlined is sufficient to produce the type of teacher which is demanded for the rural schools. This is another problem which needs most careful consideration. The program here proposed will produce a teacher very much more efficient than many who have entered the rural schools during the war. It will afford an opportunity for those who are unprepared but have the promise of becoming good teachers to secure the training without additional expense on their part. If pursued extensively and long enough, it will make it possible for every rural school to have a teacher with some professional training. The scheme will help to repair the educational waste that many rural districts have suffered during the period of the war. Moreover, it recognizes the problem of training rural teachers as a state and national, not a local, one. It offers an inducement to young women to enter the profession, as the training will not cost them any financial outlay. If the federal government can afford to pay disabled soldiers sixty-five dollars per month while taking vocational training, it will surely receive far richer dividends by providing trained teachers for its rural schools.

INDIVIDUATION

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Sometimes a people enjoying large individual freedom has been forced into compact groups by the conditions of living. The individual becomes solidary with some group—the family, the kindred, the village community, the guild, the church—so that in many matters he ceases to be a free moral agent. But if the conditions of life take such a turn that the backing of his group is no longer a vital matter to him, the groups presently dissolve and the individual reappears. The processes which pulverize social lumps and release the action of their members may be termed *individuation*.

THE TEUTONIC KINDRED

When our Teutonic ancestors emerge into history something more than a millenium and a half ago each man is the center of a united group of kindred who act on his behalf partly because they have his welfare at heart, but mainly because public opinion, the law, and their own views of life make them guilty with him if he commits a wrong, and almost equally liable to penalty; or, if he is slain, throw upon the whole group the responsibility for vengeance or satisfaction. Every relative of a slayer up to his second or third cousins contributes, according to his degree of kinship, to the *wergeld*, which alone can avert the blood feud. On the same principle the *wergeld* received is apportioned among the kinsmen of the man slain. In case of pauperism the whole kindred is liable, the degree of relationship determining the contribution of each kinsman. The kindred has the right formally to repudiate an offending member, while in some societies a man can solemnly break the ties of kin by breaking his staff in a ceremonial act.

Now in South Germany the last traces of such kindred solidarity disappear in the thirteenth century. Sweden gives evidence of it as late as the fourteenth century. In Holland and Belgium the

kindreds remain active into the sixteenth century. In Denmark they give signs of life as late as the seventeenth century, while in Holstein and Schleswig certain of their functions continued to be exercised on into the nineteenth century. On the other hand, in Norway the disintegration of the kindred seems to have taken place between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Anglo-Saxon England shows little of such solidarity when it first comes in view in the seventh and eighth centuries, while in Iceland and Normandy there are no signs of it. It is believed that armed migration by sea was deadly to kin solidarity because those who wandered from Denmark and Southern Scandinavia to England, Norway, Iceland, Normandy, and Russia were not entire kindreds but the supernumerary heirs of different kindreds, who went on Viking raids to seek their fortune because there was no land for them in the home estate. Land migrations, on the other hand, involved whole kindreds, so that this grouping survived even the vast journeyings which carried the Visigoths into Spain.

However, Christianity and Roman law, with their notions of the responsibility of the individual for his crime, worked adversely on the kindreds, while the executive power of the state looked upon them with a jealous eye and sought to break them up. It is curious, however, that in some parts of our South, particularly among the Appalachian mountaineers, the long-forgotten kindred grouping was revived. The lack of law and order in the mountains caused the kindreds to take it upon themselves to avenge the slain man, and burdened them with a heritage of feuds which ended only when the courts proved strong enough to execute justice. In other parts of the South the kindred constituted a mutual-aid association. Blood relatives, whether congenial or not, were cherished in the hope that if the breadwinner met with misfortune perhaps Cousin Jim and Uncle Ben and mother's folks would see that Molly and the babies did not come to want. So it was the custom to make much of the ties of blood, to exchange visits with kinsfolk, and to go out of one's way to favor one's kin in business and politics. It was a way of insuring one's family against the hazards of life. Northerners were astonished to see how, after the Civil War, very

distant kinsmen came forward to assume the support of the widows and orphans of the Confederacy.

Now this mutual-aid association is being undermined partly by the development of charitable agencies, private and public, but chiefly by the extension of insurance, particularly life insurance. There is now scarcely an economic hazard to which a man or his family is exposed which may not be provided against. For an annual payment a company furnishes the protection for which one used to rely on one's kinsfolk. The result is that the claims of kindred are not so generally acknowledged. Why keep up intimacy with all the relatives when some of them are such dreadful bores? So friendship, or *preferential* association, gains on kinship, and the sphere of personal choice is enlarged.

THE CHINESE CLAN

Among the Chinese the agnatic rural clan has great vitality. Clan ties are so strong that if a poor man cannot feed all his children he can get fellow-clansmen to adopt some of them. If times are dull in the city, there is no visible accumulation of unemployed, because the superfluous laborers scatter to their ancestral villages, there to live and work till better times come. The city merchant registers his boys in the ancestral temple of his clan, contributes to its upkeep, attends the yearly clan festival, and lets his children be reared in the ancestral village in order that they may cherish the old tie to the soil. Thus, unless some calamity uproots the stock, the city family, even after the lapse of generations, retains a connection with the rural kindred.

Clan ties mean so much that there are few duties more sacred than that of helping their kinsmen, even at other people's expense. The official feels that it is *right* for him to provide berths for his relatives, whether or not they are competent. Hence a pestilent nepotism not only clogs the government departments with useless place-holders, but fills the offices of colleges, railways, and industrial plants with sinecurists.

Chinese students are formidable in mass action, such as strikes and walkouts, because their protest, however perverse, is always

unanimous. The sensible lad may perceive how silly it is, but he never dreams of standing out against it because all his life he has been trained to *get in line*. And he has been trained to get in line by contact with a struggle for existence so severe that he realizes that his group—family, clan, or guild—is indispensable to him. It alone will throw him a life line if his foot slips and he falls into the whirlpool.

The Chinese would enjoy individual freedom and independence as keenly as we do, but it is a luxury which they cannot yet afford. When in a century or so they have gained a much better economic position and are served by an honest and efficient government, the Chinese clan will disintegrate of itself because no longer needed as a mutual-defense or mutual-aid association.

THE FAMILY

The process which has dissolved the Teutonic kindred into families has gone on to dissolve the family into individuals. The early Roman father exercised over his children the *patria potestas*. He could work them as he chose and neglect their education as he would. He had the power of life and death over them, and they had no property rights he was bound to respect. This patriarchal authority was based, not only on the religion of ancestor worship, but as well on a fanciful idea of physiological inheritance. It was long supposed that children inherited their qualities only from their father, the mother's body being but a seed plot which nourished the paternal germ. We now know that the mother's contribution is not less than the father's, and that the proverb "Like father, like son" errs in ignoring inheritance from the mother. Furthermore, the meeting in the child of two distinct lines of heredity makes it certain that he cannot be a replica of either parent. He has, indeed, much closer kinship to his full brother or sister than to his parent.

Science thus vindicates the uniqueness of the child and shows it to be absurd and unjust that the son should inherit the father's honor or infamy. Why should this being, so distinct, starve because his parents neglect him, slave because a drunken father would exploit him, famish for knowledge because his parents care

nothing for it, be punished for his father's misdeeds, or lie under a stigma because his father did not marry his mother? Wherefore should his father's calling, religion, allegiance, or citizenship descend automatically to him? This conception that children do not "belong to" their parents underlies the laws passed by most American states which make it a crime for the parent to desert, wilfully neglect, or contribute to the delinquency of, the child.

In many societies mating has been taken out of the hands of the young people and arranged entirely by the parents. The Chinese, for example, have eliminated wooing, love-making, and romance from life. Not until the wedding does either of the young people know the other's name or look upon the other's face. While those who have never dreamed of the sweet intoxication of romantic love will without protest let themselves be thus paired off, it is certain that under these circumstances conjugal adjustment entails a greater strain than with us. In China the self-sacrifice which preserves the harmony of the home is borne chiefly by the wife. And while suicides are three or four times as frequent among our men as among our women, in the only Chinese population for which we have statistics (Wei-hai-wei) the suicides are from five to ten times as numerous among females as among males. Mismatching is not responsible for *all* this excess, but certainly for *some* of it.

The arranged marriage seems never to have gained a footing among the Celts and the Teutons, but under the name of *mariage de convenance* it played a great rôle in Latin Europe. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, it has nearly disappeared in favor of the marriage of inclination.

The individualistic movement of thought in the eighteenth century not only inspired ideas as to the rights of children and caused family discipline to be more gentle, but it also called in question the testamentary power of the head of the family. It prompted the state to limit a man's right to will his property away from his children or to leave it all to one child. The growing freedom in the use of the inheritance tax betrays a new attitude toward the family. The state deems it not good for young people to be endowed for life by way of inheritance and resorts to a

progressive taxation which will end by obliging the children of the wealthy to take life standing up instead of lying down.

Industrialism is another force hostile to the unity of the family. On the farm the members of the family are busy with the same tasks, so that in some degree they are knit together by their work. The members of the typical city family, on the other hand, scatter after breakfast to their divers "jobs." Father is an iron-molder, Jim drives a dray, Sarah teaches school, Jessie is cash girl in a department store, while Harry is office boy to a doctor. They are borne asunder by different tasks, interests, contacts, and circles of friends. So far as this family holds the loyalty of its members, it does so in spite of their diversity of work.

Just as the breakdown of the false theory of heredity sets the child free, so the discrediting of the false theory of male superiority releases the wife. In early Rome the wife was in her husband's hand (*manus*). In the eye of the law she was not a "person" and could not control property. Her husband had the legal right to chastise her, to judge her if she were accused of a serious offense, and to kill her if guilty of adultery.

Even in the English colonies in America the married woman was controlled in both person and property by her husband. Her property—save that "settled" upon her—became his absolute property. Even her clothing and ornaments belonged to him and might be disposed of as he saw fit. The husband, too, was the sole guardian of their children, and he alone had the say as to their education, religious upbringing, choice of occupation, and marriage.

The introduction of machinery which gives a new earning-power to women, a clearer view of the rôle of the female sex in the life of the race, and the illumination of the historical process by which male domination became established—all these have tended to equalize man and woman in the family. We see this in statutes giving the married woman control of her own property, granting alimony to divorced wives, and preserving very limited rights to husbands in their deceased wives' estates. We see it also in the insistence that in sex conduct the same moral standard shall apply to the one sex as to the other. How far we have come we can gauge when we note the customs of certain of our foreign-born.

In some of the Slavic settlements wife-beating is so much a matter of course that the husband denounces this as "no free country" when fined for the offense. The wife is so abused sexually that the death of the typical woman occurs in trying to bring to the world her twelfth, fifteenth, or twentieth baby. The Italian woman instead of being a free moral agent is absolutely subject to the will of her nearest male relative.

Since the family name and the succession to property are not involved in the husband's adultery as they may be in the wife's adultery, they were formerly punished differently. But while from the family point of view they are of differing flagrancy, from the individual point of view they are equal offenses. The newer tendency to give the wronged wife divorce on the same terms as the wronged husband, and to extend to the wife who kills her husband *in flagrante delicto* the immunity which has always been enjoyed by the husband who kills his wife under similar circumstances, indicates that the *individual* aspect of adultery is being considered, rather than the *family* aspect.

"Mothers' pensions" further individualize the married woman by providing that a mother with young children shall not starve or be parted from them because of the death or desertion of the father. The demand for the state endowment of motherhood, of which we hear more every year, testifies to the growth of the conviction that the fate of one adult individual ought not to be entirely dependent on the will of another.

The individuation of the members of the family has not come solely out of thirst for personal freedom, but partly owing to the transfer of functions from the family to larger social groups. Schooling has been made compulsory and the school takes over such matters as the medical inspection of the children, play leadership, and vocational guidance. School and home are linked by parent-teacher associations. The kindergarten reaches down nearly to the cradle, and neighborhood nurseries are probably not far off. Baby-feeding stations and classes and anti-child-labor laws insure that the children of the poor shall have their chance. The social center competes with the fireside for the child's leisure time. By requiring men intending marriage to submit to tests for venereal

diseases society comes to the rescue of parents solicitous to safeguard their daughters from union with the infected. The court of domestic relations assumes functions which in olden time fell to the council of the kin.

The ecclesiastical doctrine that marriage, being a sacrament, is indissoluble sacrifices the individual to the institution when the demands of the two conflict. The disposition of the modern state to grant divorce for grave cause shows that the happiness of the individual is deemed of importance. The passage of both marriage and divorce from the custody of the church to that of the state causes them to be regarded no longer as mysteries or symbols, but as problems to be settled in the light of reason and experience.

Even the remaining grip of the institution is called in question by some. Shall a right to motherhood be acknowledged and likewise a right to limit child-bearing? Which is the supreme sanction of sex relations—a public ceremony or parenthood? Is the illegitimate child to bear “his birth’s invidious bar,” and must the unmarried mother pay as now the entire penalty for the unauthorized sex relation, allowing the equally guilty man to go free?

INDIVIDUATING EFFECT OF THE MONEY ECONOMY

The money economy has greatly extended the range of personal choice. In the early Middle Ages the relation of the individual to the group was all or nothing. But today, thanks to the money economy, people are able to form unions for specific purposes into which they enter not with their entire personality but only with a limited contribution. Or compare the impersonality of the relations among fellow-stockholders in a modern joint-stock company with the personal nature of the bond among the co-operators of olden time. It was a great stride toward emancipation when the feudal villein commuted his obligation to work so many days a week on his lord’s demesne, or to deliver to his lord such-and-such produce of his fields, into a fixed money payment which he might raise as he pleased. No longer was he tied down to a single occupation or to residence in his birthplace.

Among ourselves when the laborer takes part of his pay *in kind*, i.e., in food and lodging, he is not so free as when he gets his pay all in money and lives where he will. The factory girl paid in cash is freer than the domestic who must take such food and lodging as her mistress provides, and this is one reason why she works for less. In England the shop assistants who "live in," i.e., are fed and lodged by their employers, are doubtless more discontented than any mercantile help in the United States. With good reason the worker is loath to take wages in anything but money. Where employers partly pay for service with board or orders on company stores or accommodations in company houses, the employees are restless or else the class of laborers is low. The worst cases of chronic feud between labor and capital are found, not in industrial centers where the "cash nexus" is the sole connection between the two, but in isolated places—the mining camp, the lumber camp, the railroad camp—where labor has no option, but must spend its money with the company.

Throughout Western South America the agricultural worker, the *peon*, is paid very little cash. He receives but a few cents a day, for he takes most of his pay in the use of a plot of from two to five acres on which he rears his hut and grows his food. By thus blurring the deal the master contrives to obtain an exorbitant rental for his plot as well as a double price for the goods his store supplies the peon. Cash wages would clarify the peon's thinking and make him less exploitable.

In the landlord-tenant relation the substitution of cash rental for rental in kind, e.g., a share of the crop, makes for the freedom of both parties. Often the tenant "on shares" has to accept the landlord as a partner in his undertaking and is not at liberty to farm the land according to his own ideas.

INDIVIDUAL LANDHOLDING

The communal system of landholding which once prevailed in Western Europe and still dominates in Russia so ties the peasant with his fellows that he has little opportunity to use his individual judgment in agriculture. The type produced in Russia under the village system is very susceptible to mob mind. He yields to fits

of emotion and outbreaks of violence among his fellows which the man who has been individualized by handling a farm is able to resist. The peasant who "separates out" of the village community and lives on a place of his own makes improvements—and mistakes—which he was not free to make so long as his strips were intermixed with those of others in the wide common fields. With his new-born self-confidence and sense of responsibility he reaches a higher plane of individual development.

INDIVIDUATING RELIGION

Ancestor-worship is group religion. One either is or is not a member of a family guarded by ancestral spirits. The religions of redemption, on the contrary, are individualistic. The early Christian was saved by personal assent to the faith, not by being the wife or the child of a saint. The old religion of the household disappeared. One of the pathetic things in the growth of Christianity was the great gulf fixed between husbands and wives by the conversion of the latter. Women were in a measure emancipated because their possession of immortal souls equalized them with the other sex.

In the Orient the individuating effect of Christianity is very plain. The worship of ancestors, the idea that by offerings, pilgrimages, or good works you can make yourself *safe*, is met by a religion which demands an individual belief or decision and a way of life. The Roman Catholic missionaries, however, who require of their followers only assent and obedience produce slighter effects upon the personality of the convert than the Protestant missionaries who "put it up to" the individual to save his soul.

In fact the Protestant theory of salvation is much more individualistic than the Catholic. The Catholic church is a huge ark. Once aboard you will surely get to heaven, provided you do not quit ship or get yourself put off for disobedience of the rules of the vessel. Protestant Christianity, on the other hand, gives you an individual canoe to paddle, and only by your own efforts will you ever get to heaven. A congregation is simply a fleet of these little canoes keeping together for mutual encouragement and led by a pilot who knows how to lay a course for heaven.

Among the Protestant denominations those which set least store by godly conduct, attendance on worship, and church support, and lay the most stress upon personal religious experience, are evidently the most individualistic. In the replacement of liturgy by sermon, of choir singing by congregational singing, and in the emphasis on the prayer meeting with its personal "testimony," religion becomes constantly more subjective.

HETEROGENEITY OF POPULATION

The vitally organized person frets at the narrow and rigid routine of social convention, whether enforced by law or by opinion. The more these routines multiply the less can vitally organized persons come into their own. Now the mingling of unlike population elements on a footing of equality has a shattering effect on such routines. In our cities with their heterogeneity Mrs. Grundy is less terrible than she is in the towns and neighborhoods, where everyone knows everyone else and the paucity of interests causes all to concern themselves with the doings of each. Certain immigrant groups, particularly the Germans with their freedom of social customs, Sunday observance, and religious thought, have distinctly enlarged the opportunity of the American to be himself.

DIVERSIFICATION OF CULTURE

The diversification which is going on in each culture in consequence of its penetration by elements from other cultures widens the range of individual choice. The Englishman may turn aside from the old ballads of his people when Czechish, Magyar, Slavonic, Little Russian, and Scandinavian folk-music becomes known to him. In the architecture of our cities one detects motifs gleaned all the way from Greek temple to Florentine *palazzo*, from Assyrian *ziggurat* to Hindu *pagoda*. In religion likewise the exotic will be admitted, for we cannot rear mission churches in Asia in the shadow of the mosque and the temple without allowing Mohammedan mosque and Buddhist temple to rise cheek by jowl with our Christian churches.

NEWS AND NOTES

Notes of interest to the readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society was held December 29-31 in Chicago at the LaSalle Hotel. The main topic for discussion was "The Problem of Democracy." Two joint meetings with other associations were held. At the joint session with the American Economic Association on Monday night, the presidential addresses of the two societies were given. The subject of the joint meeting with the American Association for Labor Legislation was "Democracy and Industrial Relations." The attendance at all the sessions was unusually large.

President Frank W. Blackmar declined re-election for a second term. Professor James Q. Dealey was elected president. The other officers for the year 1920 are: first vice-president, Edward C. Hayes, University of Illinois; second vice-president, John P. Lichtenberger, University of Pennsylvania; secretary-treasurer, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago; members of the Executive Committee, F. Stuart Chapin, Wm. J. Kerby, E. L. Earp, Grace Abbott, A. B. Wolfe, and Susan Kingsbury.

The report of the Committee on the Teaching of Sociology in the Grade Schools and High Schools was given by the chairman, Professor Ross L. Finney. Professor J. L. Gillin, chairman, gave the report for the Committee on Standardization of Research. These reports were accepted and the committees continued. The Committee on Statistics made no report and was discontinued. The appointment of a committee of three was authorized to consider the advisability of issuing the *American Journal of Sociology* monthly instead of bimonthly, or of establishing a new publication.

The recommendation of the Executive Committee that the Society join the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies was approved, and President Dealey was delegated to attend its first meeting.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

In view of the growing recognition of the importance of social problems and the rapidly increasing interest in matters sociological in India, the government of His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwad of Baroda has decided to establish a scientific journal to be called the *Indian Journal of Sociology*. It is intended to make the indication of current literature on all sides of social life and organization a leading feature of the *Journal*. The editor of the *Journal* is Professor Alban G. Widgery, of the College, Baroda.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Sociological Society of London announced the following subjects and speakers for its autumn program of lectures: "The Provinces of Great Britain," by H. J. E. Peake; "The Education of the British Officer," by an ex-officer; "Some Notes on the Rebuilding of the Battle Zone," by Huntley Carter; and "Art and the City," by Miss Amelia Defries.

AN INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

An announcement has been made of a project for the establishment of an international people's college near Copenhagen, Denmark. The purpose of the college is indicated by the following statement: "It will especially employ teachers who believe in the association of the Christian view of life with the democratic movement, and the development of a supernational spirit as a way of social and individual progress." Included in the proposed curriculum are courses in languages, sociology, history, psychology, hygiene, economics, commerce, and agriculture. Students are to be nominated by trade unions, labor organizations, co-operative societies, and other progressive groups. The secretary of the plan is Peter Manniche, Sonder Boulevard 87, Copenhagen.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING

The industrial nurses of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing plan to form an Industrial Nursing Section in the National Organization at the meeting in Atlanta next April. The object of this section will be the formulation and maintenance of high standards for service in industry. It is planned to make known to nurses throughout the country the opportunities for education for industrial nurses.

All industrial nurses are urged to attend the Atlanta meeting, and employers of industrial nurses are urged to send a nurse as their

representative. The chairman of the Committee on Industrial Nursing of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing is Florence Swift Wright, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

CAROLA WOERISHOFFER GRADUATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ECONOMY
AND SOCIAL RESEARCH AT BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

The following appointments to the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research have been made for the year 1919-20: Mrs. Eva Whiting White, director of training of the Intercollegiate Community Service Association, will hold the position of non-resident lecturer in social economy to give the courses in community organization.

Dr. Neva Deardorf, assistant to the director of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, has been appointed to the position of non-resident lecturer in social economy to give the seminars in social theory and in social economy applied to social relief.

Miss Henrietta Additon, executive assistant and director of Field Service, Women and Girls, United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, has been detailed to serve as non-resident lecturer in social economy to give the course in social treatment of dependents, defectives, and delinquents, and to supervise the field work of the students preparing for the social treatment of delinquents and defectives.

Miss Angie Kellogg, formerly instructor at Bryn Mawr College, will, for the year 1919-20, direct the county work in the care of dependents and delinquents at Watertown, New York.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Extension Division conducted a five weeks' institute at Fresno on Americanization and community work, beginning the second week in December. The courses were given by Mr. John Collier, Dr. Carol Aronovici, Dr. Roy Kelly, Miss Hulda Youngberg, and Miss Ethel Richardson.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

In order that the Department of Extension may spread the influence of the university campus to the Kentucky mountains as well as to the Blue Grass Region a Bureau of Information and Public Welfare has been created by the university executives. Professor C. B. Cornell, who is also director of social-service training, has been appointed director of this bureau.

Miss Pauline Wherry, of the Bureau of Education and Research, Lake Division, American Red Cross, has been assigned to the university

as supervisor of the social-service training courses given in the department of economics and sociology in co-operation with the American Red Cross.

MILLS COLLEGE

The courses in psychology, sociology, and economics, which had been somewhat disrupted by the war service of members of these departments, have been reorganized and enlarged in scope. Dr. Kate Brousseau, after two years in France, returns to her position as professor of psychology. Miss Fliegelman (A.B., Wisconsin), who has been doing research work at Columbia and as assistant to the United States Commission of Industrial Relations, and who was formerly special agent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has been appointed as instructor in economics. Mrs. Helen Swett Artieda, formerly with the San Francisco Relief Survey and now executive secretary of the Public Welfare League of Oakland, California, is associate in sociology in charge of institutional observation and discussion. Dr. Mary Roberts Coolidge is giving the courses in principles of sociology, poverty and relief, race problems, and delinquency. As rapidly as funds permit the college is developing an elementary training school in social service. Its students during the last year have been serving in orphanages, in public-health organizations, and in Americanization work in the cities of Oakland and Berkeley.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Macmillan Company announces among its new books *The Scientific Spirit in Social Work*, by Professor Arthur J. Todd, head of the department of sociology, at present absent on leave as director of industrial relations, Kuppenheimer & Company, Chicago.

Associate Professor M. C. Elmer has been selected as director of the social survey of Stillwater, Minnesota.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Lewis William Baily, M.A., has been appointed professor of sociology and will devote a large part of his time to problems of rural sociology. He comes to Northwestern from Grinnell College, Iowa, after several years of experience in the study of rural conditions and problems. Professor Baily is studying problems of rural social life and setting forth the character of the problem which the rural church may be expected to meet.

Thomas Dawes Eliot, Ph.D., has been appointed associate professor of sociology. Professor Eliot will work in the field of general sociology.

He has been recently engaged with the War Camp Community Service on the Pacific Coast and had previously been in the Public Health Service and had been assistant professor of sociology at Washington State College. Professor Eliot will devote his time to the general phases of sociology, his interests lying more particularly in the problems of the city.

ROCKFORD COLLEGE

Seba Eldridge, formerly assistant professor of economics and sociology of Smith College, is now director of the courses of training for social workers.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Professor Howard Woolston, formerly of the College of the City of New York, has become professor and head of the department of sociology in the University of Washington. Dr. Woolston succeeded Professor W. G. Ogburn, now professor of sociology in Columbia University.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

Assistant Professor Donald R. Taft, of the Ohio State University, has become assistant professor of sociology.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor C. E. Gehlke is on leave of absence for a year. He is acting as the director of the Bureau of Education and Research, Department of Civilian Relief, Southwestern Division of the American Red Cross, with headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri.

Dr. Maurice R. Davie (Ph.D., Yale University) has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Dr. Charles W. Coulter has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology.

Professor J. E. Cutler, recently major, United States Army, has returned to his duties as head of the department of sociology and dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences. While in the army he was attached to the General Staff as a sociologist and assigned to work of a confidential nature.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

Mr. R. D. McKenzie, assistant professor of economics and sociology of Ohio State University, has resigned to accept the position of associate professor of sociology.

REVIEWS

What Is America? By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. New York: Century Company, 1919. Pp. viii+159. \$1.25.

The robust optimism of this book is in striking contrast to much that now expresses in current magazines and newspapers the unrest and trouble of our time. Many cannot accept without qualification this summary of things that make us happy without any listing of the things that make us unhappy. For example, the "Americanization" movement is described by Dr. Ross as one in which "the aim is to enlist the good-will and help of the foreign-born on behalf of the experiment in democracy we have embarked on." It is to be feared that some of the recent expressions of that movement are not calculated to secure these results.

Again, although it is a "fact that the American people" have been "very tenacious of their local control," the events of the war period have made it clear that in some matters at least the American people have become highly nationalized in feeling as in government. This has made for good in many ways, but also for ill in the present crisis when the rights of minorities are so insecure, even the plain constitutional rights of "freedom of speech, press, right to peaceably assemble, and to be secure in persons, houses, papers, and effects." Nor do all "labor leaders feel" at this moment that "labor has here a fair field, is steadily gaining, and will continue to gain if it shows intelligence, persistence, and self-restraint." Moreover, although many would agree with Dr. Ross that "the unpardonable sin in a would-be reformer is impatience" and that "there is no excuse for advocating violence as a short cut to reforms," there is much in the present situation that indicates a greater danger to democracy in the power of the majority to stifle peaceful methods of agitation than in the possibility that any reforming minority will unjustly impose its will by a legislative coup d'état.

Dr. Ross published his book in May, 1919, however, and much water has flowed under the bridge since then; and in the midst of so much that is pessimistic and wholly devoted to destructive criticism it is refreshing to turn, under the guidance of Dr. Ross, to the undercurrent

and vital facts of American life which testify to the sound health and real progress of our people during the years since our nation was born.

The chapter on "Rural America" stresses matters on which city dwellers are most ignorant, and explains the causes of the deep divergence in economic theory between the farm class and the factory class in this country. The chapters on "Education" and on "Marriage and the Family" are sensible reviews of actual conditions in this country, and the chapter on "The Make-up of the People" is helpful in clearness and suggestion. The tables and charts give student value to the book, and the whole summary seems to the writer to be just the right thing for high-school courses in civics, and for use in classes for newcomers to our country in settlements and in community centers.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

Americanization. By CAROL ARONOVICI. St. Paul: W. A. Keller Co., 1919. Pp. 84. \$0.60.

Once in a while we run across a book that brings the essence of questions that are uppermost in the minds of the day. This modest little book—the author calls it "a booklet"—contains an amount of earnest thought and keen comprehension of fundamental human values that is worthy of a large volume. The title does not hint at the attitude of the author in his viewpoint of the important question before us of helping foreigners to become true citizens.

Too many are taking the method of force, and insist upon "only English being taught or spoken." In the *New York Times*, October 14, 1919, Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, is quoted as saying, after his visit to the Pittsburgh steel district, investigating the strike situation, in speaking of Americanization of the thousands of non-speaking men and women, that "he is convinced that the time has come to make this a one-language nation."

Dr. Aronovici's ideas suggest in every way that a "synthetic process of social and national integration brought about by an intensified democratic state will merge the present heterogeneous masses of racial and national groups into one great people." He says: "Much of the lawlessness of the immigrant is not due to criminality or immorality, but to a failure to longer recognize old traditions, and to a lack of understanding of the social mechanism of the new environment."

Again he says: "'In Rome do as the Romans do' is not assimilation but simulation." And the very suggestive thought, "The recognition

of citizenship as a possible reward for service rendered rather than as a gift to be applied for," is but one of many vital hints that give inspiration to thought in these forty-eight pages. The entire "booklet" is one which is very worth the reading and should be enjoyed by every thinking person.

EMILY PALMER CAPE

NEW YORK CITY

Bolshevism and the United States. By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1919. Pp. 341. \$1.50.

After telling of the terrible destruction wrought by the autocratic and anarchistic Lenine and his followers the author says (p. 336):

I have set down here the outline of a strange and terrible chapter in the history of human delusions with the hope that the record may serve in some way to warn my countrymen. Bolshevism has revealed to us in startling fashion the widespread existence among intelligent and educated persons of an order of mind not before connoted. It is a mind that does not coordinate, is able to act but not to reflect, can by specious cries be led into strange fanatiscisms, accepts lables without inquiry as to the thing within, sincerely and unselfishly gives itself to the propaganda of half truth.

It acts on this half truth to the fearful destruction of the enormously complex and relatively delicate structure of modern society, which can be so easily thrown out of adjustment but is so slowly and with such painful difficulty readjusted. He calls for steadily pushed but gradual reconstruction of the continuously functioning system.

Changed this must be and will be, but not by Bolshevism and Anarchism; not by shooting men and starving children. The doom of the competitive system is inevitable and not far off; the cooperative system that will take its place is already in sight.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Democratic Ideals and Reality; A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction. By H. P. MACKINDER. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919. Pp. 266, and maps. \$2.00.

The book under review deals primarily with the geographical prerequisites of a safe League of Nations. It finds the League jeopardized by the possible union and organization, under German leadership, of Eastern Europe and the vast core of Asia, which together form the "Heartland" of the Old World. This Heartland is inaccessible to navigation for the most part, owing to the icebound Attic coasts, while

the Baltic and Black Sea approaches can be readily barred against outside attack, owing to their bottle form. It is therefore armed by Nature against the sea powers, insular and peninsular, who seem to be the police force of the League. The Heartland, on the other hand, has ready land communications with the states of Central Europe. Its vast undeveloped resources in food, forest, and mine, and its potential man-power may be so organized for economic and military efficiency by the Germans as to create a vast continental state, self-fed and self-equipped, extending from the Rhine to the brink of the Chinese lowlands. Such a state would be in position to burst asunder any League of Nations and seize control of the Eastern Hemisphere. The initial step in domination of the Heartland is the penetration, first economic and then political, of Russia and its Eastern dependencies. This accomplished, the seaboard states of Asia, from Manchuria to Asia Minor, would be attacked on their land side, just where the sea powers of the League would find greatest difficulty in delivering reinforcements.

Mr. Mackinder thinks that the idealistic authors of the League covenant, relying on jurisdicial checks to militarism, are preparing another world-disaster unless they are willing to come down to realities and meet organization with organization; unless they maintain the mid-tier of Slavic states, erected across Middle Europe between the Baltic and the Adriatic, as a wall to keep Germany's hands off Russia. These states are the bulwark of Western Europe. The book abounds in interesting suggestions, and is written in the author's characteristically vivid style.

ELLEN CHURCHILL SEMPLE

LOUISVILLE, KY.

The Only Possible Peace. By FREDERICK C. HOWE, PH.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919. Pp. 265. \$1.50.

The only possible peace should free all lands touching the Mediterranean and put them under the guardianship of a democratic world-government.

The territory to be so internationalized should include:

One. The Balkan states, Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia and Mesopotamia.

Two. The Bagdad Railway from Austria-Hungary to the Persian Gulf.

Three. The Mediterranean waterways from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean; the Adriatic, Black Sea, the Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal and the Dardanelles.

Four. The harbors of Constantinople, Saloniki, Smyrna, Trieste, Alexandria, Basra, and other strategic ports should be open to all nations on equal terms (p. 193).

Incidentally in other places he includes all of Africa, the Panama Canal, and other such trifles with the foregoing.

The states bordering upon the Mediterranean should abandon their naval establishments. If possible they should abandon their military establishments as well. There should be no armed vessels of any Power (except for transit) within the confines of any enclosed sea, just as there are no armed vessels on the Great Lakes (p. 194).

The previous one hundred and ninety pages are devoted to a detailed account of how thoroughly the governments of the world are permeated with the spirit of conquest and exploitation. There is no explanation of how the governmental lions and jackals are to be converted in the twinkling of an eye into faithful shepherd dogs. The author lightly assumes that a democratic world-government faithful to its trust can be created in a few months by the Paris Peace Conference without facing the problem of the long and painful process of the possible achievement of such a government by the world. The book was published in January, 1919.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Democracy in Earnest. The Proceedings of the Southern Sociological Congress for 1916-18. Edited by JAMES E. McCULLOCH. Washington, D.C.: Southern Sociological Congress, 1919. Pp. 416. \$3.00.

As the editor says in an introductory note, this volume is made up from "the many papers read at the last three conventions" of the Southern Sociological Congress; "the editor has tried to select, impartially, those which, combined into one volume of this size, would express most satisfactorily the ideals and work that the Congress desires at present to emphasize." Thus we have sixty-six essays or addresses dealing with America's part in the war, health, prohibition, the abolition of poverty, economic justice for black and white, negro welfare and race relations, the needs of children, and the social efficiency of the church.

Notable is the co-operation of white and negro in presenting the facts. The white men speak as southerners who believe this is a white man's country, but also as men who want the negro to receive economic and legal justice and an equal opportunity. "At each meeting members of both races have met together and spoken out in good will their thoughts bearing on matters of mutual concern."

"The fundamental purpose of this Congress . . . is to inform and quicken the social conscience of the South and to have it express itself in aggressive social action."

The Congress has "sought to energize the South in working out the problems of the South in the light of world experience. Therefore this Congress does not compete in any sense with the National Conference of Social Workers." That organization discusses the technical experience of the social workers of North America; this Congress, "as is said elsewhere, seeks 'to organize society as a school for the development of all her citizens rather than simply to be a master to dispose of the dependent, defective, and delinquent population with the least expense to the state.'" There is apparently more interest in having the best people do right than in having the unfortunate ones efficiently cared for. To repeat a quotation, the Congress would "never sacrifice the soul of work for its technique."

From its beginning, in 1912, the Congress "has recognized that social salvation and the means of attaining it are essentially moral and religious." Indeed, throughout the book so much attention is given to the social duties and opportunities of the church that its title might be "Social Evangelism."

In this book there is the speaker's choice of startling statistics rather than the expert's scientific interpretation of them. For the sociologist the chief value of the book is in revealing the drift of public opinion in the South. For the clergyman or the public speaker in the South the book is a storehouse of striking facts.

GILBERT H. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

Orthogenetic Evolution in Pigeons. Posthumous Works of CHARLES OTIS WHITMAN, Vol. III: *The Behavior of Pigeons.* Edited by HARVEY A. CARR, PH.D. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1919.

This study is of interest primarily to the behaviorists in psychology, but it is also of great value to the sociologist who is escaping from the dominance of metaphysics and what Adolph Wagner called "random observation" into the more exact and dependable field of scientific generalization. In few fields does the sociologist need the help of the experimental biologist more than in that of the instincts. To the data of this subject this study makes some valuable contributions. The

family life of the pigeons, and of birds in general, has long been cited as substantive evidence in favor of the existence of certain putative family instincts in man. Professor Whitman's study overturns some of the traditional beliefs about pigeon behavior in this connection and explains their instincts in such mechanistic terms that the instinctive theory of human conduct is weakened rather than strengthened by inference from these data. While the activities of pigeons are so much simpler than those of man as not to justify any considerable comparison, the comparisons one does feel justified in making can hardly be interpreted as supporting the extreme instinctivist theories of human conduct now dominant in certain quarters. The book is full of food for sociological thought.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Racial Factors in Democracy. By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.
Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1918. Pp. x+278. \$2.50.

After tracing the evolution of the human race from lower Paleolithic times through a series of constantly linked cultures, the author concludes that invention and borrowing are the two fundamental laws of cultural growth. He pleads for more intelligent race-appreciation, for the application of democratic principles to cultural relationships, and develops the thesis that a better social order than the present one could be organized by applying the principle of cultural selection. Race contempt shown in proselyting, the thoughtless superimposition of political systems of the white race upon others, and race suspicion are condemned. The colonial policies of England and France have been less vulnerable in these respects than those of Germany and Spain.

Today the world is faced with two kinds of democracy: the leveling and destructive type represented by Bolshevism, and the kind in which the classes are based on individual merit. Majority rule is the best rule and the tendency is in this direction. But during the transition from rule by autocratic minorities we must look to guidance from an intelligent and decent minority.

The book is an odd mixture of liberality and conservatism, of successful effort to logically state modern anthropological doctrine, and of inconsistency in application. As a popular summary of a vast subject its main emphasis is sane and wholesome.

F. STUART CHAPIN

SMITH COLLEGE

The Psychology and Pedagogy of Anger. By ROY FRANKLIN RICHARDSON. Baltimore: Warwick & York, Inc., 1918. Pp. v+100. \$1.25.

The introspections by a number of trained observers of their mental content when angry have been recorded and generalized by the author with good results and presented in this monograph, apparently a Ph.D. thesis. The author is particularly interested in discovering what mental conditions favor the appearance and disappearance of anger, and his best interpretation is in this connection. His conclusions as to the pedagogical value of the emotion are more conventional and, the reviewer believes, not as penetrating as they might be. For example, he accepts the old dictum that anger, at least in a mild degree, helps us subjectively in our struggle to overcome obstacles and to realize our aims. Is not anger rather an effect than a cause—the sign of an interrupted and somewhat deranged process of action? If so, the pedagogical implication is not more anger—however wisely regulated—but less anger and more of the mental attitudes connected with success. Anger does not help the fighter's technique—it hinders it—but it does serve in cases of danger (interrupted action) as a makeshift to scare the enemy until recovery of technique can be effected. The author, in common with others, may have mistaken effects for causes.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Science Française: Scolastique Allemande. Par DR. G. PAPILLAULT. FELIX ALCAN, Editeur. Paris, 1917. Fr. 2.50.

Three essays, with a common theme running through them, comprise this small book on scientific method. There is nothing particularly original in the matter contained in these pages, but the analysis of the primary concepts in objective thinking contained in the first part is good. This part also makes a telling criticism of the method of correlation without elimination used by Karl Pearson. The second part points out some of the errors of thinking to which we are liable under the impulsion of our "rational instinct," which leads us to seek for a unitary product or organic whole in our thought. From this have come the errors of animism and other ideal creations. The third part attempts to show that the philosophy of Kant—of all Germans, in fact—arises out of this erroneous subjectivism incident to the "rational instinct." While the objective and scientific philosophies of the English and the French carry on the best traditions of Roger Bacon and Descartes

respectively, the Kantian subjectivism is the direct descendant of the medieval scholasticism, from which it has not been able to escape. The English and French philosophies are, moreover, very similar (as the philosophies of allies should be). The criticism of Kant reminds one at points of that by Professor Dewey.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The History of Statistics, Their Development and Progress in Many Countries. Collected and edited by JOHN KOREN. New York: Macmillan, 1918. Pp. xii+773. \$7.50.

This useful volume, containing in available form material much needed by teachers of statistics, consists of memoirs to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the American Statistical Association. It was undertaken when the Great War broke out and yet in spite of manifold difficulties was brought to completion in 1918. It forms an authoritative historical statement of the development and organization of official statistics throughout the world, written by the foremost statisticians of the leading nations.

Official statistics, their history and organization, are described for Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Hungary, India, Netherlands, Norway, Russia and Sweden, and for both federal and state systems in the United States. A work of this sort is a sure step in the direction of international comparability in important statistical undertakings. Until we make measurable progress toward the attainment of this first great step in scientific method the science of statistics will lack the universality of procedure which characterizes the work of scientists in the non-social fields.

F. STUART CHAPIN

SMITH COLLEGE

Social Work—Essays on the Meeting-Ground of Doctor and Social Worker. By RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919. Pp. xxvii+188. \$1.50 net.

Diagnosis and treatment are the two essential and complementary phases of all effective social work just as they are of all worth-while medical work. Diagnosis is of little value, especially to the patient, unless it is followed by treatment. Treatment is only accidentally successful unless it is based upon correct diagnosis. Medical and

social ills are frequently so closely knit together that both medical and social treatment are essential to the cure of those ills. Back of such treatment there must be correct social as well as correct medical diagnosis.

This is the platform on which Dr. Cabot bases his analysis of the social worker's task as a social diagnostician or a social therapist. Her rôle is that of an assistant to the physician. Through her he extends the range of his observations into the environment of his patient; likewise through her his treatment reaches more of the causes of the patient's malady.

Dr. Cabot's discussion of the equipment of the medical social worker is a timely contribution to a better understanding of a vexed question. Medical social service has reached that stage in its development at which it needs not only a clear formulation of its scope and function but the realization as well that it is or must be a profession with a task distinct, calling for adequate and specialized professional training, and not an occupation open to any person possessed alone of normal intelligence and a desire to serve, valuable as those qualifications may be.

One point made by Dr. Cabot in his discussion of history-taking is so essential for successful social work and is so frequently lost sight of by social workers that it seems worthy of special comment. He says that there are two ways of looking at the misfortunes of an individual. One is the right point of view, the "historic"; the other is the wrong way, the "catastrophic" or accidental point of view. If the social worker is to make a correct social diagnosis she must view the maladjustments she is studying not as isolated conditions or events but rather as having causes and consequences. In like manner, social treatment worth the while must be curative and corrective rather than palliative. That this is almost always contrary to the beliefs and wishes of the patient makes the social worker's task that much the harder and her success that much the better earned.

JOHN E. RANSOM

CHICAGO

The Disabled Soldier. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE with an Introduction by JEREMIAH MILBANK. New York: Macmillan, 1919. Pp. xiv+232. \$2.00.

One of the commonplaces of the Great War is the fact that it has had useful by-products. Of these, not the least is the fairly general recognition of certain needs and certain principles long known to the intelligent social worker. The War Department spent much time, energy, and

money on recreation for soldiers. The social worker has long wondered why these same men, when civilians in the insanitary barracks of an industrial city, or, worse, of an industrial town, should have received no attention at this point. The social problem of venereal diseases is not exactly a new one. It required the war to make it a live issue with those not classed as mere "uplifters." This book, from the pen of one who for years has striven for a sound, sensible, and thoroughly human program for the disabled man, illustrates this point. We have here an ages-old story. Told this time of a class that has and deserves to have in a pre-eminent degree the attention of the general public, it serves as a text for a sermon of reproach to that public, callous to the needs of a peace-time group which like the poor we have had with us always. Wisely the author refrains from the explicit sermon. It is implicit in every paragraph.

There have been 250,000 men physically injured as a result of military operations in the American army. Of these 30,000 to 50,000 will need some vocational training, that is, one in 133 to 180 of the total of 4,000,000 men in the army. In the city of Cleveland there were discovered by the Cripple Survey made there in 1916 something like 4,200 persons in a population of about 800,000; or one in every 200 of the whole population. If Cleveland were to receive its share of men disabled by war on the basis of 35,000 men in service they would number about 450 in all. The blind in Cleveland number about 500. The totally blind from battle while with the American Expeditionary Forces number altogether 120. That illustrates the relative degree of the war problems of physical injury as compared with those of our peace-time existence.

The first chapter contains a sympathetic summary of the history of the treatment of cripples (especially the soldier-crippled) beginning with the animal horde, through primitive, classical, medieval, and modern times. The second chapter introduces us to the early phases of the situation presented by the hostilities of 1914, and the beginning of treatment in the European belligerent countries. Then in succession are treated the hospital phases of reconstruction, with the recognition of the therapeutic value for the injured man's arm or leg—and more for his mind—of useful labor. Play, too, is given its place as a factor. Fundamental is the conception that reconstruction is a state of mind. This idea runs throughout the entire book. The methods of training outside the hospital, the various problems presented to the disabled man who is at last at work in the competitive world of labor, are presented in succession. The author vigorously decries that patronizing, beggaring

attitude of giving a man a job merely because he is a cripple—a sort of modified alms flung at him by the stupidly sympathetic.

There are separate chapters for each of the principal classes of disabled men—the crippled, the blind, the deaf, the tubercular, the mental cases; and chapters on the work of the European combatant nations, Allied and enemy, as well as one on the plans of the United States for this group—fortunately small in comparison with those of the more veteran nations.

The disabled man, to a reader of this book, becomes an epitome of the whole group of problems that require what is called “case work.” Demanded are, for his proper treatment, a careful study of his needs, of his abilities, of the educational and industrial resources of the community; and most of all, intelligent, sympathetic, firm assistance.

An outstanding merit of the book is its colloquial style. A subject on which the general public needs infinite enlightenment is not buried beneath a mass of technical terminology that requires the expert to understand it. Instead it is a book which the uninitiated can read and will. It is enriched by a large number of effective illustrations, mostly photographs showing the achievements of the disabled soldier of the European armies.

C. E. GEHLKE

SOUTHWESTERN DIVISION
AMERICAN RED CROSS
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Management and Men: A Record of New Steps in Industrial Relations. By MEYER BLOOMFIELD. New York: Century Co., 1919. Pp. x+591. \$3.50.

This volume is a valuable addition to the literature of industrial relations in that it voices the newer, more progressive point of view in the matter of personnel administration. The work carries particular weight in that it is an exposition of actual British experience. The author gives a careful discussion of the changes in industrial relations which resulted from the increased demands made by the war upon the productive forces; the mutually sympathetic and co-operative spirit engendered between employers and employees through the union of their efforts in a common purpose; the resultant recognition on the part of employers of both the justice and the practicability of the demands of the employees for a share in the management of industry; and the practical policies and methods, instituted in accordance with these viewpoints, for the reconstruction of British industry. He shows by

specific illustrations the prevalent attitudes of both employers and employees toward this industrial program in process of introduction.

In style this work is descriptive and expository rather than analytical. It is written to appeal to the general reader rather than to the specialized student of industrial relations. Although subject to limitations as a scientific treatise, it fills the need for a discussion within the understanding of the general reader. In the appendixes, comprising nearly four hundred pages, the author has brought together documentary materials dealing with various phases of industrial conditions of the war period. The specialist will find this collection valuable source material.

R. W. STONE

GOUCHER COLLEGE

Women's Wages. A Study of the Wages of Industrial Women and Measures Suggested to Increase Them. By EMILIE JOSEPHINE HUTCHINSON, PH.D., Columbia University, 1919. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. 89.) New York: Longmans, 1919. Pp. 179. \$1.50.

This book, submitted as a Doctor's thesis to Columbia University, is a painstaking, clearly written analysis of the wages of women and the factors affecting them. Nearly half the space is given to a discussion of minimum-wage legislation and its possibilities. Trade unionism and vocational training are included with minimum-wage laws as the chief methods of raising the present low standards. The facts presented are drawn almost exclusively from reports prepared before the war, and although occasional references are made to the work of women during the war, and their position after it, the discussion seems not to have been influenced by the changes in the aspects of labor problems since 1914. It is unfortunate that certain old opinions, which have never had satisfactory statistical proof, such as "From five to seven years is the average length of the girl's wage-earning life," are repeated without supporting evidence. New questions, like those raised by Mrs. Webb's minority report on "The Relation between the Wages of Women and Men" in the Report of the British War Cabinet Committee, are not presented.

As a history of data and opinions before the war the book is useful, and with the persistence of many of the same tendencies in women's work it will have continued value.

MARY VAN KLEECK

DIVISION OF INDUSTRIAL STUDIES
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
NEW YORK

Punishment and Reformation. By FREDERICK H. WINES. New edition, revised and enlarged by WINTHROP D. LANE. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1919. Pages xi+481. \$2.50.

The earlier edition of Dr. Wines' book is so well known to all students of penology and criminology that comments are necessary only with reference to new material added by Mr. Lane in the present volume. This is contained in the last five chapters, and deals with the very important developments in the science which have taken place since Dr. Wines revised his own book in 1910. Among these are Dr. Charles Goring's remarkable investigation into the question of a criminal type, the modern theories as to the causation of crime—or of criminals—advanced policies with reference to the treatment of criminals, and the movement for inmate self-government.

It is safe to say that Dr. Goring's studies have given the final death blow to the interesting, but always shaky, theory that criminals were so distinctly a separate type as to constitute a distinct variety of the human species. Not only are their anthropological variations from the normal no greater than those of any other group, but such variations as exist are of all sorts, and thoroughly atypical. We have come to see that the causes of criminals are largely social, and to be attacked by social means.

Mr. Lane's discussion of modern methods of treatment, before confinement, during confinement, and after release, is thoroughly clear and illuminating. Through it all runs the fundamental idea of the necessity of individualizing the criminal. The whole thing looks so plain, reasonable, and convincing that it leaves one wondering why the process of change in a forward direction is so everlastingly slow.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Capital Punishment in the United States. By RAYMOND T. BYE. Philadelphia: Committee on Philanthropic Labor, 154 N. 15th St., 1919. Pp. 106. Gratis.

Dr. Bye's thesis contains a discussion of the evolution of the death penalty, and of the theories and facts bearing upon the validity of capital punishment. He concludes that capital punishment is inconsistent with scientific theories of criminology. The responsibility for crime is social and not individual, and its treatment should only consist

of individualization, reformation, and prevention, in which revenge should have no place. The percentage of homicides which result in the execution of the offender is so small that the death penalty cannot be considered a deterrent. Moreover, statistics of states which do and do not inflict the death penalty lend no support to the argument that capital punishment is an effective check upon homicide. "Evolution, theory, practice, humanity—all lead to the same conclusion. The death penalty is an outworn vestige—a cruel remnant—of barbarism, which has no place in a modern enlightened community."

As a substitute for the death penalty Dr. Bye recommends the indeterminate sentence with a minimum of sufficient length to make the effect impressive upon the public.

The thesis is well fortified by statistical and other data, and is altogether a thorough and able presentation.

JEROME DOWD

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

The Intelligence of School Children. How children differ in ability; the use of mental tests in school grading and the proper education of exceptional children. By LEWIS M. TERMAN. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919. Pp. xxii+317. \$1.75.

This book is one of the series of "Riverside Textbooks in Education," edited by E. P. Cubberley, and in many respects may be considered a companion volume to the author's *The Measurement of Intelligence*, published in the same series in 1916. The first book is essentially a guide for the use of the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale, while the present volume indicates how the test results may be used in the everyday routine of the school. The author tells us that the book has been written for the grade teacher in simple, untechnical language with the practical aim of "showing how the results of mental tests may be put to everyday use in the grade classification and in the educational guidance of school children"; and the author has succeeded admirably in achieving this aim.

The first principal topic is the existence of individual differences in general intelligence in school children. Typical grades are chosen, e.g., the kindergarten, the first and fifth grades, and the first year of high school, and the actual test results are tabulated. The importance of this kind of an analysis, particularly in the first grade, is emphasized because the future progress of the child through the grades depends to a large extent upon getting the right kind of start at the beginning. We

fail to realize the tremendous variation among first-grade pupils, and Terman shows us that mental ages may vary from 3 to 10 years. Children of such mental variation cannot be satisfactorily taught as one group. The variations in the first year of high school are not so great. At this stage of school life the significance of a child's intelligence for future success in school is great. The results seem to show that a pupil with an I.Q. below 90 is almost certain to fail in algebra or Latin, and furthermore that he is unlikely to graduate from our high schools as they are at present organized. This raises the vital educational question as to whether the high school ought to broaden out and introduce other subjects that could be handled satisfactorily by the pupil whose I.Q. is below 90.

Following this presentation of individual differences comes the question of the classification of pupils in school according to their mental age. The actual situation in our schools at present shows that chronological age rather than mental age is the basis for advancement. The bright child is retarded in comparison with his mental age, and the dull or feeble-minded child is accelerated. The average grade-acceleration of the latter group is about 2.2 years.

Of great interest to the psychologist is the discussion of the reliability of the I.Q. for purposes of prediction. Terman gives us for the first time more or less adequate data on this problem. It has long been a disputed point as to whether the I.Q. remains constant or not. Some data have been presented and several workers have argued that the I.Q. is very variable. The suspicion, however, has always been that the data upon which their arguments were based have been defective, and that a great deal of the variability of the I.Q. was due to the defects of the intelligence scales used. Terman's results show great stability, and on the whole show that the I.Q. is constant from age 4 to about age 14. The probable error is about 5 points. There are, however, some individual cases showing a difference of plus or minus 20 points.

A great part of the book is taken up with the superior child, and in view of the growing interest in this subject the matter is very timely. The needs of these children in the school are emphasized and the author urges the establishment of opportunity classes for superior children. These children are not freaks nor are they morally or physically abnormal. The schools are neglecting the great power for good that would arise from a recognition of the vast potentialities of the group. From among these children should come the leaders of the next generation, and a democracy needs to develop all its intellectual and moral

resources. Particularly interesting are the case descriptions of 41 superior children.

The last topic in the book deals with the use of mental tests for vocational guidance. Here Terman gives the chief results of testing various adult groups with the Stanford Scale. These groups include firemen, policemen, express-company employees, motormen and conductors, business men, college students, tramps and hoboes. The chief value of the work would seem to be the suggestion that it gives us of the amount of intelligence required in various walks of life. Eventually we may be able to determine the minimum amount of intelligence required for different occupations and to advise a boy against entering an occupation for which he does not possess the requisite amount of intelligence.

This brief survey of the main topics of the book will indicate the practical nature of the work and its usefulness for the teacher. We have now definitely entered upon a period where mental tests are regarded as a necessary adjunct to intelligent supervision in our schools, and it behooves every teacher to become acquainted with the problem. For the psychologist the book is valuable for the data presented. Although many of the results have already appeared in various psychological journals, they will be more accessible in the present book form. The attitude of the author as to what mental tests will and will not do is sane and sound, and the book will give the student of sociology the best up-to-date presentation of the problem of mental testing and some of its applications.

RUDOLF PINTNER

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Problems of the Secondary Teacher. By WILLIAM JERUSALEM, PH.D. Translated by CHARLES F. SANDERS. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. Pp. 253. \$1.75.

The author is given on the title-page as "Professor of Education, University of Vienna," but much of his career, he says, was spent in "the practical life of a pedagogue," and he often refers to the teachers of whom he writes as his colleagues. His spiritual forebears are Goethe, Schiller, Plato, Foerster, Sophocles, Paulsen, Kant, Herder, and Socrates, in order according to the number of references after their respective names in the index.

According to the sociological interpretation which he favors, "general education implies the sum total of social requirements" (p. 30).

The aim is to train "to intellectual independence and moral responsibility" (p. 79). Then follow inferences about the curriculum and the method of instruction. There are eleven pages on pupil self-government (pp. 183-93), citing especially American experience. Here is an interesting passage:

Man, once he has matured, no longer accepts laws and institutions without question. . . . This gives rise to the battle of the individual struggling for the freer exercise of his powers against every kind of social bondage, a battle which began over two thousand years ago, manifested itself in the most varied forms and is not yet at an end [p. 168].

The book is an excellent one of which we of England and America may begin the reunion of our minds with those of our late enemies, because it comes to us with a fresh statement of ideas such as would become a teacher in an English "public school" or an American academy. The style is clear and the book is readable for one that is fundamentally theoretical.

F. R. CLOW

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL
OSHKOSH, WIS.

The Aims of Teaching in Jewish Schools: A Handbook for Teachers.

By RABBI LOUIS GROSSMANN, D.D. Teachers' Institute of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1919. Pp. 245. \$1.50.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall, who contributes the Introduction, pronounces this "by far the best treatise on religious pedagogy that has anywhere yet appeared. It places religious education on its proper scientific and constructive basis." Something over half of the volume is devoted to the successive stages in the child's advancement from the kindergarten to the eighth grade. The latter part is devoted to special phases such as the use of stories, the textbook, the Hebrew language, music, etc. The discussions are rather general to constitute a "handbook," but they make good reading for anyone who is interested in recent pedagogy and modernist religion, as the following samples will testify:

The child should not be troubled by "principles." . . . Modern pedagogy has driven all abstract formulas out of the school-room and forbids the teaching of "creed" in any subject. The object of education is to establish habits of conduct; we do not operate schools in the interest of abstract "truths" [p. 112].

The God-fact develops in the child just as his own ego develops. God is not any longer outside. He begins to be inside of the life. God ceases to be

spectacular, as it were, a Great Being in the Heavens. . . . God is the spirit within us [p. 133].

It is the duty of the Religious School teacher to make himself conversant with the work his pupils are doing during the week. . . . Every teacher should supply himself with a copy of the "Course of Study" of the local public schools and familiarize himself with it [p. 150].

Hollow preaching has damaged the usefulness of the religious schools. There has been too much pious talk and not enough real teaching; too much story telling and moralizing and vacuous praying and hymn-droning, and not enough of training and building [p. 155.]

The test of a good lesson is not whether the pupil knows it, but whether it has stirred his inner life [p. 197].

Child worship may not contain references to sin and contrition, for these subjects are not a part of child religion; the child has no sense of sinfulness and should not have it [p. 218].

F. R. CLOW

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL
OSHKOSH, WIS.

Intervention in Mexico. By SAMUEL GUY INMAN. New York: Association Press, 1919. Pp. 243. \$1.50.

This is a popular exhibit of social conditions and progressive forces in Mexico and of the unsettling influence of foreign capital—a plea for understanding, patience, non-intervention, and for educational assistance.

The author contends that progress under the indomitable nationalist, Carranza, is being made as rapidly as any nation has ever effected reconstruction after a great social revolution. Mexico needs a chance to work out her own salvation. Confidence in the United States has been revived during the war. This can be legitimately exploited for business and international good will. Intervention would not help Mexico and would alienate the South American countries. The press should print only the truth.

D. H. K.

Education for Character; Moral Training in the School and Home.

By FRANK CHAPMAN SHARP, PH.D. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1917. Pp. xiv+453. \$1.25.

The proper place for moral education is wherever it can be given. For the task is at once enormously difficult, and one which is vital to human society [p. 3].

Faithful to this maxim, the author devotes the earlier half of the book to moral education given incidentally in connection with the existing

work of the schools. There are chapters on "The Teacher as a Friend," "The Discipline of the School," "Pupil Government," "Mutual Aid in Class Work," "Moral Training through the Extra-Curricular Activities of the School," "Moral Instruction through the Existing Curriculum," "Moral Instruction through Biography." Here in fifteen chapters is two hundred and fifty pages of matter which would be valuable to any teacher.

Part III, "Moral Instruction," includes the last two chapters just named, but only the three chapters of it next following treat of "The Systematic Study of the Conduct of Life" as a separate branch in the curriculum. It is supplemented in the Appendix by "A Program of Moral Instruction" arranged for Grades I-VIII.

The closing chapter is "Moral Education in the Home."

F. R. CLOW

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL
OSHKOSH, WIS.

The New Spirit in Industry. By F. ERNEST JOHNSON. New York: Association Press, 1919. Pp. 95. \$0.75.

A fairly good presentation of some of the recent tendencies in industrial management and control, the book fails to mention, however, such significant experiments as at Rock Island Arsenal or at the Midvale Iron and Steel plant. Worth perusal.

D. H. K.

Christian Internationalism. By WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919. Pp. 193. \$1.50.

This little book, written before the close of fighting and published in December of last year, is a well-argued earnest attempt to lay the foundation of internationalism on the basis of Christianity. Nietzsche discarded Christianity as a world-power because it would not fit into his scheme of world-power; Tolstoi discarded the world because it would not fit into his scheme of Christianity. But Christianity as expressed in internationalism, that is, in true democracy as against autocracy, should save the world. Patriotism is preserved within the bounds of internationalism; it is not really patriotic to be chauvinistic. Strong as was the nationalistic spirit of the Hebrews, the Old Testament yet urges that God is a God of principles rather than of nations and the spirit of the New Testament is exactly that brotherly love which should make war impossible.

A permanent alliance in order to insure the preservation of peace was proposed by Tom Paine about the time Kant published his noteworthy tract on "Enduring Peace." Lord Castlereagh went to the Council of Vienna resolved to attempt the formation of a league of nations to preserve peace, a scheme which became distorted into the autocratic Holy Alliance. But the idea has persisted, though derided by militarists and treated as visionary even by those who approved of it. It is time now that the Christian world realized that such a league, embodying internationalism, is the only means to save the soul of Christianity itself and of the world at large.

Such in outline is the argument of this readable little book. It is convincing from the modern Christian point of view and it does not blink the difficulties and objections that arise practically. These are carefully considered in the eighth chapter, under the caption "Problems Confronting Internationalism." The author, while recognizing the great obstacles encountered, persuasively insists that faith and hope may remove them. It is an ideal to which we should pledge ourselves, let practical men object as they will; for, as Lord Robert Cecil remarked, "Practical men never accomplish anything." It is the idealist alone who has bettered the world. This book should be read particularly by those members of Congress who set nationalism, under the guise of patriotism, in opposition to the internationalism embodied in the League of Nations. But it is a book also for every thoughtful citizen to ponder over. The reviewer regrets that he cannot wholly agree with the author in his effort to show that Christianity has always been synonymous with internationalism. Christianity is a growth; in other words, it does not mean to us what it did to the early church. This growth is a gain but it is not primitive Christianity; it is a great improvement on it. It is in truth the widest possible application of the best thought of primitive Christianity, but in that application too much has to be read into the original form by Dr. Merrill to satisfy the historic sense. The author thinks that Christ, when he says, "If any man compels you to go a mile with him, go two miles," really means that the pacifist ought to fight for internationalism. The moral is excellent but the illustration is not convincing. Internationalism means a great deal more than brotherly love, more in fact than Christ had in mind at any time. It would perhaps have been sufficient to show that internationalism is in accord with Christian principles. The author, however, rather inclines to insist upon "Christian Internationalism," as if the cause of internationalism were one with that of the Christian church.

S. WASHBURN HOPKINS

A New Municipal Program. Edited by CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1919. Pp. x+392. \$2.25.

In 1913 the National Municipal League appointed a committee on municipal program. In 1915 this committee submitted a model city charter which was approved by the league. The present volume may be considered as a brief for the model charter and the municipal program which it represents.

Preceding the charter itself are fourteen chapters written by various members of the committee, elaborating, explaining, and defending the conclusions embodied in the document. Among the authors and their contributions are the following: "Experts in Municipal Government and the New Model Charter," by Abbott Lawrence Lowell; "Civil Service and Efficiency," by William Dudley Foulke; "Administrative Organization," by Herman G. James; "The Council," by William Bennett Munro; "The Franchise Policy of the New Municipal Program," by Delos F. Wilcox; "Financial Provisions of the New Municipal Program," by John A. Fairlie; "City Planning," by M. N. Baker; "Business Management for City Courts," by Herbert Harley.

The editor has been more than ordinarily successful in welding these parts into a coherent whole. The result is a book of reference valuable alike to the student and to the charter draftsman. Avowedly propaganda for the program of the National Municipal League, the book seems well calculated to fulfil its function.

The program itself is too well known among students to justify any attempt at critical comment in so brief a notice as this. But the general reader should perhaps be warned lest he be led by the inclusive title to expect discussions of housing, recreation, education, and other aspects of a complete municipal program which the present volume makes no pretense of treating.

STUART A. QUEEN

GOUCHER COLLEGE

Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History. By E. P. CUBBERLEY. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919. Pp. xxv+517. \$1.80.

The author announces this book as "an introductory textbook dealing with the larger problems of present day education in the light of their historical development." In it he has broken new ground in

the writing of histories of education. The departure is of interest to sociologists, for whereas practically all former histories of education have dealt largely with educational theory, this volume, while not neglecting the place of theory, gives much space to showing the close interrelationships between educational progress in this country and the social, religious, political, and economic changes which have taken place in our colonial and national periods.

The book makes no pretenses at being abstruse, and there are many points to which the sociologist and economist might add illumination and depth. The only purpose was to use the most available facts and the more or less obvious applications in order to show that education in this country at all times reflects our national history, that it is a part of our national growth, and not an exotic product of European ideas. Certainly, Professor Cubberley is not blind to the influences from Europe. He traces the distinctly English origin of our educational institutions, followed later by the coming of Pestalozzian, Herbartian, and Froebelian contributions. He is not in accord, however, with Professor Judd in believing that our elementary graded school is of Volksschule birth, and an American adoption due to the famous reports of Cousin, Stowe, and others on the schools of Prussia, published in the thirties. On the contrary, he maintains his essential natural-growth theory, holding that the movement toward the graded school was already well under way when these reports reached us. It is not the purpose of this review to mix in a controversy that has little intrinsic importance for the sociologist, and which is taken up elsewhere on the part of Professor Judd. For the student of social relations the value of the book lies in its tendency toward interpreting our national educational development in terms of socio-economic forces, and in advocating the need of developing a body of experts who will better correlate our educational institutions with these forces.

KIMBALL YOUNG

LATTER-DAY SAINTS UNIVERSITY

The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner: America's Next Problem.

By EDITH ELMER WOOD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1919.

Pp. 322. \$2.25.

This book is the first thoroughly scientific discussion of the problem dealing with the housing of wage-earners in the United States. The statistical data marshalled by the author in order to indicate the extent of the problem from an economic point of view and the difficulty of

supplying adequate housing facilities with the present prevailing income is bound to throw new light upon the whole discussion of housing reform.

What is true of the statistical discussion applies also to the history of the development of the housing movement in the United States and the description of the work of the various agencies that have been active in promoting better housing, both through legislation and through the actual construction of homes.

Perhaps the weakest part of the book is to be found in the discussion of housing reform in European countries. The sections dealing with English and German housing reform, while focused very largely upon the economic aspect of the work of the respective governments, are fairly adequate, but the sections dealing with Belgium, Austria, Italy, and the other European countries show lack of familiarity with the rather considerable literature that has found its way into American libraries in the last eight or ten years.

Although the author emphasizes the need for city planning as a prerequisite of constructive housing reform, one is surprised to find a rather skeptical consideration of tax reform and utter disregard of such matters as public ownership of land, cheap and adequate transportation, and the other aspects of housing control so familiar to the European countries. The whole book seems to focus very largely upon the justification of securing legislation which would grant federal and state aid in the financing of wage-earners' homes.

As a brief in defense of federal and state action it is by far the best work that has so far been produced. It lacks, however, that breadth of vision which is characteristic of the European writers such as Nettelfold, Euwin, Eberstadt, and other writers of similar character.

CAROL ARONOVICI

STATE COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

The Right to Achieve.—Achievement consists of the “trial and error” process and inductive science. By foresight errors were eliminated and inductive science was created. This step placed emphasis on the individual thinker. In economic progress slavery utilized the potential productiveness of human labor through the liberation and more efficient functioning of the slave director. In later ages the steam engine and not humanitarianism enfranchised the slave. Political progress also discloses the achieving function of the individual as shown by European civilization. The right to achieve is limited by the warfare between science and theology, by righteous anger against injustice due to financial and industrial abuses of private ownership, by conservatism, and by the instinct of envy, which leads to the idea that superior ability will acquire power and use it unjustly and cruelly. Justice and democracy are conditions for progress. The right to achieve is the right to modify the present social order and not to destroy it. Respect for achievement is one of the fruits by which we know sound education from spurious, and it is a large part of culture in distinction from *kultur*. Let us preserve the sacred moral right of the individual to be a free moral agent.—Franklin H. Giddings, *The Unpartizan Review*, October and December, 1919. C. N.

Anthropology and History.—The followers of Comte believe that permanent relations between sciences may be established by the logical delimitation of their respective frontiers, and the acceptance of the paramount authority of a general science called sociology. Another view is expressed by Professor Percy Gardner, that sciences will organize themselves as they develop, and each will find its due place. Neither view seems correct. The essential thing is to obtain co-operation between investigators in different fields through the recognition of a common aim and purpose. At present, scholars display an unfortunate cleavage, and this fact is nowhere so fully illustrated as in the arbitrary division between anthropology and history. It is true that there is a difference in method and subject-matter between the two sciences. Roughly speaking, anthropology and history are studies devoted respectively to the investigation of the activities of “non-civilized” and “civilized” human groups. The anthropologist gives a detailed description of the characteristics of a particular group. The historian gives what he personally regards the significant events in the career of a particular nation. The anthropologist is interested mainly in the activities of living human beings, but the historian is almost proud of complete detachment from present-day concerns. The method of anthropology is more truly empirical, while that of history is usually narrative. The recent tendency in history, however, is to deal more with human experience as a whole and to use scientific methods of research. All this tends to make the difference between the two sciences insignificant. Moreover, both have a great deal in common. In the desire to interpret the peculiarities of the ancient peoples and modern savages in terms of modern life, to assimilate their idiosyncrasies to our own thinking, the anthropologist and the historian are alike. Furthermore, both strive for the solution of a common problem, namely, How has man all over the world come to be as he is today? Since the problem is common to both, why do not the historian and anthropologist attack it in hearty co-operation?—F. J. Teggert, *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Method*, December, 1919. K. S.

De l'inégalité parmi les hommes (Inequality among Men).—Both physical and mental differences among men have been measured with increasing precision of technique and have been found to be distributed in harmony with the curve of normal distribution. While variabilities in social status will be distributed according to the

same general tendency, still the *milieu* will tend to change the extreme ends of the curve. However, the two extremes, the very superior and the very inferior, will always exist, and in between is the great number of the mediocre. Sociological optimism says: Each man is of the same value and is capable of becoming a hero or demigod with the proper environment; sociological pessimism says: In reality, each individual has his own intellectual or moral mark and the number of men capable of accomplishing great deeds has been, and always will be, limited. These variations among men tend to group themselves according to their inner nature. Groups of different grades of men tend to form a hierarchy of groups. There will be the dominating and there will be the subordinated groups. Within the group will be found further variation resulting in an in-group hierarchy, for the members, while alike, are not identical in qualities. This hierarchical arrangement of various groups forming society, the hierarchical arrangement of individuals forming the group, and the cohesions and oppositions among groups, constitute a set of social facts that refute the claim of sociological optimism, which refuses to recognize any fatality in social antagonisms and which loves to project a day when all hierarchical arrangements will disappear. Sociological pessimism recognizes that, while there are changes, they touch only the surface.—A. Niceforo, *Revue internationale de sociologie*, Mars-Avril, 1919.
D. H. K.

The Ethics of Collective Bargaining (A British View).—Experience taught British labor the advantage of collective bargaining. Consequently, labor in most leading industries became so well organized that bargaining between the unions and the organizations of the employers came to be the normal and accepted method of labor contract. In many of these trades, however, there would remain a minority of unorganized workers forming non-union shops. Similarly on the side of the employers there were firms which stood for the open-shop policy. But, by the year 1914 (the greatest dividing line in modern history) the idea of the individual labor contract had become obsolete. In the case of skilled and well-organized trades, it has been voluntarily displaced by collective bargaining of groups of employers and employed devising regular and elaborate agreements and joint boards for the adjustment of differences. In the case of more backward trades, the state has already interfered and enacted the Trade Board Act, which in a number of "sweated industries" empowered joint boards, representing capital and labor together with governmental assessors, to fix minimum wages. Neither capital nor labor emerged from the war as it entered. During the war, the process of association and combination have been immensely accelerated in essential industries, due to governmental control of materials and prices. After the war was over, this enforced association could not disappear because business men have learned the benefit of co-operation. A similar stimulus has been given to the organization of labor. Trade unions have grown; some five millions of wage-earners are now unionized. The recommendation of the Whitley Committee in favor of industrial councils and workshop committees—equally representative of capital and labor—for the discussion and settlement of all matters affecting the conditions of employment and the general welfare of the trade have been generally accepted by all classes, except the extremists on the "right" of the employers and the "left" of the workers. The idea is to introduce, alike into the national trades, the several industries, and their constituent establishments, a genuine form of representative government, in which capital and labor will have an equal share. This is the first full recognition of the principle that labor is not to be treated as a mere commodity. Throughout the general field of economic activity the spirit of social service has grown as the result of experience in the war.—J. A. Hobson, *Standard*, November, 1919.
K. S.

Liberty and Reform.—Subjectivism and institutionalism are both wrong. The ancient Greek Sophists, the Stoics, Rousseau, and the French Humanitarians all failed because of their subjectivism, that is, they failed to recognize the importance of social institutions through which ideas find expression. Life does not contain within itself the means and agencies of its own furtherance and growth. On the other hand, to institutionalize life is to reduce life to a mechanism and thus to preclude the possibility of its development—a machine cannot progress. What is needed is a

careful analysis of the social process. Social activity exhibits both subjective and institutional aspects. Activity starts from within, but direction is determined from without. The environment, with its checks and limits, solicits and directs the particular response. We thus have two things: an inner impulse to move, and an outer determinant of direction. Freedom is to be found in a just relation between the two aspects. So far as the activity is concerned, the two phases are inseparable aspects of a single, indivisible process. Freedom and determination, according to this view, are subjective and objective aspects of a process which in itself is one. But the question to ask is not whether the action is free or determined, but whether it is effective. It is effective just to the extent that the factors of environment are utilized as means of helping forward life. Life has no end beyond itself; the final cause of it is the realization of its own characteristic excellence. But life attains excellence only in and through external forms that provide the machinery of organization for its expression. But since institutions have a tendency to become rigid, it is necessary that they should be continually readapted to the changing conditions of life. Subjective tendencies are loose and unorganized and therefore must be controlled. This could be done indirectly by controlling the medium in which they express themselves. A free life is one which finds in external mediums the means of its own furtherance. Democracy is that form of social organization in which each member of the social group is given free and full access to all means and agencies of social growth—M. T. McClure, *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Method*, October, 1919. K. S.

A Laymen's Parliament.—In a sense the leader in a free state has to obey the led as much as they have to obey him; for he must know what share each is capable of taking in a joint enterprise. The sociology of Lester Ward throws a flood of light on these relations of director to subordinates which are now undergoing so drastic a change. Governments, he demonstrates, are always odious to the people for they back up the strong against the weak and so far from being necessary to the life of a nation they promote wars, both of words and of swords, to make themselves appear necessary. There are, however, some public services which are more efficient as national than as local concerns and for these a laymen's parliament is today very much needed. The present system of representative government precludes knowledge of public affairs on the part of almost every voter and thus renders nugatory the talents and attainments of the few men and women who are well-informed. If the system had been expressly contrived for mystifying the voter it could not have served its purpose better. Divorced from action, the knowledge of the learned relegates them to genteel cliques that are ridiculously out of touch with reality. The only way out of the difficulty seems to be that which M. Ostrogorski recommended after fifteen years' study of the party system. If as many, say, as 30,000 voters agreed that any given problem which did not concern purely trade or professional gains or losses was a matter of national importance, they might be allowed to have a representative in parliament to find a solution for it. Before long, if not at the beginning, a set of philosophers, or rather sociologists, would be required to determine by extensive study the repercussion upon one another of emigration, education, marriage laws, and all the other social conditions and courses of events which were suitable for intensive study by the various constituencies. Thus an educational campaign could be started which would bring home to each dweller a personal responsibility for what was going on in the country, show him that every problem is not two-sided but many-sided and make him eager to learn politics, both pure and applied.—M. E. Robinson, *Contemporary Review*, October, 1919. O. B. Y.

American Idealism.—Almost a hundred years ago Victor Hugo published *Fragments d'Histoire*. Therein he showed how the center of civilization had shifted from one to the other of three continents; how it was first in Asia with Nineveh and Babylon, then in Africa with Thebes, Memphis, and Carthage, and lastly in Europe moving ever westward, from Athens to Rome, from Rome to Paris. Now European civilization has led for twenty centuries. Has it not survived itself? "Is it rash to assume that exhausted and stunted as it [civilization] has become in the old world our civilization is seeking new soil which it can fructify and from which it can be rejuvenated?"

Victor Hugo saw what must come. The Americans came to Europe as the champions of liberty. They renounced in advance any selfish gains from the great world-war. To many, and not least to the Germans, it came as a surprise that America, "the land of the Almighty Dollar," should be the one to show such unselfish idealism. But this is typically American. These people like to do big business and make money, but they are also willing to sacrifice property and life in order to realize the ideals which make existence grander, richer, and more beautiful. They have a more spontaneous enthusiasm for their ideals than that possessed, perhaps in a paler form, by other races who seem less materialistic and even more spiritually cultured. Björnson, who visited America during the winter 1880-81, exclaims: "Strange that so many of the great spirits among these people and—so far as I am able to judge—so much of their best culture should have a superspiritual element, a sentimental, idealistic, visionary quality, which is the last thing in the world I had expected to encounter in America." An American may sometimes use big words, but he is never declamatory. Impulsiveness and enthusiasm are leading traits in his character. His ideals are simple and not warped by a life-weary civilization. His morality is built upon the right and liberty of the individual, and it is this passion for individual freedom which spells "democracy" to an American.—Fridtjof Nansen, *Scandinavian American*, O. B. Y., July-August, 1919.

The I.W.W.—A Statement of Its Principles, Objects, and Methods.—This is an authoritative statement from I.W.W. leaders. The I.W.W. is not a secret organization, but pursues its aims by educational propaganda and publicity. It is "One Big Union," differing from other labor unions in that it unites all workers irrespective of their crafts or occupations. The preamble of the I.W.W. constitution is quoted, the first sentence of which is: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." At the time of organization in 1906 this preamble contained a paragraph calling for political action, but in 1908 this was struck out, making the organization distinctly non-political. The I.W.W. is a professed "militant organ" to fight with the employing class for better laboring conditions. Its second object is to serve as a "productive organ" when capitalism collapses, which is expected in the near future. However, production itself will not collapse, because the industrial unions of the I.W.W. will be ready to carry it on by means of a system of industrial communism. I.W.W. leaders prefer to describe their methods as "direct action." By this they mean that the workers should act themselves instead of through salaried representatives. Occasionally strikes and boycotts are resorted to for temporary gains; another method is "striking on the job," or a "withdrawal of efficiency," until concessions are granted. Rioting is not resorted to; the strike breaker is chased with "mental dynamite." I.W.W. members are patriotic in an international sense. The estimated increase in membership in the last thirteen months is fifty thousand. The I. W. W. considers its educational work of primary importance. The Publishing Bureau has a booklist, and there are twenty-one weekly and monthly publications. A "General Handbook" is soon to be issued.—John Sandgren, Editor, *The One Big Union Monthly*. R. W. N.

An Inside Survey of Soviet Russia.—Recent tendencies indicate that the forces of reaction are gaining rapidly in Russia. While the Bolsheviks have kept the Red Army enthused with propaganda and military success, the people, as a rule, have become sympathetic toward Kolchak. The peasants, who were at first attracted to the Bolsheviks, have lost faith in them. With war and famine constantly confronting them, the peasants long for the bread and peace of former days. Freedom accompanied by famine and destitution has led them to ridicule ideals, such as collective government and the equalization of all rights and property. The Bolsheviks, however, are in complete control. This is due to the fact that they have abandoned their principles of democracy and have established a system of military and civil discipline which has enabled them to crush opposition with a firm hand. The only organization not under their control is the church. The opposition has gradually gathered around the church because the Bolsheviks fear a popular uprising if they attack the church. There is great tension on both sides. The

Bolshevists, led mainly by Jews, regard their struggle as a holy war against capitalism and regard the revolution as a fulfilment of Scripture. The church likewise regards its opposition to Bolshevism as a holy war against evil—against Lenine, the Anti-Christ. Each side is equally convinced that prophecy is being fulfilled, and each is trying to kindle feeling by propaganda. A great religious movement is consequently spreading over Central and Northern Russia. The Bolshevists have not, however, been able to fulfil the hopes of the people and have lost the sympathy of practically every class in Russia.—V. Anickov, *New Europe*, November, 1919. F. A. C.

Rusland.—The author writes this article as an appeal in behalf of Russia. He writes at the request of the best men in that unhappy country. He would be heard outside of the boundaries of his own country (Denmark) by those who have the power, or rather by those who are in position to exert pressure on such as for the moment are in power. Russia was about to be starved to death six months ago. "Judge then what has been the result of this inhuman and highly political, therefore quite devilish blockade." Russia is going through what France experienced during the rule of the Jacobins from September, 1792 to July, 1794, with this in addition that the Russian revolution is social in its kernel. The mistake of the Jacobins was their terroristic dictatorship, which could not develop a permanent organization, and this brought the reaction. But the Jacobins completed the abolition of feudal rights, which neither the constituent nor lawmaking bodies had been able to accomplish. Through their imitating the last vestiges of serfdom disappeared. They proclaimed the political equality of all citizens, a watchword which during the nineteenth century went round the world. The situation in Russia at present is quite similar. The Bolsheviki are attempting through a dictatorship which is in the hands of one group of the Social Democrats to accomplish the socialization of industry and the world—the old socialistic program. Unfortunately their methods are reminiscent of Babeuf's, when he in 1793 tried to smuggle communism into France. In a similar manner the Bolsheviki through a shower of proclamations have paralyzed the power of the people to revive their society. It is clear that their policies have been such as largely to defeat the ends sought, whatever we may believe about the principles involved. However, Lenine has himself realized these mistakes and would correct them if he were given time. In Western Europe they speak of establishing order in Russia by armed intervention. Such an intervention would, to the sorrow of the intellectuals, cause most violent attacks of national jingoism. A monarchy established in this manner would inevitably become a chauvinistic state, and foreign meddling with Russian affairs would create a hatred of Western Europe which would be of irremediable injury to civilization. The Americans were the first to realize this. The important task at present is to build up the future through constructive effort. In this the Allies should help Russia and should long ago have taken steps to do so.—Georg Brandes, *Tilskueren*, November, 1919. O. B. Y.

Germany and Democracy.—Germany today confronts serious difficulties. What the world hoped to be the dawn of true democracy in Germany, in November of last year, has turned out to be otherwise. It was our hope then to see Germany rise from the iron grip of militarism and autocracy and to enter on a career of democracy. But subsequent developments seem to prove that she has not yet emerged from the internal disorder due to conflict between autocrats and radicals. General Noske's recent protest that an army of 100,000 men is quite insufficient to preserve order and to assure successful fulfilment of the program of reconstruction sufficiently proves that Germany is still involved in internal strife. The cause of the restlessness seems to lie in the too conservative nature of the party in power. The parliamentary party is composed chiefly of moderate socialists and some non-socialistic radicals. It may be true, as Chancellor Bauer declared lately, that under the present régime most of the people are satisfied, and that all they want now is work. But radical socialists are certainly not satisfied. Their antagonism against the Majority Socialist party is growing ever more bitter as the latter assumes more and more the imperialistic attitude, adopts a pro-bourgeois policy, and becomes hostile to Bolshevism. The Spartacans who are the most radical, are endeavoring to bring the control of the national affairs into the hands of a council made up of workmen and soldiers. The idea, of course,

is to imitate the revolutionary party of Russia. They propagate revolutionary sentiment among the workmen. Independents do not go thus far. They insist upon the establishment of the council composed of the representatives of the professional organizations and of the general public incorporated in the constitution. The recent tendency of the Independents, however, is to approach gradually toward the principle of the Spartacans. While the political struggle is thus being accentuated, the majority of the people seem to abide by the principle set forth a few weeks ago at a socialistic gathering in the Grand Duchy of Baden that the reconstruction of Germany is possible only by work.—Georges Blondel, *La Reforme sociale*, October, 1919. K. S.

Warum wir uns in Böhmen nicht versöhnen.—Already during the war Austria has realized that she cannot leave the Bohemian question unsolved. For centuries two highly developed cultural nations have been engaged in a bitter struggle in the Czecho-Slovak countries, rich in every respect. They both desire a settlement that would guarantee just living conditions for both races. There were two movements for the settlement of the Bohemian question. The first was the German attempt to separate German settlements from the Czech into independent autonomous units and make them independent of Prague. This was opposed by the Czechs. The second attempt for reconciliation was started by the Czechs and has been best expressed in the great work called *The Bohemian People* (*Das böhmische Volk*), in which prominent Czech authorities made a survey of the cultural, artistic, and political achievements and ideals of Czechs and expressed their sincere desire for an honorable peace with the Germans, with whom they shared their destiny for a thousand years. They recognized the German language areas in Bohemia as original and naturally inclosed settlements. The Austrian censorship in its ignorance has destroyed parts of this valuable work. It is in Bohemia where the common will of both races has created institutions and has defined the conditions for a peaceful settlement. It was proved in the Land School Council, the Land Culture Council, and the Modern Gallery, where both Czechs and Germans shared in equality. Germans adhered to Wilson's fourteen points, but the Entente wanted to have in the Czecho-Slovak Republic a large, rich, and strong outpost in order to fulfil their rôle against Germany. But the three and one-half million Germans in the Czecho-Slovak Republic cannot be used for this task against Germany. In the internal politics the Czechs, who have completed their national revival and cling passionately to their history, which records how completely they have exterminated German colonization with sword and fire during the Hussite wars, will pursue the policy of annihilation of the Germans, a conquest by colonization which they had effectively used already before the war. They were pushing their colonies of workers, miners, craftsmen, traders, and administrative officials into German districts, like, for instance, Böhmisches Leipa, were establishing Czech schools, and have influenced the public opinion in their favor. Everybody can see the fate of the Germans. The German national honor was not destroyed by the war. Therefore, we Germans cannot become reconciled to the Czechs, as they desire our destruction.—Dr. Gustav Peters, *Das Neue Europa*. (Zurich.) J. H.

The Psychological Moment.—The writer draws attention to the wide range of uses to which the phrase is put and yet most people would be puzzled to define it. The psychological moment is, the writer thinks, most often accompanied by feelingful and volitional states of mind. The sale is a splendid example, though not all sales vividly exhibit it. At the time of a sale there are many ideas in the mind of a prospective buyer, one of which must be so strengthened as practically to eliminate the others. The psychological moment is the one just prior to the conquest of the one idea. The last enemy is, as it were, being fought, and a wrong word by the salesman, or any exterior influence, may react against the sale. Salesmen become expert to the extent to which they learn to recognize the psychological moment and smoothly and rapidly close the deal. Thus the psychological moment is an hourly phenomenon, a prevalent factor in human behavior, which all persons desiring to influence human action will do well to conjure with.—Dr. Harry D. Kitson, *Scientific Monthly*, September, 1919. S. C. R.

Lov om Bedriftsraad i Industri og Handel (Law for the Establishment of Councils of Industry and Commerce).—This is a report by the Labor Commission of 1918 (the majority report) formed by the Norwegian Storting at the instance of the Department of Social Affairs. The object was to have a commission of expert and competent men work out a system of laws enabling the workers to partake in the control of the industries and the distribution of profits and thus create a mutual bond of interest and co-operation between all those concerned in industrial production. According to this proposed law each local industry shall have a council in which will be represented each of three groups, the employers, workers, and "functionaries." No decision of this council shall be binding without the concurrence of each of these respective groups. If the local council fails to agree, the matter of dispute shall be referred to the district council at the demand of any one of the parties involved. The district councils shall also be composed of representatives of these three classes, but the president of each will be elected by the local legislative assemblies, and when necessary he may cast the deciding vote. The district councils will have several divisions in order to cover the various branches of industry more efficiently, but the elected president will always preside. Finally, the Central Council of Industry and Trade will be composed in much the same way as the district councils, the president, to be appointed by the king. The district council will report to the central council, and this council will control and unify the system. (The report covers 182 pages, and details cannot be given.)—*Arbeiderkomisjonen av 1918, Sociale Meddelelser*, October, 1919. O. B. Y.

Women in the Railroad World.—During the war great numbers of women, attracted by good wages and the opportunity to be of service, entered the railroad world. Of the 100,000 who were employed at the close of the war, 70 per cent were in clerical work. Others had found new and unusual forms of work in the shops, signal service, roundhouses, offices, and on the tracks. The lack of provisions for the welfare of women in these new forms of work made it difficult to continue their employment when the war closed and approximately 20 per cent have left the service. The specific reasons for this decrease are: (1) returning soldiers have displaced many women; (2) drastic reductions were made in the labor force of all the railroads; (3) women are not adapted to much of the work in the shops, roundhouses, and on the tracks. They have, however, in spite of many handicaps, proved their worth as clerks, telegraphers, telephone operators, station agents, personal servants, etc., and have thereby retained their positions, in spite of competition by men. The recognition, by the government, of the policy of equal pay for equal work was a frank admission of the equality of women with men in the railroad service. The admission of women to membership in various labor unions is a further recognition, by men, that women have permanently entered the railroad world.—Pauline Goldmark, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1919. F. A. C.

War-Time Industrial Employment of Women in the United States.—An estimate based upon surveys in fifteen states indicates that there were 1,500,000 women in war industries. Most of them came from the nonessential industries where they previously worked. In addition many came from non-industrial sources: (1) domestic service, (2) the teaching profession, (3) wives and mothers of soldiers. Prior to the third draft there was no intelligent program for recruiting the women. After this the U.S. Employment Service began to function. The vast majority were employed in unskilled or semiskilled processes of a repetitive nature. On the relative efficiency of men and women, employers' views conflict, but on the whole the opinion is extremely favorable to the women. Some attention was paid to the training of women workers, either by the foremen or by competent instructors. In addition the machines were modified and the jobs adapted to women, especially in England. In America the emphasis was not on the technical processes, but rather on the working conditions, terms of employment, supervision, etc. Very few firms grappled intelligently with the problem of supervision, and few appointed trained women employment managers. In most industries they paid the women less than the men, but the government consistently upheld the principle of equal pay for equal work. Some different problems

arose on account of the antagonistic attitude of organized labor. For the future, if women are to better their industrial status, they will have to make themselves as valuable to the employer as the available men. They will have to secure industrial training, learn to organize, and develop a unified social and industrial consciousness in the woman population as a whole.—A. B. Wolfe and Helen Olson, *The Journal of Political Economy*, October, 1919. C. N.

Franz Liszt und die soziologische Strafrechtsschule.—The main thesis of the sociological theory of criminal law as set forth by Liszt, the famous German criminologist who died just recently, is the same as that of the socialistic sociology. He explains all the phenomena in society as in individual life by social causes. The Socialists' objection to his theory was that of the inconsistency and dualism of his position, due to his participation in the political life of the liberal party, which he also represented in the Landtag and the Reichstag. As a university professor he had to teach the conservative dogmas of penal law and yet he wanted to introduce revolutionary changes in the subject. He proclaimed the principle that not the act but the doer is to be punished. (*Nicht die Tat, sondern der Täter ist zu bestrafen.*) His work divides into two parts: die *Kriminalogie*, or study of the causes of crime, and die *Kriminalpolitik*, or methods of campaign against crime. The principal causes of crime are, according to him, social and economic. In this doctrine he was supported by the Prussian criminal statistics, which show the relation between the upward movement of the price of bread and the increase in the number of thefts. He also observed the increase of crime caused by the war. The fact that 85 to 90 per cent of chronic criminals come from the proletariat shows that in the neglect of society for the working masses and for the conservation of nervous energy within the human race is found the cause. He emphasized the statistical method as the most important means of getting at the causes of crime. He did not give due attention and credit to the psychoanalysis and the individual variability of the delinquent.—Dr. E. Hurwicz, *Neue Zeit*, October, 1919. J. H.

Der Gesichtsausdruck der Leiche in kriminalistischer Beziehung.—The question whether a photographic picture of the face of a dead person can offer any evidence as to the circumstances of the death has been brought up by different authorities in the field of medicine. Von Kühne in Heidelberg and the famous French court physician Brouardel have made experiments with animals trying to find out whether the eye of a killed animal can preserve an optical impression of outside objects. Brouardel says that after the eyelids have closed such impression disappears. The question whether the face of a dead person can show any clues as to the circumstances of death has been raised in the case of double suicides. Tarde, who observed more than fifty bodies of lovers, all cases of double suicides, testifies that they did not show any sign of fear or anxiety. Germans did not write on the subject, but the opinions of their best court physicians deny any psychological significance of face expression after death. They emphasize that there are also anatomical and physical changes in the face muscles that do not allow any psychological inference as to the significance and evidence of eye and face expression of a dead body.—Dr. E. Hurwicz, *Archiv für Kriminalogie*, February, 1919. J. H.

The Function of the Social Worker in Relation to a State Program.—The state hospital of today has made a great advance over the county jail and asylum of yesterday, inasmuch as it is both custodial and educational in its purpose. From the earlier days, when it was deemed justifiable to "confine, bind, and beat in such a manner as might be required under existing circumstances," to the latter part of the nineteenth century, the theory of the treatment of the insane was to control them by fear. The inefficiency, lack of standards, cruelty and abuse of patients in the custody of county jails, poorhouses, and private families led eventually to a system of state control, under which humanitarian methods have gradually been adopted. Social service is the most recent addition in the program of the state. The peculiar function of the social-service worker is to stand between the hospital and the community and aid patients in matters of social adjustment. This involves case work and the collection of data on the social history of patients, on the one hand, and the co-ordination

of the work of the hospital with the various institutions of the community, on the other hand. The social-service worker thus becomes the interpreter of the program of the hospital to the community, enlisting its co-operation by showing the community the nature of mental disorders, their causes, and methods of prevention. This education of the public and the co-ordination of the work of public institutions with the program of the hospital will facilitate the adjustment of the patients to their social environment. This new type of work is rapidly finding favor and will, no doubt, become a recognized part of the state-hospital-organization scheme.—George M. Kline, *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1919. F. A. C.

A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective.—While every state has the beginning of a program to deal with the mentally defective, little has been done to solve the problem. Cognizance has been taken of approximately 10 per cent of all defectives. The great social and economic cost and waste of this situation makes a comprehensive state program necessary. Among the various provisions to be included in such a program are a complete census of the uncared-for feeble-minded in the state; centralized supervision of the care of those not committed to institutions; mental clinics for the examination of all backward school children; supervised training and special classes for defective children in the county schools; after-care of special-class pupils; instruction of parents and teachers in the care of defective children; mental examination of all criminals in penal institutions; selection and commitment of all who need institutional care; increase of institutional facilities for the segregation of those who need it; and, lastly, the parole and after-care of those suitable to be dismissed from institutions. Such a program would require team work on the part of psychiatrists, psychologists, teachers, normal schools, parents, social workers, and institution, parole, court, and prison officials. While authority for the execution of such a program should be vested in a central body, the results to be obtained would, in the last analysis, depend on the workers of each local community.—Walter E. Fernald, *Mental Hygiene*, October, 1919. F. A. C.

An Investigation of Mental Deficiency among the Juvenile Delinquents of New York City.—This investigation was made during the winter of 1918 for the purpose of discovering how many mentally deficient children (below the age of sixteen) were in New York institutions for the delinquent and destitute. The children (24,000 or more) were classified according to sex, color, race, and cause of commitment, and it was decided to take a random sample of each out of these several classifications. An hour or more was devoted to giving each child the Stanford-Binet test. The usual classification by means of the Intelligence Quotient was employed. (1) Among the delinquent girls, a higher percentage of mental inferiority was found than among delinquent boys, due probably to the difference between the causes for their commitment. There was no appreciable difference between the percentage of mental inferiority among the destitute girls and destitute boys. (2) About 8 per cent of the colored destitute children, 4 per cent of the non-Jewish white children, and none of the Jewish white children were found to be feeble-minded. Among the delinquents, on the other hand, 46 per cent of the colored girls, 16 per cent of the colored boys, 17 per cent of Jewish girls, 10 per cent of Jewish boys, 26 per cent of non-Jewish girls, and 23 per cent of non-Jewish boys were mentally inferior. (3) The results show that the Jewish children in New York institutions have less mental inferiority than the non-Jewish whites, and that the latter have less feeble-mindedness than the negro children. Among the destitute a large number of very superior children were found and this was particularly true among the Jewish children—20 per cent having Intelligence Quotient above 1.20. Contrary to expectation examination showed that 11 per cent could be considered super-normal and one ten-year-old boy had an intelligence quotient of 1.6.—Harry Wembridge, *Journal of Delinquency*, September, 1919. O. B. Y.

A Solution of the Housing Problem.—Many attempted solutions of the housing problem have been so visionary that they have been useless. As a result people have lost faith in the possibility of a decent solution. Nevertheless it is necessary to recognize man's fundamental needs as: those of the body, that call for air, light,

protection, space for movement, cleanliness, in short, a friendly physical environment that promotes a healthy, normal communal life; those of the mind, that seek integration of life's activities, the elimination of chaos, and the expression of the creative impulse; those of his social nature that seek comradeship, play, and the elimination of solitude. Our town must meet these human needs, but our plan must not be fixed and final. It must be so planned that social and industrial innovations and adjustments are both feasible and easy. The new town must provide for the elimination of the ugly aspects of industry and provide for reorganization along the lines of the release of personality. Beauty in a town must not be imposed upon it as ornamentation. It must be a quality of one coherent vision that lives through all its parts. Towns must be built not to store workers over night but where they can live human lives. The function of the town-builder is to provide a plan that will furnish escape from the demoralizing effects of the profits system in industry and that will provide for creative achievement. The way out is not destruction of the present order but evolution from it. A home should have ground enough to provide the worker, under supervision of a corps of agricultural workers of the community, with the necessary vegetables and small fruits. A community crop farm and a community dairy farm will provide products and give a chance for education to children. In addition to livelihood earned in the adjacent industries organized on a guild basis, the head of each house will maintain a workshop in the basement, which is to be supplemented by a community workshop. This will provide for personal special interests in creative endeavor. The economic life of the town will be on a co-operative basis, and the physical plan will embody the essentials for economic efficiency.—Robert A. Pope, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, July, 1919.

D. H. K.

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OSSIFICATION

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In hilly New England the settlers discovered that the best way to build a barn is to set the foundation in a hillside, keep the animals in the basement and drive the hay wagons from the uphill side into the second floor on a level. When their descendants migrated to the flat prairies of Illinois, they continued to build barns in the only way they knew. Having no hillsides they built the barn first, built a plank hillside running up into the barn and then got stalled trying to haul loads of hay up this hill!

In olden days the American common schools remained closed during the growing season in order that the farmers might have the help of their children. Thus originated the long summer vacation and as the cities established their school systems they adopted it without question. There are many ways in which school buildings and grounds may be used during the summer to keep children happy and usefully occupied. But no. Although half of us are urban, every June we close the schools of our cities and turn millions of children into the street—to hoe corn and “bug” potatoes!

In an early day in the level West the practice struck root of laying out roads on the section lines. Later the gridiron plan was

adhered to even in rough country where it would be more economical to lay out the roads according to the contour, so that they would follow the water courses or the water partings. Today millions of loads are needlessly hauled over hill after hill on their way to market and thousands of hillside roads are washed away every season because men blindly follow precedent.

In general, after a social practice or institution has existed for a generation or two, it is off its original basis of sound reason and will be retained even in a situation so changed that it has no justification whatever. The first users scanning with a cold and critical eye will modify or abandon it if it does not suit their purpose. But after it has been taken over and worked by a later generation which has feelings about it, it loses its plasticity, turns to bone as it were. The process, then, by which social institutions and arrangements lose adaptability and harden into rigid forms may be called *ossification*.

The causes of this tendency are various:

Most of us are mentally lazy. We are loath to put our minds to a stretch, to concentrate our powers upon an intricate matter. Little problems involving only a few factors may challenge and stimulate us like the situations in a game of chess, but we shun complex problems which call for sustained thinking. Hence, we shrink from recognizing a changed situation, from rethinking our task. Indolently we roll along in the rut of habit and precedent until a stone in the rut or an obstacle in the road twists us out of it. Absorbed in their daily round few pause to ask themselves: "Is this thing of any use?" "Am I doing any real good?" The ability to see one's activity in a true perspective is a rare gift, is, in fact *genius*.

There has been for a generation such a furore about social progress that one might suppose it to be an object of universal thought and desire. In truth only a very few care enough for social progress to embrace it in their plans or to make sacrifices for it. They are glad to have it if they can have it at somebody else's expense. The true attitude of these shouters for progress is revealed when one proposes a concrete change affecting their religion, politics, or customs. From their shocked resistance

one will perceive that all the time they have been conservatives without realizing it.

Even the strong minds, the highly educated men, tend to abide in their earlier judgments and to retain the emotional attitudes of their youth. If, then, the control of affairs is in the hands of the old, the effete thing will longer escape notice and be longer tolerated than if young men are at the helm. If education falls out of step with life, if knowledge grows beyond the creeds, if laws fail to keep up with the development of social relations, the unprejudiced young will realize it first and will demand changes which the old see no reason for.

At my suggestion Dr. E. B. Gowin, now professor in New York University, reviewed modern history in order to compare epochs of reform and epochs of quiet with respect to the age of their leaders. He found that in ten historical periods of reform or revolution the average age of the dozen leading men in each varied from thirty-two to forty-six years. On the other hand, the average age of their chief opponents or of the leaders in quiet periods varied from fifty-four to sixty-six years. In general, the champions of change have been from fifteen to twenty years younger than the champions of opposition to change.¹

The long-established becomes an ark of the covenant which we fear to lay hand on lest we meet the fate of Uzzah. Perhaps our forefathers fought and bled for it. It has inspired heroic deeds, noble poetry, and eloquence. We cannot imagine that a thing so cherished has become a stumbling-block or a nuisance. In the face of the imperative need of church union the faithful cling to their denominational peculiarities because of the sacrifices these doctrines once cost. The monastic ideal, the Monroe Doctrine, the policy of avoiding "entangling alliances," uniformity of taxation, the "open door," the "independence of the judiciary," laissez faire, inspire passionate devotion long after their value has become doubtful. The American Constitution has gathered such prestige that scholars who demonstrate the part selfish interests took in its shaping are vilified. Owing to the bloody struggles which have raged about it the Bible has come to be for many a

¹ *The Executive and His Control of Men*, pp. 264-70.

kind of fetish. Its texts are relied on to resolve every doubt life presents and the "higher critics" who call in question the traditional date, authorship, or meaning of the Scriptures bring a tempest upon their heads.

The assumption that what once worked well will continue to work well implies a static notion of society. People generally imagine that society keeps to its track until some large sensible force—a war, a revolution, a law, a religious movement, or a great invention—gives it a new direction. The fact is society can never be stable while its base shifts and its base may be shifted by the cumulative effect of numerous small imperceptible changes—new methods of tillage, a gain of manufacturing on agriculture, cheaper carriage, the opening of new channels of trade, immigration, population growth, the unequal growth of sections and classes, the disappearance of the frontier, the rush to the cities, the access of women to industry, etc. Silently these lowly unnoticed processes make society into something else than we imagine it to be, so that some of the wisdom of the past turns to folly and perhaps some of its folly becomes wisdom. Hence, each generation ought to review all the institutions they inherit and consider of each whether it is still at its peak of fitness. But they will never do this until they recognize the dynamic character of society.

Private interests become dependent on an institution and therefore resist proposals to abandon or alter it. The teachers of Latin and Greek protest against reforming in a modern spirit the traditional courses of study for youth. For thirty years religious leaders have urged that economics and sociology be a part of the training for the Christian ministry. With rare exceptions, however, the theological seminaries have done nothing owing to the vested interest of the professors of the traditional subjects. As a result the clergy are steadily losing influence because of their ignorance of the burning moral issues of the time.

Guild self-interest is, then, an obstacle to adaptive change. Certain persons have specialized in good faith and lo, they are in danger of losing their occupation. It is indeed hard. One cannot well expect them to capitulate to anything less than a

mathematical demonstration of their superfluousness and this is impossible outside the field of material production. They are like players who protest against the nature of the game being changed while they are playing it.

In the field of law, ossification is an outcome of the common-law doctrine that precedents are binding. This maxim of *stare in decisis* in turn reflects the popular demand that the law be clear and certain. How can we know what is lawful and what is unlawful for us to do unless we are sure that the judge who reviews our conduct will follow past decisions? Who wants to play a risky game unless the rules appear to be settled? The logic is so irresistible that even equity, "the judicial modification or supplementing of existing rules of law by reference to current morality," accepted the doctrine that precedents bind. As a result it presently lost its discretionary character and became merely a competing system of law. Says Dean Pound, "Well might Falstaff say to an Elizabethan audience, 'there's no equity stirring' when precedents were beginning to be cited in the Court of Chancery." Thus, in meeting the demand that the law be certain, justice has ceased to be either flexible or progressive.

The dominant social class may preserve the outworn because it is to its interest to do so. In America the commercial class has long played upon a popular suspicion and jealousy of government inherited from the eighteenth century when government was an alien arbitrary agency over which the commonalty had no effective control. Now that government has become responsive to the popular will such distrust is unwarranted. Yet the business interests which fear state interference or regulation fan continually these dying embers.

As departments of government multiply to keep pace with the complexity of modern life, the practice of electing all public officials becomes pernicious. The "long ballot" betrays democracy by giving the real selection of such officials into the hands of party "machines" and "bosses." It would have disappeared long ago but for the fight put up on its behalf by the politicians.

The long retention of the "fellow-servant" defense in suits for indemnity brought by injured employees exemplifies the power

of the employing class over courts and legislatures. Its injustice had been conceded by all a generation before it was discarded.

The persistence of the county form of local government in the South after the victory of democratic principles there can be accounted for only by the self-interest of a dominant class. A century ago Thomas Jefferson recognized in the New England township system of government the very foundation-stone of democracy. In 1816 he wrote, "The article nearest my heart is the subdivision of the counties into wards (townships)." He realized that if the county was to be the smallest unit of government a few aristocrats or a few bosses would control. It was, indeed, the wealthy class which brought his efforts to naught and prevented the establishment of the township system in the South.

While the dominant class thus causes society to appear at times more stupid than it actually is, there are matters in which it lends society a deceptive air of ready adaptiveness. When this class puts its weight behind a logical change, reform may be effected with startling suddenness. Good roads, the gold standard, banking reform, the acquisition of dependencies, could never have crashed so irresistibly through the dense underbrush of American prejudices but for the driving power of the business interests.

Of the chief elements in society the intellectuals have the least horror of change and the keenest appreciation of the need of it. The commercial class comprises many limber-minded adaptable men who, although they may not see deeply into society, are clear-sighted within their range of vision. These are hospitable enough to needed changes which do not appear contrary to their interests. On account of their lack of education the wage-earning class are often slaves to tradition. Their material interests, however, are not bound up with the inherited order and, once their minds are set free, they stand for radicalism, i.e., the rational and thoroughgoing adaptation of institutions to the needs of society. Owing to their dealing with nature rather than man, the tillers of the soil are limited in their mental contacts. They respond to the influence of their forefathers rather than of their contemporaries and stand for the inherited order save when the need of reform is sharply brought home to them by their own painful experiences. Here is one reason why farmers and working

men, although they constitute the two wings of the great producing class and have common interests over against the class which lives from the ownership of property, do not co-operate for long politically.

Of all the economic classes the propertied is least sympathetic with the rational transformation of time-hollowed institutions. Its entire economic position rests upon inheritance and vested rights. Since it shares in current production in virtue not of present exertion but of title from the past, it cannot afford to allow the past to be discredited. Its attitude toward effete institutions is expressed in the maxim, "Let sleeping dogs lie." Since most reforms are detrimental to property in one form or another, the propertied become excessively timorous and develop an instinctive horror of all radical ideas. They grant you there are rotten spots in the building reared by our ancestors, but, they insist, once you begin to tamper and alter, you release new strains and some fine day you will bring the whole structure tumbling upon your head. The domination of the farmers or the propertied therefore makes society like a stiff-jointed rheumatic while the shifting of power from these classes in the direction of the intellectuals, the business men, or the proletariat is apt to make society more supple and adaptable.

PREVENTIVES OF OSSIFICATION

What can be done to save society from a burdensome accumulation of effete customs and institutions?

For one thing retire the old earlier and commit the helm to younger men. How foolish it is to suppose that only the gray-beards can preserve society, whereas the young would run it on to the rocks! A group of fifty-five persons averaging less than thirty years of age abolished the shogunate in Japan in 1867 and turned the nation toward the rising sun. We should be better off, no doubt, were the majority of those in society's key positions below the age of fifty rather than above it.

Men persist in futility and cling to forms void of meaning because they lack imagination and the power of constructive thought. To take things as he finds them and to do things as they always have been done is the recourse of the numbskull in office. Mediocrity loves to follow the groove. Therefore see to it that

all important posts in society are manned by the talented. Perhaps the perfecting of mental measurements will enable us to penetrate the camouflage by which the dunderheads conceal their stupidity and creep into high places. The hardening of the social arteries will be arrested when a high rating in ability tests becomes requisite to success in any line—even in politics.

Preserve to the individual the freedom of initiative. In a custom-bound time a single daring innovator may start something which will hearten others to break their bondage to the past. One weakness of communal landholding as we see it in Russia is that farming becomes traditional, because the clever peasant is not free to till his strips according to his own ideas. Communal customs and ethics therefore hold men back, while the adoption of the principle that the individual can do what he likes with his own, can make mistakes *ad libitum* provided that he does not infringe the rights of others or hurt the community, encourages initiative and makes for social progress.

Keep social institutions out of the grasp of religion. As revealing the will of a perfect and therefore changeless Being, religion is the most conservative of influences. Only in that rare manifestation known as *prophetism* does it renounce its past. The more institutions are delivered to the rigid clasp of religion the harder it is to adapt them to changing conditions. One cause of the immobility that has fallen upon the Mohammedan world is that its law is derived from the Koran. Judaism, too, owing to the sacred character of the Mosaic law, allows no free development of rules to govern human relationships. Fortunately there has never been a Christian law. Only small communities have ever relied exclusively on biblical principles. Hence the Christian peoples have had the advantage of two great plastic secular systems—Roman Law and the Common Law.

Basing right and wrong on human nature and the nature of society keeps moral ideas plastic. Instead of being fixed for all time by the texts of an ancient book ethical discriminations develop with changing conditions of social life and keep step with the progress of psychology and sociology. Rigid ecclesiastical doctrines as to interest, almsgiving, marriage, and propagation simply cannot survive the light of social science. Again, the dissociation

of the state from religion gives it a freedom of development unknown to the theocratic state. The latter has certain merits, but adaptability is not one of them.

Not that religion should not give a rule of life to the individual and should not affect society by influencing its members, but its authority should end with the individual conscience. It should not preside over nor determine laws and institutions.

A balance between clergy and lawyers and between these and students of ethics and sociology hinders a religion becoming formal and dry. The Moslem world is held back by fanatical Mollahs because there is no other group with which they are forced to compete for leadership. If lawyers, scholars, and journalists encroached upon the clergy of Islam as they have upon the clergy of Christendom, the Mollahs would be forced to raise their standards of education.

Another resource against ossification is the application of critical scholarship to the history of institutions. This discloses whether a particular institution was founded on error and whether the circumstances under which it arose, or the situation to which it was adapted, have changed. What the utter lack of scientific interest implies may be gathered from the following extracts from a letter from an oriental official to a western inquirer printed by Sir Austin Henry Layard in his *Fresh Discoveries at Nineveh and Researches at Babylon*:

MY ILLUSTRIOUS FRIEND AND JOY OF MY LIVER:

The thing which you ask of me is both difficult and useless. Although I have passed all my days in this place I have neither counted the houses nor inquired into the number of inhabitants; and as to what one person loads on his mules and another stores away in the bottom of his ship, that is no business of mine. But above all, as to the previous history of this city, God only knows the amount of dirt and confusion that the infidels may have eaten before the coming of the sword of Islam. It were unprofitable for us to inquire into it. . . . Listen, O my son! There is no wisdom equal to the belief in God! He created the world and shall we liken ourselves to him in seeking to penetrate into the mysteries of his creation? Shall we say, Behold this star spinneth round that star, and this other star with a tail goeth and cometh in so many years? Let it go! He from whose hand it came will guide and direct it. . . . Thou art learned in the things I care not for, and as for that which thou hast seen I spit upon it. Will much knowledge create thee a double belly, or wilt thou seek paradise with thine eyes . . . ?

Thy meek in spirit,

IMMAUM ALI ZADI

The restless intellect is the natural enemy of the effete as sunlight is the natural enemy of certain fungi. The right of free inquiry should therefore be preserved inviolate. No institution may rightfully enjoy immunity from scrutiny and test. Nothing should be held so "sacred" that it may not be criticized by a competent person at the proper time and in a seemly manner. The right to probe and criticize should not, however, carry with it the subjection of endowed agencies for religion, charity, education, or research to state officials. This would lessen their salutary power of initiative and ability to stand for unpopular truth. Let the searchlight play freely over them and the public will see that their faults are corrected.

Although many keen minds enter the professions we do not find the professions imbued with the progressive spirit. It is not lawyers who call attention to the dead wood that cumbers the law but outsiders. The protests against the traditionalism of creeds and church methods come not so much from clergymen as from intelligent laymen. The trouble lies with the training which students of law and theology undergo. They study books instead of life. Against the dictum of an eminent teacher of law, "The law library is the student's laboratory," it should be asserted that his laboratory is the world of human relations. Professional education would foster the liberal spirit if more of it were field work and less of it bookish. Just as cost accounting brings to light the weak spots in a business, the exact measurement of results may bring to light the weak spots in social organization. Alternative methods of probation, of reformation, of juvenile delinquents, of apprenticeship, of instruction, of sanitation, of poor relief, of social insurance, of industrial training, of factory discipline, may be compared by testing their results. The "survey" is only ten years old and constantly its technique is being perfected. But the method of measurement needs to be applied with caution in the higher services, for it is liable to overlook or misread certain of the finer values.

PLURALISTIC BEHAVIOR—*Concluded*
A BRIEF OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY RESTATED

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III. THE ORGANIZATION OF COLLECTIVE INTERESTS¹

9. PROTOCRACY

Not all individuals react to a given stimulation with equal promptness, or completeness, or persistence. Therefore in every situation there are individuals that react more effectively than others do. They reinforce the original stimulation and play a major part in interstimulation. They initiate and take responsibility. They lead: they conduct experiments in a more or less systematic fashion.

Those individuals that react most effectively command the situation and create new situations to which other individuals must adjust themselves. Few or many, the alert and effective are a protocracy: a dominating plurum from which ruling classes are derived. Protocracy is always with us. We let George do it, and George to a greater or less extent "does" us.

Where two or three in quick or daring reaction are gathered together to "start something"—a dance or a revolution, or anything between—there is protocracy, and it gathers power if the enterprise succeeds; for then protocracy recognizes or ignores, gives out invitations or denies them, opens or bars opportunity, protects or attacks, rewards or punishes, and so surrounds itself with beneficiaries and retainers through which it works its will.

Protocracy may owe authority and power to the majority that it dominates, but it has obtained them and it holds them by psychological ascendancy.² The majority may withdraw

¹ Gustav Ratzenhofer and Albion W. Small, who has interpreted him to the English-speaking public, have most fully discussed the general aspects of "interests."

² We owe to Edward Alsworth Ross the significant technical connotations of this word in sociology.

authority and power from a protocracy that it has trusted, but only if another and rival protocracy arises and becomes ascendant.

Domination may amount to rule or it may not get beyond leadership and direction.

Rule may be imposed and maintained by force, or by inspiring fear, or through purchase, bribery, or bestowal of favors. The protocracy has advanced knowledge of opportunities, and is in a position to dispense offices and perquisites. If it does not actually rule it dominates by winning the uncoerced and unbought approval of the mass, often through a manifestation of ability, integrity, or beneficent purpose. The methods of minority domination are commonly found in combination, but the proportions are variable.

The concentration of controlling power in society is a function (in the mathematician's sense of the word) of the behavioristic solidarity. The more homogeneous the behavior and the greater the like-mindedness, the broader is the basis of protocratic domination and the less autocratic is its authority.

The degree of domination and the extent and the rigor of control are functions of circumstantial pressure.

10. THE ORGANIZATION OF RELATIONS

The more or less definite arrangements of position and of activity into which individuals fall in the collective struggle for existence are shaped at first by a hit-or-miss trial of possibilities that amounts to little more than a haphazard "fitting in." In the long run they are shaped by a thought-out trial and correction proposed and systematized by protocratic minorities. Ultimately, after much experimenting and with frequent reconsideration, they are approved by the social mind expressing its will through majorities. So arising and established, arrangements of individual position and of individual activity are a mechanism through which social reactions work aggressively, defensively, productively, and with controlling incidence.

Described concretely, the social mechanism is a social composition, a product of integration; and a social constitution, a product of differentiation.

The smallest and simplest arrangement of individuals by position is the "bunch." It may be a genetic product, its units having been born into proximity, or it may be a casual assemblage. A relatively large bunch or a cluster of bunches, especially if identified with a place or region, is a group.

The smallest and simplest arrangement by activity of individuals that go or work or play together is the "gang." It is a product of like reaction by nervous mechanisms that are alike in a specific (or differential) way. They have the same specific aptitude or interest.

They are a "gang," however, only if, reacting to a common stimulation or necessity, they "carry on" together.

Whether assembled or scattered, going in gangs or not, individuals of like aptitude and interest and therefore functioning in like fashion are a class. As an observed fact, a class is usually made up of both gangs and isolated individuals.

In the creation of bunch or gang, of group or class, alert leadership plays an essential part. In every group and in every class there is a dominating protocracy.

By combination and recombination groups become the social composition.

Sex mating and the birth of children create families. Numerous families hold or drift together in residential relations; others drift apart. Those that hold together compose the horde (of savage men) or the village (of civilized men). Hordes combine in tribes, and tribes in tribal federations: the ethnic series. Villages grow into towns, and towns into cities. Towns or cities compose provinces, departments, or commonwealths, and commonwealths hold together in federal nations: the demotic series.

Ethnic societies are genetic aggregations. Either a sacred power or "mana" manifest in totem and regarded in taboo or a real or a fictitious blood kinship is their chief social bond. They are otherwise known as tribal societies and they include all communities of uncivilized races which maintain a tribal organization. They are of two general types, namely, the metronymic, or matrilinear, in which names and relationships are traced in the mother-line, and the patronymic, or patrilinear, in which names and relationships are traced in the father-line. Demotic societies,

otherwise known as civil societies, are products in some degree of genetic aggregation, but they are largely congregate associations. They are groups of individuals that are bound together by habitual intercourse, mutual interests, and co-operation. They emphasize their mental and moral resemblance and give little heed to origins or to genetic relationships.

The evolution of the social composition has been a double process. As small groups have combined into larger ones, they also have subdivided into smaller ones. The unit of composition has become both smaller and more definite.

When small hordes combined to form tribes, they commonly at the same time subdivided into polyandrian families. When tribes, in their turn, banded together in confederations, the polyandrian household underwent changes which converted it into the patriarchal kindred or compound family. Later on, when federations of tribes became the political state, the compound family broke up into single families, each consisting of father and mother and their immediate children, but no longer including, as in the patriarchal kindred, married children and grandchildren. Each family remained, however, an industrial unit, parents and children earning livelihood together, and each in a large proportion of states remained legally indissoluble.

Now, when political nations are combining into world-empires, the single family, like its predecessors, has ceased to be an industrial unit, and has nearly everywhere become legally dissoluble. More and more it depends for its integrity on unforced personal choice. Human society is becoming humanity, and its unit is no longer the legally indissoluble family but is the freely choosing individual.

At every step in this long developmental process, three things have happened. The dominant social group has entered as a component into a larger social grouping. The smallest social group has subdivided, thereby establishing a new social unit. The intermediate social groups, losing their identity, have tended to atrophy and in many instances have disappeared.

At every step in the evolution protocratic example or proposal has incited or restrained and protocratic intelligence has directed.

Gangs and classes by multiplication and increasing interdependence following upon increasing specialization become the social constitution, a scheme of working or otherwise functioning arrangements which makes a cross-classification with the residential arrangements of the social composition. Familiar examples of working arrangements become too dignified to be called "gangs," except for purposes of scientific analysis (although that is what in strict scientific analysis they are) and making numberless cross-classifications with residential groupings are business partnerships and corporations, political parties, churches, philanthropic societies, schools, universities, and scientific associations, social clubs, and societies for recreation and pleasure.

Each of these associations is obliged to exchange services or products with others. It could not otherwise exist. The functioning of all of them in their several ways is the social (including the economic) division of labor. Interdependence increases with every new specialization in skill and in occupation. Because of their interdependence they are accurately described as constituent societies.

Inasmuch as the constituent society has a defined object in view it is purposive in character. Its members are supposed to be aware of its object and to put forth effort for its attainment.

Purposive grouping, therefore, may be described as functional association, and the mutual aid of purposive associations is not limited to a mere increase of mass and power, as is the mutual aid of component society. It is effected also through an advantageous division of labor.

Psychologically the social constitution is an almost precise opposite of the social composition. Component societies require mental and moral like-mindedness, but within the limits of a common morality there may be no insistence upon any one point of similarity so long as the aggregate of resemblances remains large and varied. Subject to these conditions, the differences among the members of a component society may be of any imaginable kind. The social constitution, on the contrary, is an alliance, within each simple association, of individuals who in respect of the purpose of the association must be mentally and morally alike, but who in all

other respects may be unlike; supplemented, in the relations of associations to one another and to integral society, by toleration and by correlation of the unlike.

As the social constitution develops, the membership of constituent societies falls into hierarchical arrangements, thereby creating new complexities. Priests, bishops, archbishops, and cardinals in the church; teachers, principals, and superintendents in the schools, are examples. In more technical words, throughout the social constitution there may be observed superordination (superiority of rank), co-ordination (equality of rank), and subordination (inferiority of rank). The one word "co-ordination" is commonly used to designate the phenomena of subordination, co-ordination and superordination, in their totality.

Correlations and co-ordinations are products of relations of units to one another and of modes of activity that are unchanging, or nearly so. They are static phenomena of structure. But the activities of social as of plant or animal units are not without exception or always unchanging. There are adjustments and adaptations in crises as well as in tranquil circumstances.

Activities of adaptation and of adjustment involve points of contact (the neurons ramifying in a bit of muscle are a good example) and actual contact. They involve lines of communication and arteries of transmission, and actual communications and transmissions. They involve central or focal points of accumulation and distribution, and actual centralizings and decentralizings, storings, and distributions of materials and energies.

Corresponding to the morphological aspect of arrangements is the functional aspect. Through accumulation and distribution, through correlation and co-ordination, activities go on in an orderly and measured way. Even the increase and decrease of intensity, the enlargement or diminution of volume, the swifter or slower rate, are facts of order and measure, in a word, of control.

When spontaneously formed relations and thought-out arrangements devised by protocracy have become so well established that they challenge the attention of all members of the community, they become subjects of common discussion and of general approval or disapproval. Subjected then to analysis and criticism, and

finally by concurrent opinion pronounced good, evil, or doubtful, they are thenceforth tolerated and their development is encouraged, or they are discouraged or even stamped out by a concerted action more general than that which created them.

Described abstractly, therefore, the social mechanism is a correlation and a co-ordination of socially reacting units.

Both as correlation and as co-ordination the social composition and the social constitution develop with increasing necessity for collective action. Under this necessity organization becomes more extended and more hierarchical.

Yet mere intensity of the struggle for existence does not develop complexity of organization as long as the struggle can be carried on by individual effort or by small independent groups. Perhaps nowhere in the world is the life of a population subsisting by agriculture harder than in China, yet the agricultural population there is relatively unorganized. By individual effort, unremitting and intense, the individual applying himself to labor on the land has been able to wrest from it a meager living.

Any social group, component or constituent, may be a privileged and closed group, or a selectively open group, or an indiscriminately open group.

Eligibility to membership in a privileged and closed group is governed by consideration of source. Descent from members of the group in a former generation is one of the oldest and best-known requirements. Membership in an antecedent group or category may be the requirement: an example from modern industry is the closed-shop requirement of membership in an orthodox labor union.

Eligibility to membership in the selectively open group is determined by the functioning value of members individually for the functioning of the group collectively.

In the indiscriminately open group there are no eligibility tests.

Increasing circumstantial pressure substitutes closed or selective groups for indiscriminately open groups; a phenomenon which always appears during war, in periods of religious enthusiasm, and in times of industrial strife.

The social organization may become flexible while developing strength and stability. When circumstantial pressure is not more intense than it is in modern times in days of peace, the individual can go freely from occupation to occupation. He can dissolve a partnership and enter into another. He can be a director in one and another corporation this year and in entirely different ones next year. He can move freely from township to township, from city to city, and from state to state. He can leave his church or his political party at will.

Yet the social constitution does not suffer. The organization that loses certain individuals from its membership gains others in their place. Like organs of the living body, each is composed of changing units, yet each maintains its integrity as a whole and performs its function without interruption.

From this plasticity and mobility two great advantages arise. Sooner or later individuals find the place where their maximum efficiency as contributors to the social well-being is realized. And at all times an increase of working force can be secured at any point in the social system where the demand is exceptionally great, by withdrawing units from points where the demand is for the time being relatively small.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF ACTION

Woodworth's clarifying generalization that all the phenomena of the individual mind may be assigned to one or the other of the two categories, "mechanisms" and "drives,"¹ is applicable also in the psychology of society. The organization of social relations is a mechanism, as has been shown. The organization of action is a correlation and co-ordination of drives, and the product is a procedure. Collective struggle tends to become an orderly procedure.

Wherever behavioristic groups are found, collective struggles are seen to fall into one or the other of two series of drives. There are conflicts of group with group, inter-group conflicts; and within each group there are conflicts of faction with faction, intra-group conflicts.

¹ *Dynamic Psychology*.

Both component and composite groups—hordes, tribes, towns, and nations—contend with one another for possession and control of advantageous regions. From the moment that increasing populations begin to press upon food-producing resources, there is a struggle for dominion and subsistence. Hungry populations throw off colonies, which go forth as invaders, to conquer; the invaded populations resist.

The major conflicts of inter-group struggle are foreign wars, and these extend and consolidate the social composition. Successful invaders, having conquered, annex lands and populations. Threatened communities, especially if of one blood and speech, combine by federation.

In peace and in war, gangs, including protocracies, contend with one another for ascendancy and revenue. Under circumstantial pressure gangs of like kind and like function tend to consolidate, and thereby to become a class. In the struggle with powers of earth and sky for safety and food, religious secret societies become a priesthood. In war, fraternities of braves become an army and a military class.

With the rise of these two classes a succession of class struggles begins. The shallowness of the Marxian philosophy of history is in nothing more concretely shown than in its naïve assumption of *the* class struggle, as if the clash between capitalist and proletarian were a phenomenon unique. The first class conflict is between army and priesthood, and the army wins. In exchange for religious sanction military adventurers then “let in” the priesthood and create, by the combination, a landlord class to exploit free tenants and serfs. Free tenants (some of them) become a merchant class, and the next class struggle is between it and the landlords. The merchants win, and in exchange for social recognition “let in” the landlords. This new consolidation creates the capitalist class, to make profits by organizing and employing the labor of emancipated serfs.

The major intra-group conflicts, accordingly, are revolutions.

Conflicts among groups, including national groups, and conflicts between classes are the major phenomena of history.

In the drives of war and revolution protocratic rule broadens into sovereignty: "the dominant human power, individual or pluralistic, in a politically organized and politically independent population."¹ Sovereignty is never under any circumstances the absolute power to compel obedience babbled of in political metaphysics. It is finite and conditioned. It is not even an indivisible unit of power; it is a composition of forces. The forces are variable and their composition is variable.

A group in which protocratic rule has become sovereignty, and which is independent to the extent that it is not subject to the sovereignty of any other group, is a state. Outside of the metaphysical mind the state is never an abstraction. It is a politically organized population, and altogether concrete.

Conflict between or among petty sovereignties creates the local state; conflict between or among local states creates the regional state; conflict between or among regional states creates the nation; conflict between or among nations creates the empire.

The local state is supreme until the regional state supersedes it. The regional state is supreme until the nation supersedes it. The nation is supreme until the empire supersedes it.

Individuals are not absolved from responsibility to the small component groups to which they have belonged when they become responsible also to large groups of which they are made members through social integration; but responsibility to a large group which, as a mutual benefit association, is relatively effective and important, tends to override responsibility to its component lesser groups and to constituent societies.

Nevertheless, individuals do not in a majority of instances give highest allegiance to the largest organization that they might help to form, and which may be thought of as in the making. There is, therefore, a major number of instances of highest allegiance to the largest existing aggregate. At the present time the largest existing aggregates are nations, and more individuals give highest allegiance to the nation than give it to the commonwealth, the province, the city, the village, or the family, or to any hereditary caste or rank, to any social class, or than are yet prepared to give it to a league of nations.

¹ Giddings, *The Responsible State*, p. 50.

Sovereignty may be concentrated in an individual, a monarch, or a dictator, or in a lesser degree concentrated in a class or in an amorphous mass or majority, or it may be diffused throughout a democracy. The degree of concentration is a function of the social like-mindedness, more or less, and of the circumstantial pressure.

The supreme will of a state (in whatever mode of sovereignty manifested) expresses itself and achieves its end in various ways, but chiefly through government, which may be defined as the requisition, direction, and organization of obedience. It is the most important and, all in all, the most systematically ordered procedure known to society.

The sovereign may govern directly or may delegate the function of governing to authorized ministers or agents. Direct government by the sovereign is necessarily an absolute rule. Indirect or delegated government may be an absolute or a limited rule. Limitations, however carefully embodied in written constitutions, are actually observed only in those states whose populations are so far like-minded that even their governmental activities are in reality more like forms of spontaneous co-operation than like an overruling direction. The real limitations are certain well-stabilized popular habits. Minorities bow to the will of a majority, but in the understanding and on condition that they have liberty by speech, publication, meeting, and all other peaceful and reasonable ways of campaigning to increase their numbers and, if possible, become majorities.

The range and severity of government are determined by circumstantial pressure.

Sovereign power may act fitfully, unexpectedly, or at random; or it may act methodically, after a declaration of purpose and adhering to promulgated rules. Sovereign purpose formulated, promulgated, and enforced is law, and governmental action within the bounds of law is "due process of law."

Law is a form and a content. A large part of the content of law is a body of rights. In large measure the basic substance of legal (or positive) rights is drawn from the "natural rights" of the *mores*.¹

¹ See Giddings, *ibid.*, chap. iii.

A further content of law is a more or less consistent and organized group of policies, becoming, as time goes on, a series of policies intended to assure and to further collective achievement.

First in time and in importance are policies of growth and expansion, and of safeguarding against enemy attack or other immediate calamity. When formulated and put into execution by an absolute monarch bent upon perpetuating and extending the rule of a dynasty or by an adventurer-despot or despotic group, these policies become militarism, a rationalistic and quite cold-blooded attempt to organize collective power for aggressive action and to apply aggressive action relentlessly to the task of subjugation. Republics have to wage wars, but no republic, so called or described by anyone using words responsibly, has ever been militaristic.

Mankind has not been able to enjoy peace by wishing it, approving it, or even by willing it or planning it.

The rise and the decline of militarism conform to the laws of increasing and of diminishing return. For a time it may bring in more than it costs; but a point is reached beyond which the costs increase faster than the returns. In the rivalry of nations for territory, the lands available for annexation by any one of them become fewer in number and more difficult to obtain. The frontier is extended, and its defense becomes more difficult and more costly. The maintenance of armies of increasing size entails a relative diminution of the industrial population available to support them. Nations vie with one another in perfecting the engineery of war, and the cost of all military operations is thereby increased.¹

Observe, however, that this argument applies only to militarism, a rationalistic phenomenon. It does not hold true without qualification of war merely as war. As individuals fight in sheer rage, or in scorn of one another, or in resent of insult, so nations also fight in fear and in hatred, in insolent contempt of one another, and in vindication of their honor. Utilitarian considerations do not apply to these tempests of wrath.

Successful war prepares the way for exploitation and stimulates it. The annexation of territory, the creation of colonies, and the

¹ Compare William Graham Sumner, *War and Other Essays* and *Earth Hunger and Other Essays*.

establishment of dependencies bring lands and peoples hitherto foreign into direct relations with the conquering nation. Exclusive or preferential trade relations are established. Conquered people may be enslaved, or compelled to toil as serfs, or as a nominally free labor force be kept under strict subjection by economic or other means.

Like militarism, exploitation is governed by the laws of increasing and diminishing return. A point is found beyond which slavery or any mode of enforced labor becomes unprofitable in competition with free labor, and beyond which exclusiveness and privilege in commercial relations provoke an increasingly costly antagonism. Moreover, exploitive industry and commerce tend to exhaust natural resources, and they are consistent with relatively crude economic methods only.

In the most advanced modern civilization there is a partial superseding of policies, both of subjugation and of exploitation, by policies of assistance. Strong peoples extend educational advantages, relief of acute distress, and to some extent economic opportunity to backward races and to dependent peoples. Great Britain has performed this task and rendered this service on a vast scale and with a patience, common sense, and success that the world, now envious, will one day recognize. America has fed a starving Europe and cared for her sick and injured, and will help to restore her devastated areas.

Miscellaneous in character and of slow growth are policies of conservation, development, and efficiency to prevent future want or failure. Among these, policies of conservation of material resources and of accumulation of material goods are fundamental. They appear in a small way at the dawn of civilization in conservation of water supply, in drainage and irrigation, but they develop slowly and it is only in great modern nations and empires that they are systematically organized. Yet more slowly grow policies of conservation and efficiency of human resources and for the prosperity of the population. These comprise policies of sanitation, of education, and of economy, including (*a*) policies primarily for property-owning classes, (*b*) policies primarily for service-rendering classes, (*c*) policies primarily for the poor, the unsuccessful, the relatively weak, and the unfortunate.

The execution of these policies may be undertaken by government or committed to private agencies subject to conditions and limitations fixed by law.

It comes to pass, therefore, that governments and private organizations in a measure duplicate each other's functions. The actual distribution of functions between public and private agencies is a varying one. It changes with changing circumstances, that is to say, with the degree of like-mindedness and with circumstantial pressure.

Not only security and resources but also the composition of the community, the equalities of its individual units, and their relations to one another, to the several minor groups to which they belong, and to the integral society, are factors of effectiveness. To control these and to improve them policies of selection, of unification and standardization, of liberty, and of equality are devised and tried.

Policies of unification and standardization include attempts to standardize and unify language, religion, behavior, opinion, communication, education, business, law, politics. They aim to perfect the behavioristic solidarity of the group. Assimilation is watched with concern. Laws are enacted or edicts are promulgated to hasten on the change. One language must be spoken throughout the community. One religious faith must be embraced by all. One consistent economic policy must be followed. One standard of conduct and of legality must be established for all citizens. Within the voluntary organization, a religious denomination, for example, or a trade union or a political party, an attempt is made to persuade or to compel all members to believe the same thing and to conduct themselves in like manner. A creed, a body of rules, or a platform is imposed. An orthodoxy or regularity is insisted upon as a primary obligation.

The extent to which these policies are pushed is determined by circumstantial pressure.

Policies of liberty are reactions against the restraints, amounting often to intolerable coercion, of excessive unification. They aim at a toleration of variety, of individual initiative, of freedom of thought, speech, and conduct. They take legal form in bills of rights and constitutional guaranties of liberty.

Policies of equality are reactions against the abuse of liberty by men and parties that take advantage of their freedom to curtail the opportunities of their fellows and to exploit them. They aim to establish an equality of liberty and, as far as possible, of opportunity. They include the establishment of political equality through universal suffrage, equal standing before the law, the abolition of state-created privileges in the realm of economic interests, equality of educational opportunity, and measures for the protection of the weak, particularly women and children, in the economic struggle.

Not only do policies of security, conservation, selection, and standardization start reactions toward liberty, and policies of liberty provoke reactions toward equality; but also the process reverses: experiments in equality provoke reactions toward liberty, and experiments in liberty provoke reactions toward unification and selection.

The static state of perfect adjustment and consequent equilibrium is unattainable because of an inherent contradiction between personal or subjective equality and objective or social equality. The conditions that tend to create subjective inequality tend to establish objective equality, and, conversely, the creation of objective equality tends to increase subjective inequality. Therefore social evolution, like organic evolution, creates increasing inequality of personality. At the same time, however, it creates increasingly large classes of individuals that as persons are substantially equal within the same class.

"Social justice," as the term is popularly understood, comprises an equalization of both rights and opportunities. Justice in a larger sense of the word comprises all adjustments of social factors: individuals' interests, relations and actions to one another and to the social whole. It includes, as those who have defined it in the main agree, the definition and enforcement of rights, the redress of injuries, the maintenance of sanctions, the equalization of rights and opportunities, the adjustment of rewards to performances; but it includes also much more and the "more" is immeasurably delicate and difficult. It consists in unceasing readjustment.

Readjustment is made necessary by ceaseless changings of circumstance and by continuing change in demotic composition and in pluralistic behavior. The social population fluctuates about a kind or type. Behavior fluctuates about a mode or norm. The range of variation at one time is narrow; at another time it is wide.

Policies of selection, unification, and equilibration recognize and sanction modalities. Policies of liberty recognize and sanction variation. Readjustments change the range of permissible variation.

Therefore justice in its highest and most delicate development is a ceaselessly changing adjustment of equalities and modalities to immunities and liberties, and of immunities and liberties to modalities and equalities.

No arrangement of finite affairs is finally and forever just.

Through its policies and its readjustments of policy organized society in a measure controls variation about its own modes. It exercises self-control.

12. ORGANIZED SOCIETY

The reaction of social organization upon the interplay of like- and unlike-mindedness and upon the consciousness of kind reshapes the social mind, as Cooley¹ has contended.

The process is experimental, and highly concrete. Unorganized pluralistic reactions are simple and direct in form. Human energy explodes in trial and error. But turmoil and riot, like the hit-or-miss assaults of an untrained fighter, are wasteful expenditures. If, however, the flow of energy keeps up, it finds points of low resistance and begins to follow channels that branch and cross. Social organization like the individual nervous system correlates and co-ordinates these branchings and crossings, and more and more diverts energy into them. Thereby it transforms much direct and simple action into indirect and complex action.

The transformation normally goes so far that direct pluralistic action becomes subordinate to indirect action, as instinct in the individual mind normally becomes subordinate to reason. General strikes and revolutionary violence give way to constructive policies

¹ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization*.

and to due process of law. Direct action is primitive, and unsubordinated direct action is uncivilized.

Yet this evolution can begin and continue only if there is direct action (crude pluralistic reaction to stimulus) to transform; and only if the inequalities and diversities of reaction that are necessary for differentiation, and so for any organization whatsoever, are normally subject to a dominating like-mindedness in matters of major importance. This proposition is perhaps less obtrusively true of the economic division of labor that Adam Smith expounded than it is of the "division of social labor" that Durkheim¹ expounded; but it is demonstrably true of both.

Adam Smith apparently never saw the true relation of *The Wealth of Nations* to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, although he was looking directly at it all his days. When in *The Wealth of Nations* he had demonstrated that an increase of wealth is made possible by division of labor, that the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market, and that extent of the market is extent of demand, he did not then by resolving extended demand into pluralistic demand discover its identity with like-mindedness, of which, without so naming it, he had discoursed in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Therefore he did not appreciate, he probably did not quite see, the broad social fact that the differentiation of productive effort is limited by the extent of like-mindedness in respect of consumption.

As for the larger division of social labor, a population that is not prevaillingly like-minded is collectively ineffective (and usually chaotic) or it is ruled and organized by the strong arm. Only like-minded communities are capable of democratic self-government, and only the like-mindedness that is enlightened and deliberative can create and maintain a liberal democracy. Proof is superabundant. Mexico is the great modern example. Without a meeting of minds on large and fundamental issues Mexico submitted to order and made material progress under the despotism of Diaz, only to fall into a chaos of conspiracies when despotic rule ended.

As a mechanism organized society is good or bad. A good machine is coherent and elastic to pressure. An organic machine

¹ Emile Durkheim, *De la Division du Travail social*.

—namely, a plant, an animal, or a man—is also adaptable to crisis or change. Man has succeeded in making machines adaptable in a small way; the clock with a pendulum, the turbine and the steam engine equipped with automatic cut-off to control the feed of water or of steam, are familiar examples; but he has not yet made a machine comparable in adaptability to a living organism or to a society. Adaptability turns upon the variability of units; cohesion upon the typicalness, uniformity, or standardization of units. Anarchism, or lawless individualism, is excessive variability and non-cohesion. Socialism is excessive standardization and deficient adaptability. Individualism is theoretically a working combination of enough like-mindedness for collective effectiveness with enough unlike-mindedness for organization and progress. Theoretically, therefore, individualism at its best is the best social system because, more adequately than any other, it combines cohesion, elasticity, and variability; but individualism at its worst may be as bad as anarchism which is anti-social. Socialism is a revolt against anti-social individualism. Socialistic policies may be expedient as restraints of anti-social conduct and to supplement private co-operation; but on the whole and in the long run they are justified only to the extent that they develop a social individualism.

IV. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF ORGANIZED ENDEAVOR

13. AMELIORATION

The immediate business of organized endeavor is to mitigate the struggle for existence in a large way and effectively and to make life worth while. Its ulterior business and supreme function are to develop human personality.

Organized endeavor mitigates the struggle for existence by accumulating knowledge, amassing capital, and conducting government. By means of these activities and achievements life is made relatively secure, comfortable, and satisfying.

The accumulation of knowledge has been the work of unnumbered generations tirelessly groping and exploring through ages measured presumably by millions rather than by thousands of years, as the world once thought. No argument is necessary to

prove that without society and organized endeavor the achievement of knowledge would have been impossible. Folkways, folklore, and tradition have been necessary. Education has been necessary. Organized investigation, writing, printing, libraries, and laboratories have been necessary.

Without society the capital acquired by man could not have exceeded the bees' store of honey, the beavers' dam, the apes' club, the savages' chipped flint. There could have been no agriculture, no domesticated animals, no exchangeable goods, and no money. Without organized endeavor there could have been no mechanisms, no boats, no roads, no mines, no mills, no banks.

Without multiple and differentiated societies and organized endeavor on a big scale there could have been no governments; for among them all there is not one that is not a product of foreign wars and domestic revolutions.

Knowledge, capital, and government are necessary for security against armed enemies, against tempest and flood and fire, against pestilence, against famine and pitiless cold. They are necessary to establish equity by balancing equality against liberty. They are necessary to expand and to clarify thought and to diminish fear.¹

Organized endeavor has achieved these things; it has progressively ameliorated the human lot.

14. MUTATION AND VARIATION

Variant organisms are relatively unstable: they are relatively frail, and they perish more easily than do their kindred competitors that more closely conform to type. All depends, therefore, on the severity of the struggle. Whatever mitigates the struggle multiplies the survival chances of variants that may develop a high degree of individuality. It is because the social organization of endeavor has ameliorated the life of man that the human race is above all other species variable and adaptable; capable of extraordinary differentiation of aptitude and able to meet crises with amazing skill. This is not the result of any physical transmission of acquired traits. It is, so far as we can see, altogether a consequence of the social mitigation of natural selection. Protected and

¹Lester Frank Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* remains the most comprehensive study of this field.

sustained by society, frail and unstable individuals, cranks and oddities, crooks and martyrs, idiots and geniuses, who would miserably perish in a "state of nature," survive and pass on their qualities in Mendelian distributions. The problem of disposing of the crooks and the idiots, or of enduring them, is the price we have to pay for the geniuses and their contributions to our joy.

The study of human variation in its sociological aspect is a statistical investigation.

There is a range of structural and physiological adequacy between extremes of defect or deformity and of completeness or balance. Vitality as measured by energy, health, fecundity, and longevity ranges from relatively low to relatively high extremes. Mentality ranges from idiocy to genius, and character from depravity to magnanimity.

Hardship and a standardizing social pressure, elastic to an increasing circumstantial pressure, shorten all these ranges. Amelioration and increasing freedom (intellectual, moral, and political) lengthen them.

Organized endeavor can always shorten these ranges, and the temptation to do so is great because stupidity and wickedness annoy us and often anger us, an easy thing to do, while the value of genius we can neither see nor weigh unless we can think (not everybody can) and will take the trouble to think (most of us won't). Probably in no other enterprise has human wisdom made so sorry an exhibition of itself as in its attempts to standardize thought and morals.

15. SOCIALIZATION

Remembering that with conscious intent and by unconsciously exerted pressure society eliminates much human material that proves to be unfit for social life, we clarify the idea of socialization: a phenomenon of discipline and education, brought to bear upon the socially possible. Socialization is the opposite of mutation and supplementary variation. It is an aggregate of acquisitions, in distinction from native traits. It cannot be transmitted through heredity, but by teaching it can be handed on with compounding interest from generation to generation.

The socialized members of organized society "play the game"; the non-socialized survivors from savagery and interlopers from barbarism do not. The socialized are tolerant and regardful of the rights (natural and legal) of their fellow-men; they are by habit helpful; they value and observe manners; and they can co-operate.

The zero point of socialization is criminality, that degree of departure from prevailing and approved behavior which the community by process of law and with relative severity punishes.

If the range of socialization from zero up be divided into four parts or grade quarters, we get the following distribution of habits and persons:

In the lowest grade quarter are the predatory, aggressors upon person and property, law-breakers.

In the second grade quarter (counting from the lowest up) are the intentionally or willingly dependent, wholly or in part; the self-seeking, intent on getting more than they give; the inconsiderate and irresponsible.

In the third grade quarter are the dependable, the helpful, the considerate, and the responsible, who are also type-conforming, conventional, uninventive, and non-innovating.

In the fourth and highest quarter are the dependable and the helpful who are mindful of the value of social usage but are also independent in thought, courageous, willing to experiment, but cautiously, and with full responsibility for results.

This distribution into quarters is artificial, but it makes observation and recording possible. With competent assistance I have obtained observations of 1,888 individuals comprised in 428 families and all personally known to and by the observers. The distribution by socialization is:

Grade Quarter	Number of Individuals
I	52
II	317
III	1044
IV	475

16. INDIVIDUATION

Original nature (inherited traits, variations) and acquired nature (habits, socialization) are mingled, perhaps blended, in individuation.

Individuation begins in the chromatin and proceeds through Mendelian combinations of units. Probably no individual is an exact duplicate of another, and inasmuch as the life-circumstances of each living body are different in a great or a small degree from those of every other body, life would soon cease if there were no organic variability. And inasmuch as the life-circumstances of each individual are in a degree peculiar (in other words, the stimuli that play upon each individual are in a degree peculiar), the behavior of each individual is differential. Among these stimuli in the experience of the human race are social influences and among the reactions are socialization. So by instinct in like measure with lower animals and by habit in amazing measure surpassing the experience of any other species, mankind is individuated.

The range of individuation is upward from a zero point at instinct little above the animal level. Dividing it into grade quarters we get the following distribution of original and acquired traits, and of persons:

In the lowest quarter: instincts strong and not much controlled; sympathy deficient or narrow in range; cruel (when cruelty is manifested) in an unfeeling and brutal rather than in a deliberate and ingenious way; tastes low and crude; ideas elementary, primitive, and limited in number and in range.

In the second quarter (counting from the lowest up): motor impulses variable in strength; instincts infused with abundant emotion, variable from grave to gay; sympathy quick but superficial and unstable; imaginative but without sufficient intellectual power to be creative in literature or art beyond the simpler products; without strong convictions or controlling sense of responsibility; ideas relatively abundant and varied but loosely organized.

In the third quarter: motor impulses of any degree of strength from weak to violent; instincts and passions strong, but controlled by convictions; emotion strong, blended with beliefs, and partisan; convictions tenacious, and a dominant factor in mental processes and in behavior; may be ruthless and cruel under influence of fanaticism; intolerant of doubt, impatient of hesitation, scornful of weakness.

In the fourth and highest quarter: motor impulses, instincts, and passions of any degree from weak to very strong; emotions abundant and varied, may or may not be well controlled; beliefs subject to review and modification; ideas abundant and organized; open-minded, of investigating turn, insistent upon evidence; judicially critical rather than fault-finding or denunciatory; may make discoveries; may be inventive or creative.

With assistance I have obtained observations of 1,536 individuals comprised in 294 families and personally known to and by the observers. The distribution by individuation is:¹

Grade Quarter	Number of Individuals
I	82
II	334
III	763
IV	357

In the degree that a human being is individuated he has personality, he is a person.

A person is unique but also social. In a million ways like other persons, he is in many ways unlike any other that lives or that ever has lived. Conforming to type in much, he also significantly varies from type, and variability within race limits there must be if personality is to develop. Furthermore, the variant must survive and hand on his race. In this necessity lie all the possibilities of achievement and of tragedy.

¹Cf. Giddings, "A Provisional Distribution of the Population of the United States into Psychological Classes," *The Psychological Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, July, 1901.

TRAINING FOR RURAL SERVICE

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Methodist Episcopal Church

No movement in modern history is of more far-reaching importance than the rising consciousness of the solidarity and unity of interests of the producers of agricultural wealth. It was but eleven years ago that the Roosevelt Country Life Commission made its report. Since then interest in rural welfare has not only been maintained but has steadily increased. Owing to the diversion of popular attention to the more spectacular efforts of the organized wage-earning classes for recognition in the distribution of wealth the significance of this movement toward solidifying the efforts of rural folk for their own improvement has not been fully appreciated by many concerned with public affairs. But present tendencies indicate that at no distant date the agricultural interest will be a predominant one in American life.

Immediately after the Civil War, when rapid settlement of the fertile prairies of the Mississippi Valley brought overproduction of agricultural products and consequent relative poverty to farmers, other economic interests forged to the front. The low economic status of agriculture continued through the nineties and the first decade of the present century. Indeed it was not until the beginning of the war that prices of agricultural products began to make a marked increase in value. A recent statement issued by a prominent motor company is that while the acreage of ten principal crops has increased but 10 per cent the increase in cash value of these crops reached almost \$11,000,000,000.

This relatively lower economic status of the farmer had certain vital effects on his social status. Since 1870 there has been a decreasing rural population in many of the older sections of the country, due in large part to the exodus of rural folk to the more

remunerative openings in the cities. The cities, partly through their greater advantage in making community improvements; because of density of population and because of the greater influence of invention and imitation through social contact, made rapid advances in the way of better educational facilities, better housing, better heating and lighting in the homes, better health care and better social and recreational attractions. The rural communities lagged behind. The greater poverty of the country made it impossible for country folk to pay as well for teachers and ministers; they could not erect commodious school buildings nor provide for higher education; they had to get along with poorer health care, and houses were lacking in water supply, toilet, and other facilities, accepted as a matter of course by the city resident. This marked discrepancy between rural and urban economic resources not only drove rural young folk of marked ability to seek employment in the cities but made those engaged in professional service look upon rural positions as the lowest in the social scale.

The conventions formed during this period still remain as one of the most serious handicaps to those interested in rural welfare. It is no uncommon occurrence for ministers appointed to rural charges to refuse to ally themselves with rural ministers' organizations for fear that such alliance will prevent their "promotion" to city charges. Congregations in very small villages are likely to be "insulted" if they are included in rural work. Most little groups of houses away out in the countryside put on city airs and are in thought "above" their agricultural environment. Men who have undertaken rural work as a specialty find that in state or national activities involving both rural and city interests they are discriminated against because city interests refuse to be directed by rural leaders. Yet most cities are run by transplanted "ruralites." Normal schools report that it is much more difficult to get young people to prepare for rural teaching positions than for city work.

The result of this powerful tendency of the past half-century is that today there is a marked dearth of persons specially prepared for service in rural communities. A large number of those

who are now serving farmers are doing so only as a stepping-stone to something "better" and consequently their work too often has the weaknesses of the one who has not yet found his life-interest. Country people have too often accepted this as a natural condition, and it is to be feared that statesmen are not yet concerned with an equalization of economic resources so that the farmer can have as good a material existence as his city brother. They have supinely endured poor roads, poor schools, and poor churches, and have permitted the cities to outbid them in salaries for teachers and ministers. If they wished the advantages of better schools they have left the farm and moved to the cities. The country-life movement has frankly accepted this disparity in economic resources as a challenge and has set itself the task of bringing to the farmer a material welfare comparable to that of the better phases of other parts of the American social organization.

But the rapid advances of rural folk in material welfare due to the changes taking place in relative demands for different types of products has given to some who are now engaged in rural work hope of ultimate elimination of disparity in rural and urban economic resources; and the rising interest in rural welfare has led many to question whether it is necessary that farmers be at the bottom of the economic scale. Many have answered the question in the negative and have demonstrated their confidence in their judgment by definitely espousing the cause of country people and of undergoing the sacrifices necessary to the realization of their belief that the time is coming when country life will be recognized as the ideal existence.

In the rapidly growing movement for rural betterment there has come a great increase in the demand for trained men and women to serve the interests of farmers in a professional way. This has not meant that the farmers are not able to look after their own interests. But it has meant that the farmer is as a rule too busy with the duties of his farm to attend to the public activities of rural life and prefers to engage someone professionally prepared to attend to these common or public affairs. The professionally trained worker becomes a servant and leadership is one of the functions of his service. The demand for trained leadership has shown itself in

the call for county agents who know something more than hog raising and grain production; men who can buy and sell and organize co-operative activities are demanded. The Red Cross is calling for rural nurses; the extension departments of state colleges are asking for workers in home betterment; social-service agencies are placing county leaders to look after the unfortunate classes in rural and village life; the churches are asking for ministers of the Gospel who have the vision of a Christianity touching all phases of rural life instead of the oft-repeated annual revival and pastoral change. The demand has come so rapidly that those who have prepared for professional service are not adapted to the new call and a crisis has been created.

COURSES RECOMMENDED FOR INCLUSION IN UNDERGRADUATE WORK OF THOSE PREPARING FOR RURAL SERVICE*

Subject	Semesters	Hours	Suggested College Year
1. General economics.....	2	6	2
2. General sociology.....	2	6	2
3. Rural economics.....	1	3	3 or 4
4. Rural sociology.....	1	3	3 or 4
5. Rural leadership.....	1	3	3 or 4
6. Rural clinic.....	2	4	3 or 4
7. Religious education.....	2	6	2 or 3
8. Farm practice (for city youth).....	1	2	
9. History of religion.....	2	6	3 or 4
10. Public speaking.....	1	3	2 or 3
11. English (emphasis on sermon preparation)...	1	3	
12. Public health.....	1	3	3 or 4
13. Hygiene.....	1	3	2
14. Journalism, publicity.....	1	2	3 or 4
15. Rural politics.....	1	3	
16. Psychology.....	2	6	
17. Bible.....	All that	can be secured	

* Courses should also be selected in aesthetics, landscape gardening, art, music, home service, etc.

In attempting to work out some plan for encouraging special effort to meet this demand for an adequately trained rural leadership the Committee on Training for Rural Leadership of the National Country Life Association has recommended the following curriculum as a minimum number of courses to be included in the undergraduate work of the one interested in preparing for rural service.

The movement toward introduction of special courses or departments for rural leadership training has had a marked impetus during the past year. Through the encouragement given by the Department of Rural Work of the Methodist Episcopal church special work along lines recommended by the Committee on Rural Leadership Training was begun at the opening of the present college year at West Virginia Wesleyan University; Cornell College, Iowa; Upper Iowa University, Iowa; Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas; Nebraska Wesleyan University; Boston University; Northwestern University, and Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota. Special work has also been started in connection with agricultural colleges at the University of Illinois, University of Wisconsin, and the University of Minnesota. It is expected that during the coming year considerable extension of this type of work will be made in other higher educational institutions.

The agricultural colleges offer an exceptional field for recruiting rural leaders. The young men and women who choose an agricultural college for their education do so because they expect either to return to the farms or to work with farm folks. When once trained for rural service these young folks are not likely to give up their chosen field for the fancied attractions of city positions, but will willingly remain with rural service because of love for the group from which they have come. Special training for rural science in sectarian institutions is desirable for the purpose of giving adequate emphasis to the challenge of this type of service in institutions that have to the present been largely interested in training for urban professional service or in giving instruction that is not specially adapted to any particular kind of work.

Special emphasis is being given to the ministry of the Gospel as a challenge for service. At the present time, owing to the lack of adjustment of churches to modern conditions of rural life, overchurching, too many pastors residing in some centers and too few in others, and the survival of a narrow vision of the function of the ministry, it is difficult to interest in the rural ministry young people who wish to render the largest service. But the vision of what the church should be is broadening so rapidly and the relations between religious organizations are being so satisfactorily

adjusted that already the peculiarly advantageous position of the minister of the Gospel as a leader in rural welfare movements is being recognized, and it is becoming far easier to recruit the rural ministry from the ablest young people in educational institutions.

TRAINING FOR RURAL SERVICE

As a part of its plan for the stimulation of a broad religious leadership for rural life the Methodist Episcopal church through the Rural Department of its Board of Home Missions and Church Extension has established special departments for rural service at the following institutions:

MEN WHO ARE TO HAVE CHARGE OF RURAL LEADERSHIP, TRAINING, AND DEMONSTRATION DEPARTMENTS IN METHODIST EPISCOPAL COLLEGES AND THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS, AND STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

M. A. Dauber.....	Boston, Mass.	Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Mass.
Edward S. Boyer...	Urbana, Ill.	University of Illinois Agricultural College, Urbana, Ill.
A. H. Rapking....	Buckhannon, W. Va.	West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W. Va.
O. Leonard Jones...	Vineland, Kan.	Baker University, Baldwin, Kan.
Ora Miner.....	Denver, Colo.	Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colo.
Albert Z. Mann....	St. Paul, Minn.	Hamline University and Minnesota Agricultural College, St. Paul, Minn.
W. F. Ledford....	Athens, Tenn.	The Athens School, University of Chattanooga, Athens, Tenn.
Earl A. Roadman...	Fayette, Iowa	Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa
W. L. Ruyle.....	Malcolm, Neb.	Nebraska Wesleyan University and Nebraska University Agricultural College, University Place, Neb.
E. E. Beauchamp...	Madison, N. J.	Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
Otis A. Moore.....	Mount Vernon, Iowa	Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa
C. J. Hewitt.....	Evanston, Ill.	Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
E. Tetreau.....	Madison, Wis.	Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis.

Last summer special training for three weeks was given at fourteen different centers to more than 1,200 rural ministers. Plans are now under way for similar work during the coming summer whereby several religious denominations co-operating will offer special work of a similar type. It is expected that at least 4,000 ministers will be given special training in this way.

PLANS FOR CO-OPERATIVE RESEARCH¹

LUCILE EAVES

Women's Educational and Industrial Union
Boston, Massachusetts

Co-operative investigations of subjects of peculiar interest to sociologists were proposed as a part of the activities of the American Sociological Society about seven years ago. The late Professor C. R. Henderson, chairman of the committee appointed to initiate the undertaking, corresponded with members of the Society about the subjects and methods suitable for a joint study. Unfortunately his failing health and untimely death prevented the execution of plans which appealed strongly to many college teachers, who felt that inductive studies of present social conditions should be a part of the training of their students, but who saw no practicable means of collecting the data necessary for a sound statistical investigation. Two years ago, at the Philadelphia meeting of the Society, the subject of co-operative research was revived and another committee appointed for its consideration. At the recent Chicago meeting, Professor J. L. Gillin, the chairman of this committee, made a preliminary report of research activities of members of the Sociological Society and recommended that I be authorized to try the experiment of enlisting groups of women students in a co-operative investigation of a subject to be selected by the committee.

An opportunity for the free discussion of the plans and aims of such nation-wide joint studies of social questions should be given to members of the Sociological Society. As I have been a member of both research committees of the Society and am planning our first co-operative investigation, it seems suitable that I should invite such a discussion by setting forth in this open letter my ideas about the policies and methods of work suitable for such an undertaking. It is hoped that all members of the Society, particularly those who direct groups of students who may participate in the studies, will feel free to criticize and amend the plans which I suggest.

¹An open letter to members of the Sociological Society.

SUBJECTS TO BE STUDIED

A study of methods by which self-supporting women may provide for their old age was authorized by the committee as the first topic for co-operative research. I suggested this subject because it will interest women students looking forward to self-support, because women in need of such protection can be found in all parts of the country, and because far-reaching questions dealing with changes in family life and with the development of new forms of social insurance will be involved in the discussions of the data collected. In case we succeed in enlisting a number of co-operating directors of investigations, some more democratic methods of selecting future topics for study should be developed. Leaders of the different research groups could come together at the annual meeting of the Sociological Society for the consideration of suggestions and the selection of one or more topics suitable for joint investigations.

CENTRALIZING THE CO-OPERATIVE STUDIES

One person or group of persons must be responsible for planning and supervising each joint investigation and must undertake to gather the results of the various local studies into a final report. At present the Sociological Society is unable to supply anyone who can give his entire time to this task. The members of its Research Committee come together only for a few hasty conferences between the sessions of the annual meeting. Two or more professors serving on the same faculty might share the labors of planning and reporting results of an investigation. The large groups of students attending the sociology classes make possible the enlistment of assistance in collecting data for studies of several subjects. It might be possible at each annual meeting to authorize studies of three or more subjects, each to be directed by one or more members of the Sociological Society.

OPPORTUNITY FOR VARIED FORMS OF RESEARCH

Some such latitude in the choice of subjects and methods of work seems desirable, since the teachers of sociological research courses are apt to prefer special methods of work, and the opportunities for satisfactory field work in the neighborhoods of different colleges vary widely. Teachers accustomed to a statistical approach to a subject may not care to direct a study requiring intensive case work, and case workers often have but slight respect for statistical presentations. Public records

may be complete and readily accessible in one state, and defective and jealously guarded from inspection in another. The preliminary statements of the persons directing the studies should indicate the proposed sources of information and the general plans for dealing with the studies, so that co-operating directors of local groups could select undertakings with which they were in sympathy and could produce results comparable with the work of other investigators and so readily embodied in a final report.

PREPARATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES AND DIRECTIONS TO FIELD WORKERS

Since the collection of sufficiently large masses of facts to supply bases for sound generalizations about social phenomena is the aim of co-operative research, there must be preliminary agreements about what topics shall be covered in the investigations. The person or persons who undertake to plan the studies and to write the final reports should prepare tentative questionnaires and directions to field workers and submit them for suggestions to all leaders of co-operating groups. Questionnaires or schedules of topics to be observed should be so simple that they can be used readily by students. A minimum number of topics should be covered by all field workers, but latitude could be allowed for more intensive studies by suitably equipped investigators. Questionnaires might be published once in the *Journal* and reproduced in quantities desired by the local groups, or the directors of each study might have their questionnaires and instructions to field workers printed and sold to all co-operating groups. The tendency of students to make a careless use of such blanks would be checked by requiring the payment of the small cost of productions.

TABULATION FORMS FOR STATISTICAL TABLES

Directors of statistical studies should plan a minimum number of the more important tables which they wish for the final report. Blank tabulation forms for these tables should be furnished to each co-operating group. The final summarizing of data would be greatly facilitated by these uniform tables. Students would be free to prepare as many additional tables as their ingenuity could devise. The filled-in questionnaires or schedules on which tables are based should always be forwarded to the central group of directors in order that the work may be verified or corrected.

REPORTS OF LOCAL GROUPS

Graduate students looking for material suitable for master's or doctor's dissertations might organize and summarize the data collected by local co-operating groups. Such reports would be suitable for publication in local papers or magazines. When the subject chosen is related to state or municipal activities, the reports could be published as public documents.

FINAL SUMMARY REPORT OF THE RESULTS
OF THE INVESTIGATION

The final summary report should be prepared by the director or directors who initiated and planned the study. No doubt the *Journal* would welcome a discussion so securely founded on concrete data. Interest in its pages would be stimulated, as there would be hundreds or even thousands who had participated in, or been the subjects of, the investigations. When the reports are of sufficient scope and interest, the *Journal* articles could be reproduced in book form. It is even conceivable, though very doubtful, that the hard-working directors of the investigation might reap a small royalty with which to finance their next undertaking.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF SUCH CO-OPERATIVE RESEARCH

The rudiments of sound, inductive investigations of social phenomena would be learned by persons who participated in such studies. The utilization of students working under competent direction would do away with the enormous costs of field work which have been the chief deterrents of sound sociological research. No professor can pay the traveling expenses and salaries of persons required to collect information about present social conditions, but co-operating groups might be found in every state of the Union. Moreover, these local groups are familiar with their environments and more competent for an intelligent collection of data than visiting field workers who might be sent by federal bureaus or by one of the heavily endowed foundations of New York City. Participation in these co-operative research groups would prepare students to pass the civil-service examinations which admit to the staffs of the various governmental agencies, and these agencies are charged with the duty of conducting public investigations which supply sound foundations for constructive legislation.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE STATE? I

VICTOR S. YARROS

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

One of the remarkable effects of the Great War has been the revival of the long-suspended campaign against "the state." Sentiments that remind one strongly of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political thought have been rather freely expressed of late. Individualism and philosophical anarchism may well claim substantial victories and significant conversions. "The state—that is the enemy," the radical individualists said and wrote in the eighties and nineties of the last century. Among their authorities—in a scientific sense, of course—were British, French, and even Teutonic thinkers who had deplored the steady extension of the state's functions and the growth of "paternalism" and "compulsion" at the expense of the individual citizen or the dissenting group. *Laissez faire* was the popular liberal doctrine in those days, and while it was admitted that the existing social-economic order was by no means perfect, and that much injustice and special privilege existed which demanded the attention of sincere and progressive men, the remedy for all the social ills was declared to be "more liberty," more competition, and less governmental intermeddling with 'natural' human activities.

A few years ago these phrases would have sounded very strangely, had any prominent thinker cared to use them. They would have been received with amusement and astonishment, as something ancient, irrelevant, and meaningless. New ideas of the state, of government in relation to the citizen, were in full possession of the field of thought. The individualistic school was hardly more than a memory. Governmental interference, regulative and protective legislation in the interest of the weak, the disinherited, the ignorant, and the poor were all but universally favored. Children, women, laborers, mechanics, were held to be

entitled to the especial care of the modern democratic state. What was government, the argument ran, but co-operation for common benefits, and what could be more natural than that victims of past iniquity or present maladjustment should invoke the aid of the state in their own behalf? After all, what they demanded was simple justice, and justice was the business of the state, because it was essential to the general welfare, to social harmony and security. Only selfish, reactionary groups or classes, determined to preserve artificial, injurious privileges and opposed to justice, could object to such state intervention.

The Great War, however, has brought about a remarkable change in the attitude of many thinkers and philosophers, not excepting socialists, toward the state and government. A man of the intellectual standing of Editor L. P. Jacks, of the *Hibbert Journal*, confesses alleged guilt in having believed human nature capable of such atrocities and brutalities as the war produced, and moves to quash that indictment. Not human nature, he says, but *state nature* is the author of these monstrous crimes and bottomless woes; state nature overrides and stifles weak human nature and makes us cruel, savage, bloodthirsty. State nature absolves us from moral responsibility. We "obey orders," the orders of the state. Hence the true task of civilization and humanity henceforth is to weaken state nature and exalt human nature. We must, then, reduce the power and importance of the state, "the coldest of monsters," as Nietzsche called it. Another philosopher, Bertrand Russell, while admitting that in certain directions the power and functions of the state have properly been increased and should indeed be further increased, is yet vigorously belaboring the state for alleged usurpations in realms which it cannot invade, according to him, without spreading evil and disaster. Mr. Russell's distribution of emphasis is different from Herbert Spencer's, but the spirit is the same in the respective writings of these British thinkers. Emile Vandevelde, the Belgian socialist leader has been writing about "Socialism versus the State"!

It is not surprising that lesser lights should also be indulging in speculation concerning the future of the state, the amount of state-ism that may safely be permitted to survive when the

stricken and exhausted world is regenerated and rehabilitated, and the changes in political methods and machinery that should be pressed by the democratic and progressive forces of society.

To some extent the revival of the critical and hostile treatment of the state is merely the natural reaction from the superficial and rhetorical German eulogies of the semi-divine state that have purposely, and rightly, been circulated among us and among our allies. Germans too often blindly worship the state; they are ready to die for it or to revert to savagery for its sake. To them the state is a mystical, unknowable institution; the glory and strength of the state would justify any conduct on the part of its instruments. The state is above and beyond our ethical conceptions, or right and wrong. Piracy, treaty breaking, treachery, betrayal of friends, brutal treatment of neutrals, merciless destruction of enemies—all these things are permissible when decreed by or in the name of the German state. It is not strange that the practical, pragmatic, hard-headed Anglo-Saxons or American should shudder at this superstitious worship of a mere abstraction and should be led to emphasize, or overemphasize, the utilitarian view of the state, the idea that the state is an organization maintained in the interest of order and peace, and pledged to carry out the ascertained will of the greatest number of qualified votes.

But a little reflection will convince the thinking person that the Anglo-Saxon world has by no means solved the problems connected with the state or got rid of the conflicts between the state and the individual or the minority. The distinction between state nature and human nature, for example, is not a German distinction, nor was it meant to be limited to Germany. In the freest and most democratic state individuals will do things for the state that they would never consent to do for themselves or their families. The shifting and evasion of moral responsibility, with all the consequences thereof, may be observed in corporations as well as in states. Men do as officials, as trustees, as representatives, what they would refuse to do as individuals, in their own interest. This is as true of executions of criminals by deputy sheriffs as it is of the misuse of funds and dodging of taxes by directorates of private or quasi-public companies.

Surely we cannot contemplate the dissolution of all forms of corporate and organized social action. We cannot revert to the mythical state of nature in which simple human nature always confronted like human nature—for good or for ill. We cannot denounce and abrogate that unwritten "social contract" though, after all, it never was formally negotiated. We must and shall maintain all sorts and conditions of political, social, economic, and other organizations for the sake of the undoubted advantages of co-operation and collective-action. We shall not abolish the state as a form or organization, for there is nothing we could put in its place—unless it be mobocracy, lynch law, which, assuredly, the most vigorous critics of the organized modern state cannot regard as an improvement thereon. But, if we are to preserve the state, the question that faces us is, How much power shall we give it, and what scope?

Let us assume that we have made the state as free and democratic as possible. Let us assume that the franchise has been extended to all men and all women of sound mind and average honesty; that proportional representation has been adopted in order to give every class, party, and group its proper weight in government; that the upper house of the legislative body has been radically mended or ended; that the people nominate and elect every important official; that they have all the safeguards and checks that are now deemed essential, or at least desirable, if popular and democratic government is to be a reality; and that so far as organic law, form, structure, and machinery are concerned, we have made the state safe for democracy. The question still remains, How much power shall we intrust to and confer upon our completely democratized state?

If it is state nature, and not human nature, that is responsible for war, or for provocative diplomacy, shall we take away from the government the power to declare war or to recognize the existence of a state of war? Some prominent pacifists have actually favored such a limitation as this; they have advocated a popular referendum on so vital an issue as war versus peace. They have favored this as the logical corollary from open, above-board, democratic diplomacy. But, as a matter of fact, the two

proposals do not belong to the same category. Open diplomacy undoubtedly is a check on selfish, tricky, or arrogant politicians clothed with a little brief authority. Open diplomacy is a safeguard because it implies public discussion of international problems and projects and because secret diplomacy means distrust and fear of the electorate of the democratic principle in government. To demand truly democratic government is to demand, tacitly, open and frank diplomacy. The question of the limits of state activity is not involved here at all. The government is not the state, nor is the state the government. Suppose we say that under the truest and most complete democracy "the State—it is the People." What do we mean by "the People"? Not the whole people, for unanimity among the people is almost unthinkable. The majority rules and must rule in a democracy, and when the minority submits it submits to "the State," for the majority has spoken for the state. A referendum on war would give us nothing more, at the best, than the decision of the majority. Should a majority of the voters decide for war, the minority would be forced to fight, to suffer, to pay heavy taxation, to mortgage the future, just as it is forced today, when war is decided on, not by a referendum, but by a vote in Congress of a majority of the agents and representatives of the electors. It may be true that an absolutely democratic state would not be as apt to vote for war as a limited democracy, although that is distinctly a debatable proposition. Pacifists who are working for greater democracy, for the extension of the initiative and the referendum, cannot be charged with inconsistency, provided they are satisfied that greater democracy means fewer wars and less aggressiveness and imperialism in foreign affairs. But pacifists and "unterrified" democrats should not deceive themselves as to the relative strength and importance of state nature and human nature in a pure democracy. A war decreed by a majority of the people may be as sanguinary, as cruel, as remorseless, as a war decreed by a congress, or by an aristocratic clique, or by a single ruler. War itself is incompatible with democracy. War demands centralized control, unity, strict discipline. There can be no referendum on such questions as military organization, the use of poison gas,

the attacking of cities from the air, etc. It should not be forgotten, by the way, that fierce and angry demands for reprisals have come, in the recent war, from the press and the public, not from the responsible men in high positions. A referendum at a time of panic and resentment of some new atrocity might—nay, would—result in a manifestation of “human” nature that would cause state nature itself to shudder.

After all, if state nature is bad, why does human nature tolerate and submit to it? The greater includes the less, and evidently state nature is humanly natural. Our quarrel, then, is at bottom with human nature, and nothing could be more futile and idle than an indictment of human nature at large. *From human nature no appeal can be taken except to the same nature.* We usually appeal from nature drunk to nature sober, from nature wild to nature chastened, restrained, elevated. In this we are perfectly well advised. Human nature is still a house badly divided against itself. There are lower impulses and higher, selfish sentiments and unselfish, ignoble and noble. Moral evolution is as much a fact as physical, or scientific, or mechanical. It is possible to stimulate, quicken, strengthen the better nature of man, just as it is possible to stimulate and strengthen man's lower nature. How to identify ourselves with our better nature, how to oppose and silence the demands we know to be wrong and unworthy, and more successfully conform our conduct to our professions and ideals, is, indeed, a most difficult and serious question. But the point is that *that is the question*, the only question, that concerns those of us who are disappointed and dissatisfied with the present state of our civilization.

Of course, the appeal to the better nature of man is in part an appeal to his reason, which is regarded by some thinkers as our “supreme inheritance.” What, we ask ourselves, can reason suggest in the way of preventives, safeguards, checks, in a word, mechanism, with a view to preventing needless and immoral war in the future? Can we deter governments, parliaments, and nations from wrongful, predatory, immoral acts, as our criminal law and penal institutions are believed to deter individuals from committing antisocial acts? Are there any lessons in history,

and in our own experience, that we have not sufficiently taken to heart in the sphere of politics and foreign relations? What can we do in this sphere that we have not done?

Only when we conceive the problem in some such terms as these does light break upon us. Only then do we realize that by taking thought, by planning and contriving, and by deliberately undertaking to obstruct and discourage systems and policies that lead to war can we effectively promote the cause of peace and international amity.

Thus no one can doubt today that secret diplomacy has been in the past a fatal source of friction and danger. It has become clear to all that so far as possible secret diplomacy should be abolished. Many naïve persons imagine that when this has been said, all has been said. In truth, however, very little has been said. It will not be easy to wipe out all the diplomatic traditions and habits and to make a fresh start. One nation, or even a group of nations, could not abolish secret diplomacy. Advanced nations might refuse to make secret treaties, but how long would they be able to adhere to that virtuous and fine resolution if other important powers continued to negotiate secret treaties? No nation can isolate itself and ignore the realities of the present world. A nation has vital interests to protect and safeguard, and if it finds that it cannot do this without forming secret understandings, because the other powers are not advanced or democratic enough to renounce secret diplomacy, it is not too difficult to see what will happen.

Open diplomacy must tend to square and honorable dealing. It implies public discussion of foreign affairs and trust in the people. It presupposes the democratization of the diplomatic service itself. Aristocrats, as a rule, do not understand or sympathize with democratic principles. Even in England foreign affairs have been treated as a sort of special preserve for titled and distinguished personages. In the United States a John Hay could say sincerely that "our foreign policy is merely the Golden Rule applied to foreign affairs," but how many Americans accepted that affirmation without a skeptical smile or mental reserve? Is American diplomacy completely democratized? The

national House of Representatives has no voice in the making or unmaking of treaties. The Senate holds secret sessions to discuss treaties or foreign affairs. All this may have been unavoidable in the past, but that is beside the point. Suppose we take the position that henceforth foreign affairs should be discussed in open session, and that the House of Representatives should have as much power as the Senate in the domain of treaty making: will that go unchallenged? We must expect considerable and stubborn opposition to open and democratic diplomacy, even in the United States. Nevertheless, the idea is sound, and the progressive, democratic forces everywhere should fight for open diplomacy. It is a modest means, perhaps, yet a means to that devoutly wished-for consummation, peace, and good-will among the nations.

Another means to that same end is the creation or development and improvement of international conciliation and arbitration machinery. Such machinery existed in the fateful year 1914, and Prussian junkerdom haughtily and arrogantly frowned down every effort to procure a settlement of the so-called Serbian question at, and by, the international court at The Hague. Nevertheless, machinery and agencies that make for delay, for discussion, make for peace. The world needs more and better machinery of this type. It may or may not be possible to form in the near future a strong League of Nations to Preserve Peace. To propose such a league, we have seen, was to raise a hundred and one knotty questions. But it is obvious that the sincere friends of peace must seek the partial solution of the problem in that general direction and must be content to make short, experimental steps.

In so far as imperialism, colonialism, and exclusive trade advantages in backward countries have produced conflicts of supposed national interests, "the open door" is clearly a preventive of war. The power that opposes the open door serves notice that it will fight rather than accept equality of rights and opportunities. If such powers still exist, mere machinery will not remove the difficulty. These powers will have to be converted or coerced. If converted, well and good. If coerced into accepting the open door doctrine, then, manifestly, the coercion will be a species

of warfare—perhaps economic warfare. At any rate, to establish and secure general acceptance of that principle would be to remove a most prolific source of irritation, controversy, and war.

Even more potent a preventive of war than the open door is free commercial intercourse among the civilized and industrial nations. The freer the commercial intercourse, the better. The leveling of all tariff walls, the destruction of all customs houses, the complete freedom of international buying and selling, is the goal to be kept steadily in view; but it would be folly to assume that the present war has destroyed, or will destroy, the protective system. Many economists and intelligent men of affairs adhere to protection in principle and deem it essential to national welfare and prosperity. To these protection is not a feature of "preparedness" for war that will be rendered needless by a permanent peace. It is not likely that they will change their view regarding such purely economic, domestic, and national questions as the effect of high tariff rates on wages, productive efficiency, industrial stability, and diversification of industry. Those who say enthusiastically that free trade would prevent war forget that only convinced free traders would entertain the idea of repealing protective tariff legislation in order to remove that particular cause of war. The convinced and honest protectionist accepts neither the conclusion nor the premises of the free trader. The issue, therefore, will long remain a domestic and national one, not to be for a moment bracketed with such questions as colonial open doors, arbitration machinery, international courts, or open diplomacy.

Self-determination for or by subject nationalities or territories is a principle that, if generally accepted by the strong powers, would undoubtedly go far to advance the cause of universal peace. But none of the strong powers has accepted, or will accept, once for all the policy of self-determination as being applicable to any conceivable territorial dispute. Only the fanatical and visionary Bolshevik leaders could imagine that in self-determination they had discovered a miraculous, sovereign remedy or preventive. It was altogether sound and reasonable to suggest self-determination as a compromise applicable to Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Italia

Irredenta, and Armenia. We know how the military caste of Prussia received that suggestion. But we should not delude ourselves about the attitude of the more liberal powers toward self-determination. It will not be applied generally to correct ancient or theoretical wrongs. It will not be applied to rectify past aggressions for the sake of consistency, logic, or abstract morality. Not even the radicals and advanced laborites of Great Britain have entertained for a moment the idea of applying self-determination to Egypt, India, or Ireland. As for the United States, how many of our anti-imperialists would seriously demand of the government the immediate application of self-determination to Porto Rico and the Philippines? Radicals should clear their minds of their own cant, if they expect the conservatives to clear their minds of hollow professions and made-to-order excusses. Bolshevism in international, as in national, affairs leads to chaos and retrogression.

Federalism in place of a tyrannical and arrogant nationalism is another wholesome and genuinely progressive and constructive principle which should be vigorously and tactfully promoted wherever conditions warrant or enjoin its application. The idea of federalism, of ample local autonomy and freedom for cultural development combined with a well-defined surrender of certain powers and functions to a central authority, does in truth carry balm and hope to many oppressed and embittered elements in Europe, and especially in the Near East. A rational federalism does away with the supposed necessity of "nationalizing" annexed or acquired populations, of suppressing manifestations of racial or cultural independence. Federalism makes unity and loyalty possible despite variety and heterogeneity of component elements. Federalism would have saved Austria and Hungary from the sanguinary conflict they precipitated because of Serbian designs on some of their Slav territory or populations. Federalism would have saved the Balkans from devastation and appalling waste of human resources. Federalism may yet save Russia, as it certainly has saved the United States. Federalism, therefore, is one of the surest ways to peace and one of the guaranties of peace.

In the light of all that has been said, is it not clear that, instead of asking the barren question, What shall we do with the state?—instead of setting up an unreal distinction between wicked state nature and benevolent human nature—the true and pertinent question to put to ourselves is, What can friends of peace do other than, and additional to, that which has been done, to limit, localize, avert, and prevent armed conflicts between states? In other words, how can we put an end to anarchy, the reign of brute force, in international relations and substitute as much law and reason in that sphere as we have succeeded in substituting for anarchy, strife, and force in the relations of the citizens or subjects of any fairly efficient modern state?

If these citizens or subjects do not want peace with their neighbors in other states, no effective machinery, no safeguards and checks, will be installed by them. If they have racial and nationalistic antipathies that cloud their reasoning powers and impel them to fight on the least provocation, or without any provocation at all; if they are jealous, envious, and malicious toward such neighbors; if they covet the goods or territories of such neighbors and are not ashamed to embark on predatory enterprises, on what Spencer called international burglary, in order to grab such goods or territories, then it is safe to say that appeals to their “human nature” will be as vain as appeal to the nature of the animal or bird of prey.

Again, if there are multitudes of citizens or subjects who rather welcome war, openly or secretly, and who cannot be counted on to support any genuine peace movement, it is necessary to determine scientifically the approximate strength of these elements in a modern industrial and civilized community and to ascertain the causes of so strange, reactionary, and socially pernicious an attitude. How can sane and normal human beings rejoice in wholesale murder, waste, destruction, torture, anguish, misery? After all, this is what the little word “war” means, and can anyone who is not a ferocious barbarian contemplate such things with satisfaction or even equanimity and indifference?

It will not do to say that there are no such human beings. The facts are too glaring and too well established to be overlooked.

There are men to whom war is a great, high adventure. There are men to whom war is a temporary relief from drudgery, monotony, and a hopeless struggle against want and privation. Exhortations and propaganda by pacifists never reach such men. To change them, we must change the whole social atmosphere first. Society must provide "moral equivalents of war," to use a phrase of the late William James. The conditions of life, labor, and recreation for hosts of men—and women—must be radically changed, and the changes required cannot be decreed by rulers or revolutionary assemblies. They will be the product of slow evolution.

In short, and to sum up, a little candid analysis and reflection will satisfy the thinking person that an attack on state nature by the pacifists and philosophers who are appalled by the awful slaughter and waste of the world-war is an attack on phantoms or empty abstractions. Neither the abolition nor the complete democratization of the state will abolish war. The distinction between human nature and state nature is superficial and arbitrary. The problem of war and peace is so fundamental and so broad that its solution presupposes and involves the solution of a score of knotty, complex, and historic problems—problems of social and economic organization, of domestic and international law, of education and of ethics and philosophy. To fight war is to fight imperialism, nationalism, and militarism. Several scholarly writers have pointed out that militarism is more than an institution—it is a state of mind, a body of ideas and prejudices. The same thing is true of imperialism, of nationalism, of protectionism. The democratization and purification of the political organization called the state is only one of the problems, and by no means the most difficult one, faced by lovers of humanity and peace.

SOCIOLOGY IN NORMAL SCHOOLS: THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

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In December, 1913, the American Sociological Society met in Minneapolis. One session of this meeting, arranged in rather impromptu manner after the preliminary program had appeared, was devoted to the place of sociology in the training of teachers, and resulted in the appointment of a committee of three to investigate the subject. In the spring of 1914 the chairman of this committee, John M. Gillette, of the University of North Dakota, sent out a questionnaire to 135 colleges and universities. His report, made at the meeting of the American Sociological Society at Princeton, New Jersey, in December, 1914, is contained in Volume IX of the Society's *Publications*. Meanwhile the two normal-school members of the committee arranged with the officers of the National Education Association to have a round table of the Department of Normal Schools at the meeting of the Association in St. Paul in July of 1914. At this round table, a report of which appears in the N.E.A. *Proceedings* for that year, it was voted, on motion of John W. Cook, of De Kalb, Illinois, that a committee be appointed to gather information regarding the work that is actually being done with sociology in normal schools.

A committee of five was appointed, with D. O. Kinsman, of Whitewater, Wisconsin, as chairman, and including the two normal-school members of the committee of the Sociological Society and two others. In February, 1915, this committee of the Normal School Department of the N.E.A. sent two questionnaires to the presidents of all the public normal schools in the United States, with stamped and addressed envelope for reply. One questionnaire was for use by schools which were giving courses in sociology; it inquired about the kind of course, the reasons for giving it, and whether it was regarded as a professional subject

or not. The other questionnaire, for schools which did not have formal courses in sociology, sought to discover to what extent the subject-matter of sociology was already being taught under other names. To assist in making up answers to this latter question, a difficult one at best, the questionnaire named nineteen topics as samples of what might be considered as subject-matter of sociology, with the suggestion that "a good way to get the information would be to call off the list of topics at the faculty meeting." In May a second letter was sent to the schools which had not yet replied, and in June a postal card with paid reply was sent to 46 of the larger schools. In this way replies were received from 104 schools, though three of the replies were without means of identifying the schools from which they came. Printed matter from catalogues brought the number of schools about which the committee had information up to 132.

The report of the committee was compiled promptly and sent to the meeting of the N.E.A. in San Francisco in August, 1915. However, no member of the committee went along to arrange for the publication of the report and no action was taken toward that end. Secretary Springer pronounced the report too long for publication in the *Proceedings*, but held out hopes of separate publication. The meeting of 1916 passed with the same result, although the Association paid the bill of the secretary of the committee for postage and the typewriting of the report. The Bureau of Education, to which overtures were then made, pronounced the report incomplete but offered the use of its facilities to secure more returns from the normal schools. Meanwhile the chairman of the committee had resigned, having left normal-school work. The four remaining members decided to accept the Bureau's offer. They added other persons to their number so as to better represent the entire country, although continuing to reach their conclusions by correspondence, as they had done from the first.

In the spring of 1917 the enlarged committee prepared new statements of their problem, one for schools about which they had information and the other for schools about which they did not have any. During the summer the Bureau sent out these statements in mimeographed form with postage-free envelopes for reply.

Each school about which information was already on hand received a typewritten copy of it. This brought in returns from 14 additional schools, making 146 in all.

The information thus obtained is arranged in the following report under four heads. Three of these are respectively for the three kinds of sociological work which it seemed advisable to recognize, and the fourth is for the attitude of the school toward sociology. A brief summary and interpretation of the data contained in the body of the report is here given.

I. PARTICIPATION AND OBSERVATION

In a normal school, as in any other kind of school, the student gets some social basis for his education by participating in the school itself. A school is a social institution, even though the theory on which it is run may not profess a social basis. A normal school with a department for practice teaching provides first-hand contact with some of the social conditions which any teacher must face. Extra-mural participation touches the students, even if only members of the faculty engage in it directly. When a teacher goes to another city to assist in a school survey, his classes share in it indirectly through the information which comes to them about it and the necessary readjustment of their own work; they feel that they are part of a larger world. But the students may share directly in a survey if it is made in the school itself, in the neighborhood, or in the communities from which they come. If made for some public authority, say the state superintendent, the detail work acquires an importance which would otherwise be lacking. Either gathering data or compiling them is useful experience to the teacher who has to write school reports.

After students have participated in any work, going to observe the different ways in which it is done by others changes from sight-seeing to education. A normal school which is situated in a large city, has in the city itself a sociological museum and laboratory in which the student can observe the general conditions confronting any teacher, and also the specific conditions which confront the teachers in that particular city. It is therefore only what might be expected that the two fullest reports on

the observation of neighborhood conditions come from the city-supported schools of Paterson and Baltimore. But no normal school, even the one which is situated in a rural village, is entirely apart from conditions which are worthy of study, as our returns abundantly indicate.

Now, though this participation and observation goes on all the while, even if there be no class specially for it and no teacher gives any thought to it, yet like everything else it goes better if some forethought is taken and comprehensive provision made for it. Much of the work of this kind which has been reported to us is not carried on under the name of sociology, and one purpose of our inquiries was to find such; yet it is work which a class in sociology can better plan and appreciate than any other. The book by Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, perhaps the first textbook on sociology ever published, gives a model study of a neighborhood. In the classification of the returns, therefore, the use of this book has been counted under this head.

II. GREAT PROBLEMS

. The study of the great social questions of the day constitutes a large part of the sociology that is taught in normal schools. In some schools sociology is little else than just that, and most of the schools that have no courses called sociology give more or less attention to such questions. Ellwood's *Sociology and Modern Social Problems* is a convenient manual for that kind of work and is more used than any other book. Wright's *Practical Sociology* was an earlier book of the same nature. The use of either of these books has been counted under this second head. For account of current events the *Survey* is the favorite periodical.

The problems most frequently named in the returns are those relating to the family, and the school laying the largest emphasis on them is the Stout Institute, at Menomonie, Wisconsin. The problems ranking next are poverty, crime, and immigration; then come church, race, and social settlements, including social centers; finally socialism, recreation, including playgrounds, and population seem to attract about equal interest.

Such problems are attractive enough to keep the students at work without rigid requirements. The usual method is to use a book to state the problems, though in a few schools lectures by the teacher serve that purpose; to ask all the members of the class to do some reading on all of the large topics, and to assign one or more small topics to each student for more extended study and report—the report to be either in writing or given orally in class, the choice here depending probably on the size of the class and the time or disposition of the teacher to read manuscript.

III. THEORY AND HISTORY

The schools which teach sociology as a connected body of theory are in the minority. This appears in the following list of books and the number of schools using each: Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, 25; Ellwood, *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, 1; Ellwood, book not designated, 5; Ross, *Social Psychology*, 8; Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, 5; Ross, *Social Control*, 2; Ross, undesignated, 2; Dealey, *Sociology*, 8; Cooley, *Social Organization*, 7; Giddings, *Elements*, 3; Giddings, *Principles*, 1; Giddings, others or undesignated, 3; Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, 6; Wright, *Practical Sociology*, 6; King, *Social Aspects of Education*, 5; Blackmar, *Elements of Sociology*, 4; Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, 4; Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, 4.

This list was made up from the returns of 1915. The inquiry of 1917 said nothing about textbooks and few were mentioned—mostly substitutions in the earlier statements. On account of the number of new books which have appeared in the last three years it seemed best not to try to bring the list down to date.

The only states in which theory predominates are Kansas and Wisconsin—in the former in all three schools, and in the latter in eight out of ten. In Iowa "more credit can be earned by an individual student in the courses in problems than in the theoretical courses, but the theoretical courses are reaching more students." In the other states, so far as our information goes, more attention is devoted to problems than to theory.

In ten schools the sociology taught has a large historical element in it. That is classified here as theoretical, not because history is logically connected more closely to theory than to problems or observation, but because the schools employing the historical method use the theoretical also, and give slight attention to problems or observation. Probably the stressing of the practical, which has brought the problem and observation work to the fore, tends to crowd out history and theory alike.

These three kinds of work are of course always more or less interrelated. Participation runs straight into all kinds of great problems; observation and problems tend to run into each other and these inevitably raise questions of theory. Theory, on the other hand, finds its proper outcome in being applied to practical problems and observed conditions. A course in theory may fairly bristle with practical problems and concrete observations, the theory merely providing the skeleton which underlies the whole.

And then all three kinds of sociological study may come incidentally in any study of man and his works. The 1915 inquiry brought out that the nineteen sociological topics, sixteen of them being theoretical, were treated under other titles as follows:

Titles	Number of Times Mentioned
Psychology.....	97
History.....	75
School management, school administration, school economy.....	71
Civics, political science.....	65
Education, principles, philosophy, vocational.....	39
Pedagogy.....	35
History of education.....	35
English, including grammar, composition, rhetoric.....	32
Child study, child psychology.....	25
Ethics.....	22
Methods.....	20
Literature.....	15
Geography.....	12
Rural education.....	13
School law.....	9
Economics.....	6
Addresses and talks.....	6
Practice teaching.....	5
Kindergarten theory.....	4

Perhaps a caution needs to be entered against attaching too much importance to this list. In some cases, doubtless, the persons filling out the questionnaire made no investigation of any kind but merely named the branches which came to mind as having some social basis. For example, kindergarten theory is as social as psychology, only it is taught in few schools and few persons thought about it. Then if there had been a question about the talks given at general exercises much evidence would probably have been forthcoming to show that they deal with most of the nineteen topics.

How many normal schools teach sociology? In answering this question it is almost necessary to divide the schools into three classes: (1) schools which recognize a field of knowledge under the name of sociology that is valuable as a whole to teachers and which therefore cover it in one or more courses; (2) schools with courses called sociology but of uncertain content; topics or phases of work that are sociological in character are selected, each to serve some specific end; (3) schools which have nothing called sociology, though some of them give careful attention to the social basis of education, and all presumably do to some extent; they simply have not organized a definite unit of work under that name.

The data at hand are not sufficient to place each of the 146 schools clearly in one of these three classes, but a count according to probabilities makes the three classes about equal. In other words, about fifty normal schools teach what would readily pass as sociology, and another fifty give as sociology work which might not be recognized as such by its content. The remaining schools, some by deliberate choice, continue to depend upon other means to develop the social phase of education.

There is a geographical distribution of these classes. The schools in the north central and western states—west of Lake Huron, the Wabash River, and the lower Mississippi—are mostly in the first class. California and New Mexico have lately made sociology required. East of this line there are few examples of the first class. The normal schools of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York have some examples of the

second class. Pennsylvania, according to information coming as this report is being prepared for the press, now has sociology in all or nearly all of its normal schools, and gives it a more definite content than the returns here would indicate. Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Mississippi, and Florida exhibit the third class. The schools of the other southern states fall mostly in the second class, with some shining examples of social training in the concrete. The trend is unmistakably toward a recognition that the sociological field has something of value for the training of teachers.

One form of this trend is different from any of the three described above. It is to select out of the sociological field, theory as well as the more concrete phases, a body of subject-matter relating specifically to education, and to organize it into a branch of knowledge coherent within itself. Kansas and Colorado exhibit this trend in their courses in "educational sociology"; one school has "professional sociology." Many schools in the South and West have "rural sociology." Some use *The Social Principles of Education* by Betts, or books of social import by Cubberley, or the book by King already mentioned. Of the schools in our list, 34 have work of this sort.

IV. PROFESSIONAL IMPORTANCE

In compiling the answers that come under this head special care has been taken to keep to the original language in which they were received; also not to omit any statement of material importance, or to alter the meaning of any statement when taking it out of its context. In estimating the significance of the prevailing testimony to the effect that sociology is a professional subject for the training of teachers, somewhat like psychology, it is well to bear in mind that most of the answers were written by presidents, teachers of psychology, teachers of pedagogy, of civics, of methods, and supervisors of practice work—persons who are not primarily sociologists. Educators are becoming sociologists, even those who repudiate the name of sociology.

No one should be disturbed at the jangling testimonies which are exhibited in the following pages. A great idea underlies

them all which has been at work in American education for twenty years and has only recently appeared in the curricula of any considerable number of normal schools. The fundamental agreement of these testimonies is greater than the jumble of arrangements and names would indicate. This reconstruction of the foundations of our educational theory and practice on a social basis is a large work which may demand the best efforts of all of us for years to come. The most effective arrangement and material will appear in time, and the name to designate it will be of minor importance.

LIST OF SCHOOLS WITH CLASSIFIED DATA

This list gives the schools embraced in the foregoing report, with all of the significant information which was obtained relating to each.

The date in parenthesis (1917) indicates that the statement following was derived from the returns made to the Bureau of Education in that year. This date is thus inserted, however, only when it has special significance.

The information is classified under these four heads: (1) participation and observation; (2) great problems; (3) sociological theory; (4) attitude toward sociology.

Normal, Alabama, Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes:

2. Ellwood; socialism and the negro problem.
3. Evolutionary view.

4. Semi-professional, basis for professional subjects. "The teacher needs sociology in order to have an adequate idea of education as a form of social evolution." Sixty hours.

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute:

1. "There is an exceptional opportunity for those students, prospective teachers, required to do practice work in the rural schools, to experience first hand the social problems of community and rural life. In fact, they are required to make special observation of the social conditions of their respective fields of practice. I submit here a few questions from the questionnaire which each practice teacher must file with the supervisor of practice teaching at the end of six weeks:

- 1) How often is the school used by the patrons for social purposes?
- 2) (a) What is the attitude of the parents toward the teacher? (b) the teacher toward the parents?
- 3) To what extent is the community used as a source of interest in the recitations?

- 4) What per cent of the patrons live in their own homes?
- 5) What is the general condition of the homes in the community?
- 6) What seem to be the most common causes of death in the community?
- 7) What influence does the minister have in the community? (a) Does he live there? (b) Does the teacher live there?"

Flagstaff, Arizona, Northern Arizona Normal School:

3. "It seems to me that No. 3 of your enclosed circular more nearly strikes the situation as it is in this institution: 'By the formal teaching of sociology as a basal science co-ordinate with psychology and by incidental features in courses devoted to other subjects.'"

Tempe, Arizona, Normal School of Arizona:

1. "Members of the faculty are sent out, each man a week, for extension work, assisting in organization of parent-teachers' associations, etc."

2. Topics taken up: "(a) the place of the school in a democracy; (b) the relation of the teacher to the community, especially the rural community; (c) the primary groups and their relation to school organization and administration; (d) the growth of the social center; (e) the movement for organized play and city playgrounds; (f) the leader and the group—especially boys' gangs—and the relation to school and governmental authority; (g) the social significance of the consolidated rural school; (h) the place of school gardens and elementary agriculture in the schools."

3. "The course in ethics is treated as an elementary course in sociology, in part at least."

4. (1917) Half-year course in sociology has been added. One hundred hours.

Conway, Arkansas State Normal School:

4. "Such a course would be to the advantage of our students. Provision will soon be made for its introduction."

Arcata, California, Humboldt State Normal School:

1. "Social surveys are made of the schools, institutions and business interests of the community. One of the teachers is a leader in the Boy Scout movement, with other teachers assisting him. Every pupil-teacher in the normal school gets a turn in observing and caring for the training-school pupils on the playground."

3. "We devote 27 weeks of each year to educational sociology and history of education."

4. "We regard sociology as co-ordinate to psychology and the study of principles of education but coming a little later in the course. Inasmuch as the up-to-date school should not only co-operate with the home life and the social environment of the pupils, but also base a large share of the curriculum on the elements that constitute local conditions, it behooves those concerned in preparing young teachers to habituate them to study local conditions and let them share in the construction of a course of study suited to the children in the locality of the normal school in order that they be able intelligently to study the localities where they may engage in teaching after they pass from the normal school."

Chico, California, State Normal School:

3. "Every course in methods emphasizes the social basis of education; the content of the curriculum is selected by the standard of social service; the whole work is permeated with the doctrine of social responsibility."

4. (1917) "The formal teaching of sociology will probably be just as dead as the formal teaching of psychology. On the other hand, I cannot conceive of any intelligent work in methods, administration, scholarship, or practical insight into human need that has to do with the preparation of the teacher that is not social in its consequences. Under recent rules of the state Board of Education, it is necessary for every normal school in the state of California to teach a half-year of applied sociology as such and by that name. We do this in two courses, each of nine weeks, the first dealing with the relation of the rural school to the rural community, with whatever special emphasis is necessary upon the use of the school as a social center. The second course deals with the administration of the elementary school."

Fresno, California, Fresno State Normal School:

1, 2. (1917) "We use these lines of attack."

3. "In our approach to the problem we take up: (1) the principles, laws, etc., of society. It may be called 'pure' sociology, or sociological theory. (2) The remainder of the course is given to showing the bearing of these principles upon the problems of education, especially, as a large per centum of our graduates go into rural schools, upon the problems of rural education."

4. "We have sociology in our curriculum because we believe it to be very essential that a teacher know something of the principles or laws that underlie the action of groups and individuals, why some

communities are backward, why others are not, etc. It is important especially from the standpoint of the usefulness of the teacher to the school and community."

Los Angeles, California, State Normal School:

1. A bulletin on extension work soon to be published; "survey of 1,500 students in school . . . as to physical, mental, moral, material, and social conditions"; Social Settlement Club does much charitable work. (1917) "Co-operation with the Immigration Commission of the State, the Y.W.C.A., and the public-school system by furnishing teachers during the summer months for special home classes for foreign women, two days each week."

3. "Term topics in pedagogy and child psychology frequently cover sociological problems." Ross's *Social Control*; topical method, lectures. (1917) "An additional course, three periods a week, with special reference to child welfare. Both courses are hereafter required of all students of the Normal School, in accordance with a requirement of the state Board of Education."

4. "A basal science for pedagogy as truly as are psychology and biology"; considered as "professional work in the Department of Education and Psychology."

San Diego, California, State Normal School:

2. "Every junior student is required to take one hour a week in lecture work in applied sociology, a course which deals largely with everyday problems of the young woman in employment."

3. (1917) "*Outline of Social Economics* is a study in the development of social groups and the fundamental problems that arise therefrom. Information is secured from various sources, the most important being: (1) investigations of social agencies at first hand by students; (2) bulletins, reports, surveys, and other documents; (3) addresses to the class by men and women actively engaged in the practical affairs of life and also specialists and experts in various lines of effort; (4) books, current journals, etc. The class is divided into committees for the collection, collation, and organization of these data. Elaborate written reports are placed on file by the committees, which are bound and placed on the reference shelves of the library. Oral summaries are presented to the class for discussion. Class meetings are occupied in listening to these reports and to the addresses mentioned above, but more often in discussion of the above data and the laws and principles which can be deduced therefrom. Texts in elementary economics and sociology are used."

4. "The reason for giving a course in sociology in a normal school is the obvious one that teaching is a phase of social service."

San Francisco, California, State Normal School:

4. "The San Francisco Normal School is a professional school for the training of teachers. It is not an academic school for general instruction in any subject."

(1917) "It is seeking to hew to the policy that a normal school curriculum should be limited to that which is specific to a teacher's qualification, as distinguished from general qualifications and from those of other vocations; that preparation for matriculation must include all preparation which teachers share in common with persons of other vocations, or in general lines. I sadly suspect that sociology is yet in the diaper-stage and possibly it is feeble-minded and will never get any older. There have been apparently many efforts to define it, but whether the definition is wholly in words without meaning or whether there is no meaning, I am unable to fathom. Under the rules of the state Board of Education, we are about to give a course in the subject and after we have had some experience, I probably could answer your questions more intelligently. Let us hope for the best!"

San Jose, California, State Normal School:

1. The teacher of psychology and the teacher of history and civics meet as an advisory committee with the executive committee of the student body to help in student control and government.

2. Social basis in psychology, civics, and history of education; twelve weeks' optional course in social psychology.

4. Sociology in high school more desirable for one preparing to become a teacher than algebra or Latin.

Greeley, Colorado, State Teachers' College:

1. "We provide for both participation and observation in playground supervision; we take part through organized classwork in connection with city activities to improve social conditions among the low-standard population. We direct community surveys of social conditions and of school systems as a regular activity for which courses are definitely organized."

2. "We offer more than fifty courses covering the whole field of social science—always with especial reference to the present educational deficits and opportunities."

3. "We offer a full line-up of courses in social theory and engage more than 400 students per year in such study. The best way to

direct the attention of prospective teachers to the opportunities of education in the fields of social control and social progress is not by the teaching of sociology nor is it by incidental features in courses devoted to other subjects. Rather it is by the systematic presentation of courses in educational sociology which show the nature of social institutions, their origin, their characteristic limitations, and consciously analyze the present educational situation in relation to social needs. As the branch of psychology which is most useful to teachers is educational psychology primarily, so the aspects of sociology that should be most relied upon in forming a teaching opinion that will co-operate with the spirit of modern progress are the applied aspects."

4. "The reasons why we stress the relations of sociology to education are numerous. Briefly, it is because social progress in every line needs to be made conscious; it is because education must become more conscious of its specific relations to life if we are to stand before nations with a really purposefully adjusted program for securing social stability and individual happiness and progress. Sociology has more to offer to the necessary reconstructions of education than psychology has ever contributed. It bears upon the specific situations that education can be effective in improving; it offers a perspective over methods of progress and an analysis of the technique of social adjustment without which henceforth no teacher can be other than accidentally co-operative. In a word, no teacher-training institution is up to date that omits such courses."

Gunnison, Colorado, State Normal School:

2. Courses in play and playground practice, boys' and girls' clubs.
3. Courses in educational sociology, social psychology and social control, rural sociology, ethics.

Danbury, Connecticut, State Normal-Training School:

1. "Would probably take more time than we can devote to the work, although we do emphasize them to some degree."
3. "In the present course of study we cover some of the nineteen points mentioned and some we do not."
4. "The faculty are favorably inclined to introduce a brief course in sociology at this school." (1917) "For the coming year sociology will be one of the regular subjects in the curriculum of this school."

New Britain, Connecticut, State Normal-Training School:

3. "In our courses in psychology, methods, geography, and civics, many topics that are purely sociological are taken up and some of those

topics would without doubt be classed under the separate heads of your pamphlet, but it does not seem wise to treat them under the head of sociology."

Washington, D.C., Myrtilla Miner Normal School:

1. "All normal-school pupils share in playground supervision and are specifically responsible during stated periods for the hygienic condition of the school plant. The plan for the present session is to have the normal-school pupils organize and supervise clubs among the pupils of the practice school. Girls' and boys' clubs and athletic teams among the normal-school pupils are in operation each year. The inspection of various municipal and governmental departments, parks, museums, etc., and the submission of reports thereon constitute a regular part of our course in biology."

3. "The social aspect of the problems that arise in the various courses are constantly stressed. Thus, the social implications of child study, hygiene, history of education, psychology and biology, receiving constant emphasis from different angles during the two years of the normal-school work, when taken together, constitute no insignificant training in social matters. In addition to this, the specific and immediate social problems relative to dress, manners, amusements, home relations, and the like, are definitely presented in the ten-minute talks of the principal at the beginning of the work of each day."

4. "Formal sociology has been kept out of our crowded curriculum by the pressure of the traditional pedagogical subjects."

Athens, Georgia, State Normal School:

1. "We have what is known as the Georgia Club. This is a voluntary association of students and faculty that is studying at first hand vital facts about this state. The state is surveyed county by county and the actual conditions are learned of progress and of lack of progress. The results of these surveys have been published in bulletin form."

3. "We have a course in theoretical economics in the junior class and one in theoretical sociology in the senior class. These are required of all our junior and senior students taking academic work. The formal classwork is made as practical as time and opportunity permit. Always do we compare present social conditions with the theory of these sciences"

Midledgeville, Georgia, Georgia Normal and Industrial College:

3. Pedagogy, history of education, psychology, weekly lectures by the president.

Honolulu, Hawaii, Territorial Normal and Training School:

1. "All the supervision of the school and grounds is in the hands of the pupils. Definite instruction is given in games and plays on the grounds, and dances and plays for the social activities of the school and the home. Groups of pupils and individuals of the faculty participate in work of Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Boy Scouts, etc. Trips to observe people, industries and departments of the government, are taken in connection with the work in geography, history, civics, etc."

3. "The uniformities are emphasized as far as the time and conditions seem to warrant in the study of psychology, pedagogy, etc. In the study of history and civics emphasis is placed on the growth and development of the home and the state."

4. "I have not urged the introduction of the formal classroom study of sociology because I felt that in Hawaii the first need was to train our prospective teachers in a well-organized and vigorous institution devoted to the best American ideals. I believe a formal study of the subject of sociology would be helpful. I am personally interested in the subject, especially in its practical phases."

Lewiston, Idaho, Lewiston State Normal School:

2. "We use the problem method of attacking social questions."

4. "Essentially professional, complementary to courses given by education department. The main problem is such a consideration of the various social conditions as will tend to give the teacher something of the setting of education in the social life, and help to give meaning and purpose to her work. The teacher should have at least the beginnings of an understanding of the nature of the social background, social context, and outlook for her work. She should have something of a realization of the place of the school and of herself in the whole scheme of education and social development." Rural sociology, forty-five hours; general sociology and social aspects of education, ninety hours each.

Carbondale, Illinois, Southern Illinois State Normal University:

3. The course in sociology, announced in the annual catalogue in the group of courses under the title of pedagogy, includes "the consideration of the origin and nature of society and the great social institutions of family, church, state, and school. Special study of the relation between the individual and society and of educational problems growing out of the complexity of modern society." Ellwood and Ross, with assigned readings throughout the term.

Charleston, Illinois, Eastern Illinois State Normal School:

1. "Something is done."
2. "These problems are studied in connection with other subjects."
4. "We had sociology in our curriculum, but now do the work in economics, in history, and in government better, we think."

Chicago, Illinois, Chicago Normal College:

3. King, *Social Aspects of Education*, required, forty hours; reading and reports.
4. "Our whole educational work here lays fundamental emphasis on the social point of view. Some of the fundamental chapters in King's book were based on investigations that I myself made."

De Kalb, Illinois, Northern Illinois State Normal School:

1. "Each class has made an excursion to Chicago, visiting (a) schools in poor sections, to get first-hand impressions of conditions and problems, and to learn methods of meeting the situation; (b) neighborhoods; (c) the juvenile court and the detention home. The scope of these excursions is constantly varying and widening."

2. Ellwood—"Special phases of the several problems in the text are chosen; library references are given to the freshest and most suggestive books and magazine articles; digests are made by selected individuals and reported to the class; the class is expected to take and preserve notes. We seek an emotional attitude of concern for the solution of the problems, for the meeting of untoward conditions, sensitiveness to the existence of these problems in the various communities to which these young people go as teachers."

3. "The conception of education as the ultimate mode of solution of social problems."

4. A professional subject. Sixty and seventy-five hours. "To give a generous body of information of social conditions to be met and of ways of meeting them; to build up a social background for the educational work to which these students are presumably destined; to clarify educational theory and practice; to set up in mind a fairly consistent and unified scheme of education which might be more adequate to social reconstruction. 'We have great faith that society may yet be reformed when we see how much education may be reformed.' "

Macomb, Illinois, Western Illinois State Normal School:

1. Survey of conditions surrounding country schools. Extension work.

3. Dealey, 60 hours. Each pupil makes a report on some topic outside of the text. Emphasized feature: "Development of the institutions and problems growing out of modern civilization."

4. "I regard sociology as a professional subject. (a) Its plans of investigation are scientific and of the kind educators should use. (b) Education is the process of preparing a child to take a reasonable place in society; therefore the teacher should understand the science of society. (c) It broadens the teacher's notion of his responsibilities."

Normal, Illinois, Illinois State Normal University:

1. Some social surveys of the town of Normal. Small and Vincent.
2. Ellwood, Wright, supplementary reading; deal quite carefully with criminology and moral education.
3. Social psychology of the school.
4. Two courses of sixty hours each. Valuable "both professionally and non-professionally."

Fort Wayne, Indiana, Fort Wayne Normal School:

1. Students investigate local conditions: "minor city problems, sanitation, assimilation of immigrants, juvenile problems, jail conditions, relief work, care of sub-normals, etc."
2. Ellwood; topics.
4. "Since education is the essential method of social progress, the teacher who has received this broader point of view can better appreciate the part which is his in the solution of the problems of society."

Indianapolis, Indiana, Indianapolis Normal School:

3. "Many of the topics herein do not come up in our brief course at all as specific topics, but incidentally with larger topics. For the most part they are considered in connection with my course in the principles of education, particularly the social aspects of the course as treated, for example, in such a book as Betts's *Social Principles in Education*—one of the books in the hands of every student in the class. The topics on the 'gang,' the function of leadership, and the qualities requisite in a leader are discussed in the course in psychology."

4. "There is no question of the value of sociology for general education, and especially for teachers; but in a limited course like ours it is a question of relative values."

Terre Haute, Indiana, Indiana State Normal School:

2. "In our study of the rural school problem strong emphasis is placed upon the work that may be done in our rural centers to help

home, industry, government, religion, education, polite society, and recreation."

3. "It would be impossible for me to state how fully each of the nineteen topics set before me in the questionnaire receives attention in the various courses offered in this school, but I presume that every one of them, more or less directly and more or less fully, receives attention and undergoes discussion at various points in our course of study. In general I may say that every topic in these lines would have its place somewhere in one or more of the following subjects—English grammar, composition and rhetoric, literature, American history, economics, European history, educational psychology, physiological and experimental psychology, history and philosophy of education, theory of the school, principles of methods, school problems, school law and school systems of Indiana, commencement addresses, institute work of various members of the faculty, etc., etc."

4. "It is probable that these topics would receive more thorough and systematic study if a course were offered in sociology, and it is quite possible that such an addition will be made to our work in the near future."

Cedar Falls, Iowa, Iowa State Teachers College:

2. A 36-hour course, social and economic problems, repeated each term with a different set of problems: fall term—population, poverty, crime; winter term—problems relating to rural communities; spring term—public utilities, labor, socialism.

3. "A 24-hour course in the general principles of sociology, offered each term, a different phase of the subject being treated each time: fall term—social organization; winter term—social psychology; spring term—social control."

4. "I regard sociology as being a course which should take students up on the watch tower, so to speak, where they may get a broader view of the social field and be able to more intelligently select topics and exercises in civics, geography, etc., for their pupils in the public schools."

Shenandoah, Iowa, Western Normal College:

3. Economics, rural sociology.

Emporia, Kansas, State Normal School:

1. Educational surveys, social survey in connection; co-operated in making a complete survey of Leavenworth schools.

2. Some problem work in the advanced course; varying from term to term.

3. General sociology, 54 hours; advanced sociology, 72 hours; educational sociology, 54 hours; social psychology, 54 hours; educational anthropology, 36 hours.

4. The purposes are: "General sociology: (a) general information; (b) training in social analysis and research; (c) development of scientific attitude toward social questions. Educational sociology: (d) to emphasize the vital relation of the school to other institutions; (e) to develop the community feeling of teachers; (f) to give basis for the socialization of educational organization, educational theory, and educational practice."

Fort Hays, Kansas, Western State Normal School:

3. General sociology, Blackmar, 40 hours; social psychology, Ross, 40 hours; topical work in each.

4. "A teacher is a potent factor in community life; she ought to be equipped with that knowledge of social laws that will give her social sympathy, interpretation, and control."

Pittsburg, Kansas, State Manual Training Normal School:

1. "Each class makes a social survey of our city. We go to Kansas City to make a visit to board of public welfare."

2. The second course is in social problems, with Ellwood and topical work.

3. The beginning course deals with "the nature and progress of society," with Fairbanks and topical work.

4. "The teacher must be a large factor in the solution of our social problems if ever they are solved."

Bowling Green, Kentucky, Western Kentucky Normal School:

3. A 50-hour course called sociology, with Carver's *Rural Economics* as a text; "many topics along social and ethical lines given for reports." Rural sociology, 50 hours; King's *Social Aspects of Education*; study of social conditions in western Kentucky: "health, industrial and farm conditions, social and recreational life in the country, general reading habits of the rural people, attitude of people to music, pictures, and nature; and the moral, spiritual, and civic conditions; data gathered directly from the people when possible. An earnest effort is made to inspire the student with a zeal for investigation and an abiding interest in country life."

4. A non-professional subject, "very secondary" to psychology in importance. It serves "(a) to give the teacher insight into conditions he would probably never see otherwise; (b) to vitalize his pedagogy;

(c) to enable him to socialize his work and enlarge his vision relative to the school's true position."

Richmond, Kentucky, Eastern Kentucky State Normal School:

1. "We have done some work in systematic teaching of sociology in this school," using Small and Vincent as a text; correlated with extension work in rural economics.

2. Also Ellwood. Now using Gillette's *Rural Sociology*.

3. "Sociological theory is incorporated into the course described under 2 above, in the form of class lectures and reference to standard authors. Each pupil is expected during the term to read and review in class one standard work, approved by the instructor, upon some important phase of sociology."

4. (1915) "We have found it advisable to put greater stress upon our strictly professional studies. On account of the situation among teachers in Kentucky, it will probably be two or three years before we shall see our way clear to offer a definite course in sociology." (1917) "The work is hereafter to be required for graduation, because we believe there is not sufficient opportunity to give the pupil broad conceptions of society if the subject is limited to incidental reference in other courses."

Natchitoches, Louisiana, Louisiana State Normal School:

1. "We receive reports of surveys in this and other states and study them. This is principally a girls' boarding school and access to the surrounding community is not permitted. Some visits are made by faculty members to communities where they may aid local authorities in surveys, etc."

2. Ellwood read and reported on; topics. "Social conditions due to mob mind, crime, poverty, etc., in Louisiana, are studied; means for prevention or amelioration discussed." Rural problems.

3. The text is Ross's *Foundations of Sociology*, with reading in *Social Psychology* and *Social Control*. We also emphasize the social phases of other subjects—history, civics, economics, psychology.

4. Given at same time as school administration and special teaching practice—following all psychology and pedagogy; 48 hours. "The broadest and most cultural subject"; "gives appreciation of all phases of human activity"; "prepares the teacher for work outside of the schoolroom by getting him interested in humanity and by surveying the field of his work in studying conditions."

New Orleans, Louisiana, New Orleans Normal School:

1. Kindergarten practice; critic work with student-teachers; storytelling.

3. Kindergarten theory, history and civics, language and English methods, child study, theory of play psychology.

Farmington, Maine, Farmington State Normal School:

3. Civics, psychology, pedagogy, school laws, geography.

4. "A very important subject; would give it a place in the curriculum if our two-year course admitted of it."

Machias, Maine, Washington State Normal School:

1. "We annually inspect all the schools of twenty towns, and report to state superintendent on same." A mothers' club meets every two weeks. Mothers and teachers discuss questions requiring a conference of home and school to settle. Students in training are required to attend all the meetings and on special occasions all the normal students must be present. This club has really accomplished very much because of the conditions which exist in this section of the town in which the normal school is located. Mothers, and fathers too, have visited the schools, not to criticise but to learn; parents have felt a new bond growing between the home and the school and the pupils have reaped the benefit.

3. Child study, school management, psychology, history, civics, history of education, school law.

Presque Isle, Maine, Aroostock State Normal School:

1. Principal conducts extension course in psychology.

2. Ethics, school management, history, civics, child study, psychology, school law.

Baltimore, Maryland, Baltimore Teachers' Training School:

The work of this school is strongly socialized throughout, but is unique in arrangement and therefore cannot be easily characterized. For full account see Bureau of Education *Bulletin*, 1914, No. 47, pages 38-48.

1. As the work was given the past two years there were several courses called "Participation," each meeting one hour a week for ten weeks. "Trips to special institutions, dental clinic, dispensary, parental school, city hall, court house and custom house, were made to furnish further material for the departments of hygiene, history, geography, education, English, and other subjects." "Suggestive studies were made of the resources of the neighborhood in nature, art, recreation, industry, home life, civic institutions, etc. The local school, and especially the classroom, was considered with reference to the relation to the needs of the neighborhood. Visits were made to homes in order

to invite parents to the school. Acquaintance was gained with special features of the particular schools, as co-operation with parents' organizations and the Municipal Art League; civic centers; equipments for playgrounds, automatic fire extinguishers; vacuum cleaning apparatus, etc. Diagrams were drawn of the locality." "Those aspects of life which center in the home, church, and community are taken account of and an effort is made to aid the student to form a schedule so as to do justice to herself and her various responsibilities." "Some study is made of the relation of the city schools to the state and nation and practical comparisons are worked out between Baltimore and some other cities." "Conferences are conducted with especial reference to preparation for participating in teachers' meetings and experience is gained in locating and using material of value in such meetings."

3. Social education, using King's *Social Aspects of Education* as a text, with much reading in Dewey and other authors "who emphasize the social responsibilities of education." Closely related to participation, psychology, and hygiene. "Much attention given to educational and other social periodicals, especially *The Survey*. Each student selects some field in which he can be of service to the entire class." Cases stated which "present concretely problems in school etiquette and school ethics." Covers practically all of the questions in Questionnaire No. 1.

Baltimore, Maryland, Maryland State Normal School:

1. Composition work based on social life of the community. Bird and tree club on conservation of wild life. Conferences on observations in practice school.

3. School management, civics, methods in geography, methods in English, history, psychology.

Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Normal School:

3. Principles of education, psychology, hygiene, geography, history.

Boston, Massachusetts, Massachusetts Normal Art School:

1. "In many instances undergraduate students are identified with social centers, boys' and girls' clubs, making trips, etc."

3. "Psychology, pedagogy, and history of education as far as possible linked through laboratory methods with actual school or social problems."

4. "As far as possible and in increasing measure we do have sociology in theory and practice in our courses."

Bridgewater, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

2. "The great social questions of the day are organized in groups for study. Material is largely contemporaneous."
3. Course of forty hours; topical method, with variety of reference books; inclose connection with psychology.
4. Professional "to a certain degree."

Fitchburg, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. General and special surveys of community life.
3. Giddings, Ellwood, Ross, King, McDougall, etc.; topical method; 57 hours. "Social and group action, typical groups—family, state, etc.; evolution of social products and institutions; changes in life and education brought about by specialization and invention, from individual to institutional control." Related to psychology, following it.
4. Of professional value. "What educators should strive to do, including all the work of schools as institutions, is shown by sociology, just as how to do it is revealed by psychology."

Hyannis, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. "Some time is spent on the study of the recreations open to young people and children in each student's home town, with emphasis on the needs which give rise to the various forms and the relative value of their social effects."
2. Use of current periodicals.
3. Topical method, 57 hours; Blackmar and Dealey most used. Follows psychology and is based on its principles. The most emphasized features are "the part played by the family in the education of the race and the relation of such education to school problems of discipline, of instruction, of culture." "The social group; primary groups—family, neighborhood, play group. Activities in one or another of the above; recreational, governmental (extending to town, state, nation, for support), use of wealth produced. The socialized school; how each of the above topics touches the life of pupils and teachers—in this school, in any school."
4. "Given at the same time as the course in pedagogy, and is placed upon a par with it as a professional course; valuable for the insight it gives into some of the problems which a teacher must meet. Teaching seems to me pre-eminently 'social work,' and I should give an important place in the teacher's equipment to some knowledge of social institutions and forces, and a still more important place to the sense of social responsibility likely to be engendered by this study."

Lowell, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. Community civics, 48 hours, using Dunn's *The Community and the Citizen*.

3. The history of education and educational sociology, 48 hours, using Monroe's *History of Education*.

4. The aim of the former course "is to prepare students by a systematic study of community life, to train their pupils to an intelligent and serviceable citizenship; general method-study of local community and its various political, social, and industrial agencies through personal investigation; active participation in student's own civic life; teaching of type lessons; collection of notes and illustrative material, etc." The aim of the latter course "is to give the future teacher a deeper appreciation and a broader view of her chosen profession."

North Adams, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. "For all students this is done both as part of their training-school experience and as outside interest."

2. "We give a six weeks' intensive course known as social economics. In this, problems of the family, immigration, poverty, crime, social classes, war, etc., are discussed following individual investigations and reports."

3. "In the above course some texts are used. In addition, our history course includes a study of institutions and their development."

4. "The purpose of sociology in our school curriculum is to engender intelligent sympathy in order that our students may be better able to understand and serve the communities to which they go."

Salem, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. The aim of the course in economics is "to provide the student with a thorough knowledge of the intricacies of the social system by which he is environed, and the best methods of interesting younger pupils in the practical problems of modern community life." "In this connection students are required to make an intensive study of some phase of social economics. Opportunity for this is afforded through the co-operation of the associated charities of Salem."

3. "We have no formal course in social science except that the title of our course in history, 'History and Social Science,' tells its own story. We have no text which deals especially with the latter phase of the general subject, but give a good deal of attention to community civics, from which we reach out into the larger field of state and nation. In geography, and especially in pedagogy, we give a good deal of promi-

nence to the study of sociology, but it is hardly probable that many of our students would recognize the instructor by that name. There is hardly an instructor in any department who does not make a substantial contribution to this field of instruction."

4. "In such a school as ours I am inclined to believe that we can produce better results in this way than through the establishment of a formal course in sociology. Under present conditions, I hope, each teacher feels a personal responsibility for leading the students under his charge into an appreciation of his obligations as a part of the social whole."

Westfield, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. "We do a good deal under the head of child welfare." "Trips are taken, individually or by the class in community civics, to the almshouse, the town lockup, the Hampden County jail, etc., and a day is spent in the civil session of the superior court."

3. "Study of those forms of civic life which fall within the personal experience of everyday life, with special reference and application to public-school pupils: (a) laws in the schoolroom, discipline, laws in the community, the town meeting, executive officers, etc.; (b) public health—contagious disease, quarantine, vaccination, boards of health, disposal of ashes and garbage, clean streets, vital records, medical examiner. Other topics considered are: banks and the saving habit, insurance, the post-office, public highways, care of the poor, public libraries, taxation."

Worcester, Massachusetts, State Normal School:

1. "Conferences for teachers, superintendents, grange members, and others interested in community betterment; annual conferences for rural educators; expert advice and work on problems of curriculum and administration relating to sociological development; addresses and publications by professors of the school; monthly magazine on hygiene; mothers' meeting, visits to charitable and eleemosynary institutions."

2. Course in current events.

3. "Courses in (a) community civics, (b) social science, (c) rural sociology, (d) educational psychology, (e) school administration, (f) hygiene, (g) playground games and supervision."

Kalamazoo, Michigan, Western State Normal School:

1. "We have reports following thorough and protracted investigation of local conditions. Kalamazoo is a city of 50,000 with a large foreign

population, mills, etc. The girls in the class aid the city probation officers by visiting, etc. We have talks by local social workers, labor leaders, mill owners, etc."

3. Sociology is offered in the history department; based on selected chapters in Dewey and Tufts' *Ethics*; 96 hours.

4. "Has specific values to the teacher; is required only of those specializing in history; should be required of all life-certificate students."

Marquette, Michigan, Northern State Normal School:

1. "Usually a few students report on labor conditions—hours, wages, etc.—in Marquette."

2. "In applied sociology we study and report upon about thirty leading social problems"; use the *Survey* and other periodicals.

3. Blackmar, Dealey, Fairbanks, Cooley, etc. "On the theoretical side I usually give about forty problems on such topics as: interdependence, communication, co-operation, conflict, division of labor, association, innovation, social control, socialization, social heredity, etc."

4. Three courses of 48 hours each. The purpose in teaching them: "(a) To supplement psychology, emphasizing the ends of education. (b) Ends can be determined only on basis of knowledge of social environment in which a person is to live his life. (c) Good citizenship is not secured by putting the pupil into a sort of moral vacuum, or teaching forms of government, but acquainting him with conditions of life. Conduct is always a resultant of internal and external conditions, working together. (d) It emphasizes the present and future and tries to slough off some of the nightmares recorded in history."

Mount Pleasant, Michigan, Central State Normal School:

2. Ellwood and topics: "the family, the Negro problem, country life, the social work of the school, the social work of the church, immigration, the problem of the city, poverty and pauperism, crime, etc." Library reading and special reports on books. Sixty hours.

4. Non-professional; no connection with psychology or professional work. "School teachers have usually a too narrow outlook upon life."

Ypsilanti, Michigan, Michigan State Normal School:

3. Two courses of 48 hours each: (1) theoretical: Blackmar and Gillin, "extended use of the best authorities in the field of sociological literature by means of assignments in collateral reading"; (2) practical: problems of local communities, of the state and of the nation. "The survey as an approach to social, remedial effort is especially stressed, and

recent survey reports are studied. Each student undertakes a piece of practical survey work, the united effort of the class presenting a complete survey of some local field. A thesis covering some line of remedial effort is required of each student. Collateral reading in periodicals and reports bearing on sociological investigation is required."

4. "Both courses aim to equip the student with such interest, understanding and resources as to make him a social worker and leader in his community."

Duluth, Minnesota, State Normal School:

2. Ellwood and topics: "night schools, social settlements, voluntary educational organizations, associated charities, juvenile courts, George Junior Republic, Jukes family, high-school fraternities and sororities, school as a social center."

3. "Have made a special effort to have students realize that society is a name for co-operation in living, that it is the chief business of education to prepare, so far as possible, the individual for such living—to help him to make his adaptation."

4. "Sociology should contribute as much as or more than any other subject taught in the normal school to a better knowledge of 'human nature' which we surely need to understand as fully as possible; almost co-ordinate in importance with psychology and the professional work."

Mankato, Minnesota, State Normal School:

1. "Population surveys, rural and community surveys, occupation surveys, nationality surveys. These done for some counties and townships, and some for this city of 15,000 people. We stress the facts of rural sociology, for most of our graduates go out to teach in such communities."

2. Ellwood, Wright, Henderson. Two courses of 60 hours each; first partly topical, second entirely so: immigration, poverty, crime, intemperance, feeble-mindedness, family problems, etc.

3. Social evolution.

4. "The great weakness of teachers: lack of contact with outside world to vitalize their teaching. The teacher who goes out equipped with the facts of social organization vitalizes her work much more in every way, and keeps her subject-matter human; gets away from formal method, and keeps the school correlated with actual life."

Moorhead, Minnesota, State Normal School:

1. "An investigation into the social forms and forces of evil in the city of Moorhead."

2. Ellwood, topical work, 60 hours; "immigration, criminology, poverty and pauperism, socialism, the Negro problem, the problems of the city, the rural problem, marriage and divorce, the 'boy' problem, charity and philanthropy, the liquor problem."

3. "A survey of sociological authorities, with a brief discussion of the work and the particular 'social theory' of each; the importance in society of the family, religion, government."

4. "A teacher is a social worker. Education is said to be the only safe basis of democratic government. The teacher should have a comprehensive view of society, the forces of social change, and the fundamental laws that govern human activities."

St. Cloud, Minnesota, State Normal School:

1. "Every student makes a special and detailed study of some special topic. A part of that study must be direct, first-hand investigation."

2. Ellwood and Wright, topical method, 60 hours. "Most time is spent on problems of today."

3. "Man is more than an individual; each one of us has also larger social 'selves.' Society is organic. The historical perspective of every topic is given first. (a) General principles. (b) The family, home, household. (c) The state, political institutions. (d) Business society, economic institutions. (e) The church, religious institutions. (f) The school, other intellectual and aesthetic institutions, the press, libraries, etc. (g) Polite society. (h) Organizations for charity and reform."

4. A professional subject closely related to psychology; both taught by the same teacher. "(a) Gives the organic perspective to human relations and thus counteracts the individualistic attitude so common among ambitious young people. (b) Education is a social process of vital importance; hence it cannot be properly studied if we leave out its sociological aspect."

St. Paul, Minnesota, Teachers' Training School:

1. "Study of local institutions—state prison, reformatories, juvenile court, detention homes, rescue homes, wage legislation, etc. We try to make students apply their knowledge to local conditions so that it will become practical as well as informational."

2. Ellwood, supplemented by topics. "Special topics not treated in the text are assigned to each member of the class. After the topic has been presented the question of how existing conditions can be improved is considered. Very free discussion."

4. "Every intelligent citizen should know present-day social conditions; consider means whereby they can be improved; every one do his part. How can he do his part unless he knows how?" Thirty hours.

Winona, Minnesota, State Normal School:

1. "I have always used such material as the community afforded for illustrating various points. With about 180 students a year it was impossible to proceed on the laboratory method alone. For instance, we could not postpone all study of divorces until one occurred in the local court, nor have that many girls and boys poking into family rows, nor have somebody killed so as to study criminals. Neither do I favor getting up clubs just to have clubs to study. In fact, I found our people were not ready for work of that kind. It was theory, text information, current problems, and a social point of view that they needed."

3. "Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*. The text is supplemented by a considerable amount of reading along the line of present-day problems, such as immigration, marriage, divorce, housing, poverty, city and rural conditions. The object of the collateral work is to have the class comprehend the problem and become familiar with some of the most worthy propositions for ameliorating manifestly unsatisfactory social conditions."

4. Required of all who do not take economics. Sixty hours. Valuable professionally. "Gives an understanding of social groups, the most hopeful methods of meeting social problems, and an insight into current literature."

Cape Girardeau, Missouri, Missouri State Normal School, Third District:

1. "Some study of local organization, such as churches, lodges, etc., school surveys, hygienic surveys."

2. "Wright and topical method."

3. "Giddings, Cooley, Ward, Tarde, Wundt, Thorndike, Dewey, Blackmar and Gillen, Ross. Population, its movements, center of gravity, etc., elementary statistics in relation thereto; primitive life, especially the arts (with the use of material in Beckwith Collection), including some anthropometry (laboratory work with skeletons of Indians), and a study of the physical features of the main types of mankind; the historical evolution of society, based largely on Giddings; the human mind in relation to custom, fashion, etc. (with the use of statistical methods)."

4. "Working of institutions understood better. Aim is to use laboratory methods wherever possible. Fundamental to much of the

professional work in education; vital to a correct understanding of citizenship. Three courses of 36 hours each."

Kirkville, Missouri, First District Normal School:

1. "Doing several varieties of social-survey service in town, village, and rural communities; bringing its students in many ways into first-hand contact with conditions. It is the purpose of the president and faculty of this normal school to make frequent excursions into village and rural schools of this territory. While public schools are in session, one or more members of the faculty are engaged in field work nearly all the time. We share actively in rural and village club life, parent-teacher associations, Boy Scout movements, girls' Camp Fire activities, conventions of school boards, teachers, and people, and a great variety of assemblies for moral, religious, and recreational purposes."

2. (1917) "We are learning and constantly relearning our problems. We are living our lives in close and vital relation with real people and actual conditions."

3. (1917) "General sociology, vocational guidance, rural sociology, and other similar studies. We have general courses for the various types of rural and village teachers covering rural life problems in many varieties. We have made surveys of entire counties covering several months in the field; also surveys by our sociology students that discover condition of urban and suburban people who need help and advice in order to live and become as little burdensome to the state as possible."

4. (1915) "If sociology is fairly well represented by the questionnaire accompanying your letter I would consider it so ill defined as to constitute hodgepodge. You submit a list of unrelated topics. Until some better presentation of your subject is made, you may count this institution against your proposition to introduce sociology."

(1917) "The institution attaches professional importance to sociology because the study, when made concrete, contributes very largely to that insight into community needs which teachers, as leaders in communities, need."

Maryville, Missouri, State Normal School:

2. Ellwood, census, state reports, periodicals.

3. King, Betts, Cooley, Ross, Giddings, Ward, *et al.* "Main topics: (a) the family, industry, social ideals, classes, social control; (b) the population—autogenous, immigration, and problems; (c) the school in relation to all of the above."

4. The course is called educational sociology; 30 hours.

St. Louis, Missouri, Harris Teachers' College:

1. "Extension courses given; observation of playgrounds and social centers; trips to city institutions."
2. "Such topics as are treated in Ellwood, with the study of the social problems of the modern city: juvenile delinquents, housing, poverty, social settlements, etc."
3. "Social psychology, with Cooley, Ross, and McDougall as main texts. Educational sociology is a detailed study of the action and interaction of the educative agencies in modern urban society. Sixty hours required."
4. "Three courses, 30 and 80 hours each. All are designed to bear directly upon the problem of education; taught from outline."

Springfield, Missouri, State Normal School:

1. Extension classes in centers, correspondence work. "We are surveying all the time. We study conditions and have much tabulated material recorded as a result. We have carefully planned and supervised literary society work for nearly all pupils. We have carefully planned and supervised Christian Association; more than half of our pupils take part. Our students are grouped by classes, by counties, and can be grouped in several ways for special purposes. We control these to the extent of preventing frivolous talk and amusement. Good social leadership is the result. Many personal conferences are held. They help to fit pupils into social and economic situations."
2. "The home, the school, the church, amusements, roads, all means of travel and communication, charity and corrections, social organizations, etc. The topics are varied to suit conditions."
4. Two courses of 60 hours each: rural sociology preceding psychology; sociology for advanced students coming in the latter part of the college work. "Sociology is at least semi-professional; our purpose in giving it is to emphasize service."

Warrensburg, Missouri, State Normal School:

1. "We have surveyed social conditions in this town."
2. Henderson, Ellwood, topics; much discussion and reading.
3. Giddings; "The most emphasized feature of our work is the study of the school, the church, the family, as social institutions."
4. "Our course is called educational sociology. We intend to orient the student with his institutional life. Only advanced students take this course." Sixty hours.

Dillon, Montana, State Normal College:

3. "Beginning with a survey of primitive institutions, sociology presents an outline of their evolution to the stage reached in modern society."

4. "The purpose of this study is not so much to discuss various theories of social organization as it is to gain practical help on the problem of education. By reason of the intimate connection between race history and the mental development of the child, the well-prepared teacher must comprehend something of the course of race development."

Peru, Nebraska, State Normal School:

3. Social psychology, given in the department of psychology, is in two parts: "(a) psychological aspect, using McDougall as the basis; (b) sociological aspect, a study of the social mind, laying emphasis on the pedagogical implications." In a department of sociology three courses: political science, ethics, political economy. Two courses in rural sociology in department of education.

Wayne, Nebraska, State Normal School:

3. Two courses, of 90 hours each: "(1) an introduction to the study of society; history of social theory; study of social structure, functions, psychology, pathology; (2) contemporary society in the United States; the social mind, institutions, tendencies."

Keene, New Hampshire, State Normal School:

1. Lectures and extension courses open to the public. Rural-school group work.

3. Rural sociology, pedagogy, school management, psychology, geography.

Plymouth, New Hampshire, State Normal School:

3. Topics selected from *Introduction to the Social Sciences*, by Bogardus, 36 hours.

4. "An important study for the larger, fuller view."

Jersey City, New Jersey, New Jersey State Normal School:

4. "We have no course in sociology." (1917) "We really teach the subject-matter of sociology all through our curricula, but don't call it by that name."

Montclair, New Jersey, New Jersey State Normal School:

1. "We have given courses to public school teachers on the psychology of backward children."

3. "The course in genetic psychology and child study deals with the development of the social consciousness of the child and handles most of the topics covered by McDougall's *Social Psychology*. Pedagogy handles the social relations of the teacher and the school."

Paterson, New Jersey, Paterson Normal Training School:

1. "We seek to impress upon the mind of the student-teacher the necessity of knowing, first of all, her own city—its history, its industrial, occupational, and racial conditions—so that she may have an intelligent comprehension of the problems of community life that that city embodies. This gives a genuinely scientific basis for formulating a scheme of education that, through its varying types of schools and different educational activities, would ideally satisfy the conditions, needs, problems of Paterson. So, too, we make a sociological study of particular district schools in the city system, and of specific grades. I subjoin a brief outline of our course in school management which may assist in making my meaning clear.

- I. Survey of Paterson
 - a) Historical
 - b) Industrial, occupational
 - c) Racial
- II. The school
 - a) What community problems are peculiar to Paterson?
 - b) What are the various agencies that must co-operate for the effective solution of those problems?
 - c) What types of schools and what special educational activities are needed to the end indicated?
 - d) How may the schools best co-ordinate their activities with those of other social agencies?
- III. The grade
 - a) The meaning of grade (room, group)
 - b) What common characteristics do pupils of any one grade possess?
 - c) What conditions separate pupils of any specific grade into varied types?
 - d) What can the school do to make those pupils homogeneous?
 - e) What can it not do?
 - f) How do racial and other differences noted in c) above bear on the problem of teaching?
 - g) How do they relate to problems of management?
- IV. The teacher
 - a) Rôle in the political, religious, and general civic activities of the city

The primary purpose in the discussion of 'the grade' is to impress upon the mind of the student-teacher that no general knowledge of the canons of school management in the abstract can ever compensate for the lack of familiarity with the pupil in the concrete, as embodying, through his inherited, environmental, and racial tendencies, a definite problem that the teacher must solve."

2. "In history of education the problems examined are those that spring directly from, and are suggested immediately by, the conditions obtaining in the training school, the city system, and the state at large. This provides what I have called the necessary 'apperceptive basis': students feel that they are gaining information that functions directly in the solution of the problems that they must inevitably encounter as teachers."

4. "I question the utility of a specific course in sociology as such; I utilize it as affording the necessary apperceptive basis. I strongly urge the need of a sociological basis for an adequate apprehension by the student of the problems involved in school law, school management, psychology (the training department of the normal school should be considered as the best psychological laboratory for the student-teacher, and psychology and observation should go hand in hand and be taught early in the course of study), and history of education."

Trenton, New Jersey, New Jersey State Normal School:

3. "Permit me to be somewhat dogmatic and terse in saying that there is nothing planned for sociology that is not planned for history. The pupils of any community must be taught how to live in that community, what things are for their welfare and what are injurious. Many of these things are taught under the title of history. Very many schools use the title 'civics.' We also try to learn from the study of English and science what helps social development; what, for instance, the telephone has accomplished."

4. "I do not understand sociology to be a definite and exclusive science. Society is not clearly defined. A number of your questions are not such as have a common meaning in my judgment. Whatever meaning they have might be peculiar either to those forming the questionnaire or to those trying to answer."

Las Vegas, New Mexico, New Mexico Normal University:

1. An educational survey of New Mexico.

2. "This institution is trying to solve the pedagogical problems involved in the close proximity of two races. It is also trying to

improve the social conditions of the Spanish-American people, dealing with such questions as health, too early marriages, and the value of education to the Spanish-American."

3. Two courses of 90 hours each: elementary, with Dealey and Ross; advanced, with Sumner's *Folkways*, Weininger's *Sex and Character*, and Thomas' *Sex and Society*. Extensive list of references.

4. "Sociology stands equal with psychology and other professional work. I consider biology, sociology, and psychology as a *sine qua non* for the good teacher and the strong administrator. A thorough consideration of the ideals and methods of education cannot be made without the contributions which are being made by the new science of sociology."

Silver City, New Mexico, The New Mexico State Normal School:

1, 2. "We have these."

3. "We run a regular course of one-half unit and one unit in textbook sociology."

4. "Professional sociology is recognized for certification purposes in this state and is taught as a regular subject in this institution."

Albany, New York, New York State College for Teachers:

3. Nine courses in sociology: principles and problems in sociology, the school and society, principles of industrial education, social development and education, and five others on the economic and political phases of society.

Brockport, New York, State Normal and Training School:

3. School economy, methods of American history, methods of geography.

4. "We have no definite course in sociology, but we think we cover the matter of social relations very well."

Buffalo, New York, State Normal School:

4. "Has not up to the present undertaken any formal work in sociology. We have in mind considerable extension of our work; if this should take place we shall certainly include a course along this line."

Fredonia, New York, State Normal School:

3. History of education, school economy, psychology, general "talks."

New Paltz, New York, State Normal School:

2. "Immigration and race problems (vital in this locality), village and city problems, the family. As my classes consist almost entirely

of girls, I make the work practical for them. I emphasize especially the problems related to the family—marriage, divorce, death-rate, birth-rate, eugenics, better-baby questions, laws of heredity, etc.”

3. “These problems come after a presentation of those laws which are recognized as operative in society, and after a study of the relationship of the individual to the whole. Discussions, lectures on special topics; follow no regular text but use Ellwood, Ross, Dealey, Shaler, Addams, Steiner, etc.; students have special problems for study.” Thirty hours.

4. “Most valuable to teachers: to emphasize the profession of teaching in its influence upon society; to lead the young people to see the place of the present in the history of the race; to cultivate sane judgment in the weighing of present-day problems; to lead to an appreciation of the value of childhood, the sacredness of parenthood. This [1915] is the second year that we have had this course in our normal school, and I cannot speak too highly of the interest that is taken in it, and of its apparent value to our young girls. It is almost their whole topic of conversation and of reading while they are taking it. We could give up many things rather than to give up this course now. I presume we are exploring in the dark with this new subject, but we are enjoying it, and should be glad to know if there are any who have seen more light than we have.”

Oneota, New York, State Normal School:

3. “This work is done in our psychology and school administration courses.”

Oswego, New York, State Normal and Training School:

1. “Teacher of psychology in our faculty was largely instrumental in starting a public playground in the city and arranging for its management.”

2. “All these I recognize as vital questions and direct the attention of my classes in English to them—through reading and class report, oral or written, on magazine articles upon these topics. I consider nothing in the school curriculum so important as the study of social conditions, including the industrial and economic. I wonder at the blindness of a policy which does not give heed to the matter. ‘Where there is no vision the people perish.’ I do what I can to let them see ‘how the other half lives,’ and how differently we all might live if we would but wake up to the fact that co-operation, brotherhood, foresight, are the watchwords for progress.”

3. "In a special class to train teachers for defective children, two lessons a week for twenty weeks—a most inadequate amount of time. In that time I do what I can toward opening the eyes of the class to existing social conditions, and impressing upon them the need of an intelligent comprehension of the needs of society. I do what I can in my English classes to further the same ends—an understanding of present-day conditions, together with a desire to lend a hand in hurrying along the new heavens and the new earth."

4. "I regret that I can report only such insufficient and fragmentary work. My chief excuse is that the state lays down our program for us. Yet I think if teachers are themselves awake to the fact that social and economic injustice and chaos are of more vital import than geographical or mathematical facts, much may be done in spite of a curriculum."

Rochester, New York, Rochester Normal Training School:

4. "We have no course. Our curriculum is prescribed largely by the state department. This does not require sociology."

Schenectady, New York, Schenectady Teachers' Training School:

3. Psychology, history, ethics, child study, English.

Syracuse, New York, Syracuse Training School for Teachers:

1. "Visit schools and homes, share in playground supervision," etc.

3. Psychology, school management, history of education, language methods, history, civics.

Yonkers, New York, Yonkers Training School for Teachers:

3. School management, history, history of education, civics, psychology, logic, rhetoric, geography. "Ours is a small school and the teachers come into close contact with students. All these questions are taken up."

Greenville, North Carolina, Carolina Teachers' Training School:

3. Rural sociology, history, civics, public-school music, home economics, primary methods, pedagogy, English, practice teaching, morning talks.

Ellendale, North Dakota, State Normal and Industrial School:

2. Ellwood and wider reading; lectures.

3. "School administration, a senior elective, required of certain pupils in the summer school, brings in a great deal of sociology; a lecture and reading course. Rural sociology given in the summer school; largely an investigation course."

4. "Co-ordinate with psychology and the professional work; to help the prospective teacher understand her pupils and the community she is serving."

Mayville, North Dakota, State Normal School:

2. Ellwood; "Immigration, city problem, crime, poverty, etc."

3. "Origin, growth, structure, and activities of society under certain conditions."

4. "All public-school pupils must be members of society; the teacher should have some foundational knowledge of it."

Minot, North Dakota, State Normal School:

3. "I do not know that any of the topics you suggest receive formal attention in any of the courses. They do not in any of mine—pedagogy and practice teaching. Incidentally they come up in history of education, general methods, psychology, etc."

4. "This is only our second year."

Valley City, North Dakota, State Normal School:

1. "We made a survey of Valley City to learn the number of traveling men who annually call at each store—an effort to determine the economic loss involved in dealing through middlemen."

2. Ellwood. "We study each prominent social problem for about two weeks, and read one or two good books on it."

3. "We do not spend much time upon the theory of sociology."

4. Ninety hours each of economics and sociology. "A teacher should be well acquainted with the industrial and social world she is fitting children to live in."

Cleveland, Ohio, Normal Training School:

1. "Our educational museum, for the elementary schools, and civic biology, for the city at large, are carrying on a work of great value for educational and civic betterment." See *Boys and Girls of Garden City*, Ginn and Company; *Scientific American*, February 15, 1913, July 11, 1914, September 12, 1914.

3. Most of the topics are taken up in social aspects of education; three each in civics, and principles of education; one each in English and history of education.

Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Normal School:

3. All except one of the sixteen theoretical topics are treated incidentally. Two of them "in everything, especially in training schools"; one "in many and at many times"; one "usually in talks given to

students by principal and instructor in psychology"; one in "talks and lectures"; others in literature, ethics, history, civics, etc.

Kent, Ohio, State Normal School:

1. Work "in connection with state school survey; also a survey of Portage County recreation activities."

3. (a) Rural sociology, using Gillette and Cubberley. (b) Social aspects of education, using King and Dewey. (c) Sociology, with Cooley's *Social Organization*: subject-matter of sociology, the social process and the factors of social change, group units, the social mind, social control, modern problems, the relation of education to the social process.

4. In these three courses of 60 hours each "we are trying to find out how our present school systems must be modified to meet the social conditions of the twentieth century."

Ada, Oklahoma, East Central State Normal School:

1. Small and Vincent, with topical method. The emphasized feature is the study of rural districts.

4. "A professional subject for teachers; to give a broader conception of life."

Alva, Oklahoma, Northwestern State Normal School:

1. Judge county school contest; make rural-school and high-school investigations. "We send out printed blanks, both to rural teachers and county superintendents. These are filed away in office and used by students in studying school conditions by counties. Themes and papers written; results published in local school journal, newspapers, etc."

3. Pedagogy and philosophy of education, history and history of education, psychology, methods, child study, English.

4. "Will give sociology soon as our course of study calls for it."

Durant, Oklahoma, Southeastern State Normal School:

3. Rural-school sociology, method in education.

Tahlequah, Oklahoma, Northeastern State Normal School:

1. "We have regular correspondence courses which we send out to students at a fee of five dollars each."

3. Rural sociology, rural-school problems, child study, history, and various educational courses.

Monmouth, Oregon, State Normal School:

1. "Survey work in a very limited way locally. We use a text (Burch and Nearing), but much of the work is from concrete examples and problems at first hand in city, county, state, and nation."

2. "Each day a student reports some item of large sociological interest—internationally, nationally, state, etc., and this is correlated with the text and discussed. This matter is taken from the leading dailies, periodicals, e.g., *Outlook*, *New Republic*, *World's Work*, etc. Important topics: immigration, state insurance, unemployed, conservation problems, sociological tendencies in law-making. Live issues are used, and the students are urged to formulate opinions."

3. Rural sociology in connection with the rural-school course.

4. Hours, 100 and 50. "The prime function is to make good, thinking citizens of the teachers, and of the boys and girls through them, to get them really interested so that they realize the problems and the vital connection which we all have with them."

Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

3. Psychology, school management, pedagogy, ethics, civil government.

4. "Sociology is an optional branch, but has never been chosen. The subjects named in your questions are all discussed to a greater or less degree in a well-conducted normal school, even though not under the specified head of sociology. Many important subjects are so considered. Ethics never is taught from a textbook in a well-conducted family, unless you are disposed to consider the Bible as serving in that capacity, yet the children become ethical forces in the community. This is true of many schools also."

California, Pennsylvania, Southwestern State Normal School:

4. "We expect to introduce sociology next year."

Clarion, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

2. Ellwood; the topics suggested by the textbook.

4. It comes in the Senior year, 65 hours. "I would regard it as a professional study, but it is not so considered. The school should be a socializing institution; therefore the teacher should be acquainted with the laws of society, that she may be more of a socializing factor."

East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

4. "In the fourth year ethics, logic, and sociology may be substituted for Virgil, French, or German. Philosophy of education or surveying may be substituted for ethics, logic, or sociology."

Edinboro, Pennsylvania, Northwestern State Normal School:

1. "Social survey work in rural schools of this county."
4. Sociology "has just been introduced"; no text adopted. "Is considered largely professional"; 100 hours.

Erie, Pennsylvania, Erie Normal Training School:

3. "We use Monroe's larger *Text-Book in History of Education* which treats of 'The Sociological Tendency in Education.' On my own responsibility I have required the reading of *Civics and Health* and *Efficient Democracy* by William H. Allen, but we have not made them the basis of class work."
4. "We seize every available opportunity which presents itself to emphasize the ideas contained in the science of sociology, because we firmly believe that much of the work in a school misses the end aimed at if we do not send out students from us fully impressed with the feeling that the individual as an individual does not count, but that he must realize and act upon the relationships in which he is involved as a part of the great social whole. I think we must have this course in all our schools."

Indiana, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

1. "A mission-study class on immigration attempts to show prospective teachers how to deal with the Pennsylvania foreign population. Visits to mining towns are made in company with workers who can secure the admission of the party to houses of Italians, Hungarians, etc. The school is the most democratic institution, and if America is to assimilate its great foreign population teachers must know how to deal with not only the children but also the adults of the foreign section of a community. The teachers in even small American communities are often the chief influence for social betterment."
3. "All of the topics are treated incidentally, mostly very briefly; more in history and pedagogy than in any other branch."
4. "I believe emphatically that normal schools in any state where sociological problems are as heavy as they are in Pennsylvania should offer courses in practical sociology. Pennsylvania normal schools have, unfortunately, a course in sociology as an alternative with a foreign language (modern). Of course students desire a modern foreign language, therefore sociology is not elected."

Kutztown, Pennsylvania, Keystone Normal School:

2. Ellwood.
4. "During the school year 1914-15 about 40 per cent of the seniors elected sociology. Personally, I feel that it should be a required study,

but the majority of the board, who arrange the normal-school curriculum of our state, are not of this mind."

Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, Central State Normal School:

4. "Unable to answer with any satisfaction. Glad to have a copy of questions and will be interested in seeing a copy of your report."

Mansfield, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

2. "I dwell particularly on social evils and eliminations; immigration, racial problems, economic conditions; rural sociology."

3. Dealey, and topical study, but mainly lecture.

4. "Of equal importance with psychology and the professional work. One of the most humane, and consequently one of the most effective of subjects." Seventy-five hours.

Millersville, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

1. Small and Vincent. "We are trying to find all the good qualities in the homes of one township of ten schools, to idealize the good found there."

2. Topical work in part: "(a) evolution of rural society in America, Cubberley; (b) conditions of rural society today; (c) institutions for the rejuvenation of rural society," Cubberley.

4. "A contributory subject, fundamental as a means of enriching the teacher's mental background." Fifty hours. (1917) "We are hoping that Pennsylvania normal schools will gradually modify their course of study to further this important aspect of education."

Reading, Pennsylvania, Normal Training School for Girls:

3. Ethics, child study, school management, civics, history of education.

Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania, Slippery Rock State Normal School:

1. "We are planning this year (1917) to give definite instruction in playground supervision, the organization of social societies and the organization of boys' and girls' clubs."

3. "In the fourth year of our normal-school course the students will give one term to the study of sociology. This work in sociology shall be just as practical as it can be."

West Chester, Pennsylvania, State Normal School:

1. "In connection with our practice teaching in rural schools a third of our class have had opportunity to note and report fully in class on conditions in their home communities."

2. "(a) Ellwood, 45 hours. (b) Lectures and reference work, 38 hours. Given as an extension course by Dr. Lichtenberger, head of the department of sociology in the University of Pennsylvania. Each student gathers material from *The Survey* and other periodicals for a term paper on some topic. The past year 85 students and teachers have taken the course; next year there may be two sections."

4. "It is classified by the normal-school principals as a professional subject. It is an elective, however. About 300 of our 350 seniors next year will take it. I had two large sections the past year; next year I shall have five or six."

Statement by Dr. Lichtenberger: "Psychology is basic for sociology, of course, but certainly teachers should possess the social point of view, and this I take it can be acquired more readily from a course in sociology than any other course. The course I gave in West Chester, and which will be repeated in the first semester of next year, was entitled 'Social Problems,' and dealt in the main with such subjects as the modern attitude toward social problems, the scientific basis of social problems; problems of population, including a study of race problems, immigration, and eugenics; problems of social adjustment, including dependency, defectiveness, delinquency; social economic problems, including labor problems, women and industry, child labor, etc."

Providence, Rhode Island, Rhode Island State Normal School:

1. "Regular courses of lectures on Saturdays. Classes for teachers in afternoons and Saturdays. Courses of lectures by our teachers in different parts of the state."

3. "Every topic receives incidental treatment in some course. Here are some points from the announcement of courses in the department of education which suggest how this is done: problems involved in the selection and arrangement of subject-matter in the curriculum; American school systems; tendencies in teaching profession and school population; the function and meaning of the kindergarten; a study of the work of the teacher from the standpoint of social requirements; practical purposes of education; principles involved in the selection and organization of subjects; the social basis of school incentives; the elementary school; the teaching profession."

Orangeburg, South Carolina, State Agricultural and Mechanical College:

2. "In our course of study we lay great stress on rural community life. In our normal course we teach rural sociology (Gillette), rural pedagogy (Focht), and social economics."

Rock Hill, South Carolina, Winthrop Normal and Industrial College:

1. "One period of observation in mill villages."
3. Giddings and Ross, with topical work. Emphasized topics: "the crowd, the mob, origins of society; that there are recognizable laws of development of human institutions."
4. Two courses, 60 hours each, both elective; one course in psychology is required. "Students need to know that the study of 'people' is the best preparation for teaching and social service among 'people.' "

Aberdeen, South Carolina, Northern Normal and Industrial School:

3. "Required, 60 hours; distinctly pedagogical in character, scope, and purpose, as are psychology and pedagogy. Elective 180 hours."
4. "Most of the work done in sociology in normal schools is of the type done in college, and is invaluable from the point of view of general information and training for citizenship. It seems to me, however, that in a normal school the subject-matter ought to be looked at from a different angle. The problem of education is a social one, and the process a social one. Strictly speaking, education is a department of sociology. All pedagogical processes are as truly sociological as they are psychological. Pedagogical sociology is as essentially a basic study of education as is educational psychology. Every argument for the latter is equally forceful for the former. A fuller statement of my views will be found on pp. 560-63 of the N.E.A. *Proceedings* for 1914."

Springfield, South Dakota, State Normal School:

3. Giddings, Ellwood, and Cubberley; two courses of 90 and 60 hours respectively: "to bring to the student an understanding of the nature and structure of modern society"; paper and reference reading; problems in latter part.
4. "Young teachers ought to understand the nature of society so as to see the relation of teaching to the social demands. We prepare our students for social service."

Memphis, Tennessee, West Tennessee State Normal School:

2. Rural sociology, Ellwood; rural-school problems.
3. Rural economics, Carver; principles of education.
4. Each of these four courses continues for 60 hours; uses "church surveys, government reports, and periodical literature."

Huntsville, Texas, Sam Houston State Normal Institute:

1. "Students make investigations of rural conditions in this section of Texas; in co-operation with county superintendents and trustees promote social center work at rural school houses."
3. Rural sociology, Cubberley; "all the senior education courses."

Castleton, Vermont, State Normal School:

2. History, school management, psychology.

4. "I doubt the advisability, or rather the practical value, of teaching sociology as a basal science with Vermont students preparing to be teachers. We do co-ordinate it with psychology, school management, and other studies."

Johnson, Vermont, State Normal School:

3. "Sociology, morals, and manners—a discussion of the forces which make for social betterment; also of personal and social morals and manners. The social basis of education is taught in connection with other subjects, such as school management, ethics, and methods."

Fredericksburg, Virginia, State Normal and Industrial School:

2. Ellwood, lectures, parallel readings. "Origin and growth of population; the family and the problem of divorce; immigration; the Negro; the city; poverty and pauperism; woman's movement; vocational training and vocational guidance; community life activities, etc. Current problems as discussed in the newspapers and magazines; various periodicals are assigned to the students and brief class reports are made from time to time." Three hours a week throughout the year.

4. "It touches life-interests; it informs students of present-day conditions which confront us as a people, which must be solved, and which the school as a social institution must help meet; it undertakes to show how the school should be a vital force in the community life, and how it may materially aid in correcting many social evils."

Hampton, Virginia, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute:

1. "The neighborhood of Hampton has been divided into four districts in which one or more Hampton teachers with student-helpers hold weekly club meetings. There are clubs for girls, for boys, and for women. The clubs aim to build up individual health and morality, and to foster a spirit of co-operation for the sake of community welfare. On Sunday student-helpers hold regular religious services in the poor-house, the jail, the old people's home, three Sunday schools, and in the homes of old people who are too infirm to go out. The majority of the students at some time in their course help in this work."

3. "The aim in sociology for boys is to gain an understanding of race traits and their relation to problems of social adjustment; to check up individual experiences with the principles stated by modern sociologists; and to study the facts dealing with social service. The course in sociology for the girls aims to show them the place of the individual,

the home, and the community in the social whole; the value of character; the relation of character to the home and to business; character building and the recreation problem; the duties of the home, the health of the home; the relation of income to character building, to home development, and to racial welfare." Civics and community betterment, in summer school: "(a) population in country and city; (b) occupations and wages in relation to country and city life; (c) health, disease, and mortality; (d) housing in country and city; (e) child life in relation to play and labor."

4. "I think it is fair to say of Hampton that in every possible way we try to make the student realize his relation to, and responsibility for, his community. In the regular courses in economics and sociology we try to have the students understand thoroughly the facts concerning certain movements that have succeeded, and we try to draw from these facts such lessons as will help them when they go out to become community leaders."

Harrisonburg, Virginia, State Normal and Industrial School for Women:

1. "We have had the several members of a class make special studies of their home communities, being guided by an outline prepared by the teacher. Some very interesting results have been obtained."

2. (a) Rural sociology—Butterfield, Kern, Bailey, Eggleston and Bruere, Gillette; (b) General sociology—Wright, Ellwood, Ross, Earp; "the home and the family, the school as a community center, the church, the teacher as a social factor, the relation of sociology to good citizenship, preventive social engineering."

4. "We aim to develop a social sense and facility by incidental means, but at the same time we deem the formal teaching of sociology as necessary to best results. We certainly believe that the attention of the student should be directed consciously as well as systematically to social relations and social responsibilities. Every teacher should be a social leader, and to be efficient and safe should comprehend the situation and know something of methods. We stress the professional value in a practical way. Two courses of 36 and 60 hours respectively, one of them since the opening of the school in 1909."

Petersburg, Virginia, Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute:

4. "We have just arranged a new curriculum for next year which will include sociology. We regard it as a very important subject for the professional man or woman, and the teacher, above all other profession-people, must be a social worker."

Bellingham, Washington, State Normal School:

1. "Survey of the moving picture locally; not very thoroughly done."

3. Dealey, Gillette; two courses of 72 hours each. "Besides the textbook and lecture work, each student makes a study of some topic and writes an essay on it. These essays are read and discussed in class. We make much of practical applications."

4. "Rural sociology is definitely professional, the other course nearly so. They preferably come after psychology and the other professional work. The teacher needs some knowledge of the laws underlying social development; also an interest in practical social problems in the light of these laws."

Cheney, Washington, State Normal School:

2. Ellwood and topical work; emphasis on social origins; 72 hours.

4. Useful to any intelligent citizen, but has a particular importance for the teacher the same as psychology and the professional work; "gives social perspective, shows how education has functioned historically."

Athens, West Virginia, Concord State Normal School:

1. "Class conducted largely by pupils; corn clubs, etc."

3. Social principles of education; Betts and topical work.

Fairmont, West Virginia, Fairmont State Normal School:

4. "We give a course in sociology continuing through one-half of the year. We expect to enlarge this to one year in the near future. We believe that the subject is of the utmost importance in education."

Kaukauna, Wisconsin, Outagamie County Training School:

1. "We believe in making our work as practical as we know how to, by having student-teachers participate in the things we encourage them to operate in the rural schools: (a) plays and games on the grounds, in the gymnasium, and in the schoolroom and classroom; (b) field days; (c) assist with playground supervision when visiting rural schools; (d) assist rural teachers in giving their programs; (e) local surveys and excursions to see industries in connection with geography; excursions to see caucuses, elections, councils, courts, boards of equalization etc., in civics."

2. "The study of social problems is taken up in connection with current events and history classes."

3. "We teach rural sociology, rural economics, farm business methods, with topical work in common rural problems. Rural sociology includes

social center work, preparation of programs for special days, the organization of clubs, circles, and contests."

4. "Knowledge along these lines gives a broader vision and lifts teachers above the petty matters of routine. We want our young teachers to have an appreciation of the labors of the patrons of the school they teach, to see where their branches of science will assist in the farm labors and farm life."

La Crosse, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. "Plan to do some social survey work this spring in La Crosse."
3. Blackmar and Ellwood, with lectures and collateral reading.
4. "It is one of our electives in the junior college department; normal students may take it"; 36 hours.

Menomonie, Wisconsin, The Stout Institute:

3. Home and social economics. "No textbook is used, but a printed set of syllabi, prepared by the instructor, which contain an outline of the subject-matter under discussion, a list of available references, a list of problems and of topics for class discussion. The method of recitation includes lectures, given by the instructor, and reports by the individual members of the class upon specially assigned topics—the preparation of these reports requiring the intensive reading of the references listed in the syllabi." (a) The family; evolution of the house and home; the disintegration of the modern family; the ethics of the family; eugenics and the family. (b) Woman's industrial and ethical relations to society; women in primitive industry; women in modern industry; women of the leisure class; the relation of woman as purchaser or consumer to the producer. (c) The "child-welfare" movement: causes of delinquency. The twelve syllabi so far put into print do not cover all of the above topics, but here are the titles of four of somewhat different scope: *Euthenics, Sex Instruction, Education for Parenthood, The Domestic Service Problem.*

4. "I feel that there is need for work in sociology in all normal schools and also in the high schools. I felt that need many years ago and in about 1896 I organized and taught such a course in the Milwaukee normal school, which I think was the first of its kind in any normal school in the United States. Why students should be made to spend a year on ancient history and give no time to the sociological movements about them of which they are a part, is a thing I cannot comprehend. The trained sociologist is quite apt to disparage the rather limited field

which it is possible to cultivate with high-school students, and perhaps normal-school students, in the short time available. It is not so much with the purpose of giving profound knowledge of sociological movements, as it is to awaken interest in the activities of society of which the individual is a part and to create an inquiring and open attitude of mind concerning this subject."

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. "Survey of housing conditions, wages, and city government." See N.E.A. *Proceedings*, 1914, page 560. Small and Vincent used.
2. Ellwood; "reading of current magazines and daily papers, study of present-day problems."
4. "We give it because of its inherent value and its relation to pedagogy, psychology, history, geography, *and life*. It *is life*. Every student in every normal school ought to study sociology."

Oshkosh, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. "Each student in the class makes a sociological analysis of some institution, organization, or group of persons—a school or grade, practice class, literary society, boarding club, rural neighborhood, family. Class now making a survey of the out-of-school occupations of the school children of the city; has made two visits in a body to a school where grammar-grade children are organized in clubs. When we come to the theory of government and democracy we study the self-government system of our school and try to see ways to improve it."
2. Incidental to the study of principles.
3. "Follow reference syllabus prepared by teacher; use Cooley, Giddings, Fairbanks, Ross, etc.; the above work (1) done to illustrate and apply the principles incidentally."
4. "Strictly professional, like psychology. Ninety hours, elective. Teaching is always a social process. The school is a social institution, with much in it and around it which profoundly influences the child beside what the teacher and school authorities intend to have there. Therefore the teacher needs to be familiar with the principles underlying all society; which means that the teacher should have a course in sociological theory, with the illustrative matter largely drawn from school, playground, family, etc."

Platteville, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. "Each pupil made a survey of school district, preferably his own."
3. "(a) Rural economics and sociology; Carver; required in the

rural school course. (b) Social evolution, social organization, social problems; a study of social origins as a means of understanding the great social facts of life, and a basis of intelligent reforms."

4. Two courses, 90 hours each. "Sociology has definite value for the teacher. It brings young people into a consciousness of life in its essential aspects and prepares them better, not only to understand the school and its work in relation to society, but also to guide and direct the work of pupils with more vital interest and intelligence."

River Falls, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. "Survey of student budgets; student estimates of family budgets; indicates the possibilities of the statistical method. One of the extension students has under way a study of the cost of living among female teachers in grade and high schools. Other topics studied at first-hand: the leisure class of River Falls; the bases of imitation in R. F. normal; the scope and methods in civics courses in Wisconsin high schools."

2. "Population and the birth-rate; population and immigration; problems of the modern family; the school as a discussion center; women in industry; factors of socialization; the teacher as a public servant."

3. Ross, Ward, and Ellwood, with topical and "laboratory" work. "(a) Group formation; (b) group psychology; (c) modern group problems. A few problems are studied carefully. The dangers of half-baked 'solutions' are emphasized; the need of expert legislation and administration persistently noted. The students are encouraged to think and talk about things and relations that ought to be discovered." Ninety hours.

4. "(a) A good course in sociology gives the teacher a notion of the near-immutability of certain social structures. (b) It acquaints him with many of the 'secrets' of social order and social control. My people have told me the work on mob mind, woman's 'sphere,' custom, etc., was just what they wanted. 'It helps every day' has been the unsolicited comment of three people recently. (c) It gives opportunity for first-hand, rational study of many problems which the teacher above all should be prepared to meet rationally. (d) It teaches as nothing else does the efficacy of effort in individual and social improvement. (e) It shows up the hampering, retarding, traditional stuff. (f) It shows the student that light is truly 'flooding the social deeps.' (g) Teachers should be prepared to tread the mesh of social

relations with a firmer step. So far as my observation goes it inclines me to the opinion that students and teachers of sociology are more open-minded, less dogmatic, and freer teachers of the truth than those in many other lines of work." The course in community civics also covers much of the ground of sociology.

Stevens Point, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. An exercise on "The social inheritance: Examine course of study—find out your own social inheritance. Do you approve? Error in social inheritance, e.g., witchcraft. Try to discover present-day illustration. Truth in social inheritance. How may it have social importance?"

3. Fairbanks, Ross, Carver; topical method. "Theories of society; contract; organism; psychic basis; land and people; geographic factor; association; factors in social change; the social inheritance; truth and error." Ninety hours.

4. "Sociology, like all social science, must be based on psychology. It was put in, in the first instance, for the benefit of college students. Later it was retained as an adjunct to the training of high-school history teachers in the three-year course. I believe that the point of view on human institutions gained through sociology is of importance to the understanding and interpreting of history."

Superior, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. "Some of our students have participated in the field work of a housing survey with the local associated charities."

3. Ross's *Social Psychology*, Ellwood's *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, with topical work. Ninety hours.

4. "The school does not regard sociology as a professional subject, I suppose; but I believe it should be studied by every teacher. It is elective, but forty or fifty of our students take it every year. Thus it reaches about half of our graduates."

Whitewater, Wisconsin, State Normal School:

1. Social survey of Walworth County, 1913-14; of Jefferson County, 1914-15.

2. Giddings, and topical study. "Emphasizes the scope of sociology, its definitions and laws; puts all to use by the survey mentioned above; social life in country and in city; use of the school as a social center; methods of social reforms." Ninety hours.

4. "Sociology is regarded too much as an academic subject only; it is exceedingly valuable as an aid to teaching; (a) acquaints the

student with the great and interesting field of sociology; (b) places at his intelligent use its terminology and principles; (c) acquaints him with the practical work being done in the field; (d) gives him experience in social survey work."

Committee:

W. F. BLISS, San Diego, Cal.

*†REUBEN MCKITRICK, Cedar Falls, Iowa

†T. PAUL HICKEY, Kalamazoo, Mich.

†GUSTAV S. PETTERSON, Mankato, Minn.

ROBERT H. WRIGHT, Greenville, N.C.

FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, Las Vegas, N.M.

ANNA B. HERRIG, New Paltz, N.Y.

GEORGE EDWARD MARKER, Kent, Ohio

EDNA B. SMITH, Indiana, Pa.

C. P. PATTERSON, Memphis, Tenn.

R. M. WOODS, Huntsville, Tex.

JOHN W. WAYLAND, Harrisonburg, Va.

JAMES BEVER, Bellingham, Wash.

*†F. R. CLOW, Oshkosh, Wis., *Secretary*

* Member of the Committee of the American Sociological Society.

† Member of the Committee of the Normal School Department of the National Education Association.

January, 1918

NEWS AND NOTES

Notes of interest to the readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

William H. Parker, assistant professor of political and social science of the University of Cincinnati, has been appointed general secretary of the National Conference of Social Work. The appointment was made at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference composed of the President, Treasurer, and heads of the various departments on February 6, 1920. Mr. Parker entered actively upon his new duties on March 1, 1920. This office was formerly held by William T. Cross, who resigned to take up other work.

Mr. Parker has been connected with the faculty of the University of Cincinnati for about ten years. During the war he served as chief of staff of the Thirty-Seventh Division of the A.E.F. with the rank of major. He took an active part in social work in Cincinnati, where he was one of the founders of the Central Council of Social Agencies.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICANIZATION WORKERS

Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, professor of anthropology, and director of the four-year Americanization training course at the University of Minnesota, has been made president of the newly organized National Council of Americanization Workers. At the call of United States Commissioner of Education P. H. Claxton, some three hundred actual Americanization workers met in Cleveland, February 24 and 25, in connection with the Superintendency Department of the National Education Association.

The Council will hold its first national meeting in Minneapolis near the close of May, 1920, under the leadership of the following committee: Dr. W. C. Smith, state director of Americanization, New York, chairman; Professor Ruby Baughman, Los Angeles Normal School, and supervisor of immigrant education; Maro S. Brooks, deputy state commissioner of Americanization, New Hampshire; Dr. A. E. Jenks, director

of the Americanization training course, University of Minnesota; Dr. John J. Mahoney, state director of Americanization, Massachusetts; Assistant Superintendent E. C. Vermillion, director of Americanization, public schools, Akron, Ohio; and Ernest P. Wiles, director of the Cleveland, Ohio, Americanization Council, and under whose efficient management the organization meeting of the National Council was just held in Cleveland.

THE ITALIAN SOCIETY OF GENETICS AND EUGENICS

On the motion of Professor Giuffrida-Ruggeri, the Italian Society of Genetics and Eugenics adopted in August the following resolution:

“With the victorious termination of the world-war, the allied powers of the Entente will find themselves in closer contact than in the past with the African world. Therefore it would be fitting that the different eugenic societies endeavor to obtain from their respective governments legislative enactments where they do not yet exist, tending to prohibit marriages between Europeans and representatives of African races with the exception of Mediterranean races (Berbers, Egyptians) and Arabs of the white race. These interdictions should be extended to marriages with representatives of those population groups of mixed blood which are scattered at different points upon the continent of Africa. The object of this proposal is to prevent the extension of a mixed European-African race, which, from many points of view, seems undesirable.”

THE FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Miss Julia Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau, has accepted the formal request of the government of Czecho-Slovakia to assist this new European republic in the organization of child-welfare work. Miss Lathrop will sail from this country early in March and will return by July 1.

President Thomas G. Masaryk, who extends this invitation, was exchange professor at the University of Chicago a decade ago. His daughter Miss Alice was formerly a resident at the University of Chicago Settlement.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Assistant Professor W. H. Parker has resigned to accept the position of general secretary of the National Conference of Social Work.

Mr. F. A. Conrad, of the University of Chicago, has been appointed to continue his courses in sociology.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Mr. Bruce Lee Melvin, A.M., Fellow in sociology at the University of Missouri, has been elected to a newly established associate professorship of sociology in the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. The departments of sociology and economics in this institution have been under one head until the present. With the coming of Mr. Melvin, however, a new department of sociology will be established with Mr. Melvin as chairman. Mr. Melvin expects to complete his work for the Doctor's degree at the University of Missouri this summer. He will also teach the course in general sociology at the University of Missouri during the summer term.

Professor Charles A. Ellwood, of the University of Missouri, will teach two courses in sociology in the University of Chicago in the Summer Quarter. One course will be on the principles of sociology and the other on the history of social philosophy.

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Professor Herbert A. Miller gave a series of ten lectures during the first semester before the Saturday Evening Club of Cleveland, on the subject "The Substitute for Revolution: A Study of Group Conflict." The topics for the individual lectures were: "The Individual and the Group"; "Normal and Abnormal Conflicts"; "The Mid-European Problem"; "Ireland, India, French Canada, Mexico, and Korea"; "The Negro"; "The Class Struggle"; "Defensive Institutions—Religion and Language"; "The Oppression Psychosis"; "The Paradox of Americanization"; "The Rational Way Out versus Revolution."

In January Dr. Miller gave lectures before various organizations in Minneapolis and Chicago. On January 22 he spoke at the University of Chicago on the subject, "Americanization."

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURG

Dr. Joseph K. Folsom, assistant professor of sociology, has been granted a year's leave of absence to take up Y.M.C.A. work in Czechoslovakia.

Dr. D. M. Marvin, formerly state psychologist under the State Board of Administration in Kansas, has been appointed assistant professor to take Dr. Folsom's place.

REED COLLEGE

Dr. Herbert Diomond, instructor in sociology at Reed College, has accepted a position with the Connecticut State Child Welfare Commission.

WELLS COLLEGE

Dr. Harriette M. Dilla, formerly of Lake Erie College, returned last June from a year of foreign service with the American Red Cross, and has been appointed acting professor of economics and sociology for the second semester at Wells College.

REVIEWS

Law and the Family. By ROBERT GRANT, Judge of the Probate Court, Boston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919. Pp. vii+264. \$1.50.

Judge Grant has produced a volume of genuine practical worth, a veritable *vade mecum* for those who have to meet the knotty questions which may arise at any time in connection with the many-sided business of a probate court. As was to be expected from the genial author of *The Chippendales* and *The Reflections of a Married Man*, the work is written in a delightful style which grips the reader's attention. The lesson which each section teaches is enlivened by anecdotes—arising in actual office experience—which are told with the skill of a master story-teller. The book “reads like a novel.” Moreover the author has been able to see beyond the mere business problem; here and there the social situation is revealed through vigorous discussion. *Law and the Family* is an enlightened contribution to sociological literature.

In the first section, treating of “Women and Property,” answer is given to the “double-barreled” question: “Why should not women have a greater share in the management of property, and why should they not understand more about property than they do? Their own property in the first place, but also other people's.” For, in spite of the alleged “economic emancipation” of woman, property “in the sense of anything larger than a purse or very moderate bank account remains virtually a sealed book to her.” Her awesome attitude toward property is “encouraged by prevalent masculine opinion, which, if invited to decide by a referendum whether she would do better as a bishop or a banker, would declare that, though out of place in either, she could not do much harm as a bishop, but as a banker would inevitably make a mess of things.” The old legal theory that a “married woman could not own anything,” that “a man and his wife are but one person in the law, and that one person is the man,” has been long in dying; indeed it is not yet quite dead, even in America. Though in many of our states “restrictions on feminine ownership are obsolete and have long since ceased to be an incentive to lack of familiarity with money matters, the American woman is peculiarly ignorant of everything pertaining to

finance; much more so than the women of Latin countries." The basic reason for woman's backwardness in finance, as Judge Grant rightly insists, is not an organic kink in the female's brain, but a "lack of experience and worldly wisdom which has, as it were, atrophied certain ordinary mental processes." There is need that woman in finance, as in other fields of social activity, should have an even share with men in doing the world's work.

The troubles arising in the inability of heirs to distinguish in their expenditures between capital and interest; and the anxieties of trustees in their endeavors to protect the foolish or the spendthrift from squandering his inheritance, are clearly pictured in the section bearing the suggestive title of "The Third Generation and Invested Property." This section is supplemented by an equally interesting and a very practical discussion of "The Perils of Will-Making." The danger consists chiefly, not in the loose, awkward, or unclear terms of the will, but rather in the disregarding of the prescribed forms. For the court, sometimes by a process of very hard logic, is pretty sure to discover the testator's real intention; while the forms "prescribed for the execution of wills are framed for the protection of those making them, and the witnesses have been aptly described as 'a body-guard surrounding the testator' to circumvent fraud and collusion."

Looked at from the unique viewpoint of a keen-eyed magistrate, many an illuminating flashlight is thrown on present-day social processes and conditions in the sections on "Feminism in Fiction and in Real Life," "Domestic Relations and the Child," "The Limits of Feminine Independence," and "Marriage and Divorce." In particular, the author's freedom from dogmatic and traditional prejudice in discussing the divorce movement in the United States is praiseworthy. He recognizes that the need of a uniform marriage law is more urgent than that of a uniform divorce law. "The cardinal difficulty in the way of reconciling these numerous disparities so that the marriage laws of the nation may be virtually similar is the tenacity of tradition. Perhaps the most pressing immediate need is the general adoption of the so-called marriage evasion act, the aim of which is to prevent couples disabled or prohibited from marrying under the laws of the state where they dwell from going elsewhere to be married and returning to their native state to set up housekeeping unchallenged."

Reform in our marriage laws is hindered by "false sentimentality in alliance with the vulgarly independent notion that marriage in a democracy is nobody's real business except the bride's and groom's."

One might "assume that the marriage of the epileptic, imbecile, or feeble-minded would be universally prohibited as tending to perpetuate idiocy, shiftlessness, and crime, but the roll of the states would show that the statutes restraining this are little more numerous than those to prevent clandestine marriage outside the state."

These few extracts and summaries must perforce suffice to suggest the rich contents of one of the wisest books which has come to the aid of the social servant in many a day.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Canon Barnett, His Life and Friends. By HENRIETTA O. R. BARNETT. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 2 vols. Pp. 24+392; 12+415. \$8.00.

This life of Samuel Barnett will not be read because he was rector of St. Jude's, canon of the Church of England, or dean of Westminster, but because our interest centers in him as founder and warden of Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel.

Generally, a biography of a husband by a wife is left unread, but this of Canon Barnett and his friends by Mrs. Barnett is unusual in that she has given to the world the human side of one said by those who knew him to be a "moral genius" with a "passion for souls." Mr. Barnett's winning of souls was not by any modern revivalist's method but by living contact with human beings of all grades and shades of society. His rich personality made Toynbee Hall "the center of intellectual ferment, and the cradle of social movements," for Canon Barnett was one of the very few Anglican clergymen who welcomed every forward movement. He drew about him the men and women of that period in England when the social conscience was developing, when a sense of social obligation was quickened. This life tells of artists, statesmen, scientists, and men of letters, who shared with Whitechapel their best selves as well as their best productions.

It was at Ruskin's house that the group of friends of the Barnetts met to plan the founding of Toynbee Hall. It was Watts, Burne Jones, and Sir Frederick Leighton whose best pictures were loaned for "picture shows." It was James Bryce who organized and presided at the forum at Toynbee Hall. We read of Asquith, John Burns, Sir Edward Grey, Ben Tillet, the docker, members of Parliament, Oxford professors, workers on strike, all at home in free discussion at this free forum.

Social students will find in these two volumes the beginning and the evolution of the many movements for social and industrial betterment of the past century. We read of the Charity Organization Society developing from the small group about Octavia Hill, of the early efforts of the young Barnetts with the few in the great city of London who knew the tragic facts of the housing situation up to the present accomplishments of garden cities and government subsidies for local housing schemes. In these continuous experiences will be found inspiration for all who care for a new world.

The wide social horizon of the Barnetts is illustrated by two interesting bits from Volume II. In 1894 M. Clemenceau visited Toynbee Hall. Afterward he said: "While in England I saw but three really great men, and one was a pale clergyman in Whitechapel."

After one of Jane Addams' visits to England, in her relation to her hopes for international peace, she was under discussion by "four men, all so different that it makes their opinion of weight," Sir John Gorst, John Burns, Sidney Webb, and Canon Barnett all agreed that "she is the greatest man in America."

To the students of Oxford and Cambridge, Canon Barnett offered the opportunity at Toynbee "to learn the thought of the majority, the opinion of the English nation, to do something to weld classes into society." By his subtle force of personality he attracted original or earnest minds of all degrees, and turned their thoughts and faces toward the East End and its problems. His socialism would be scoffed at by the class-conscious socialist, as his Christianity was frowned at by his brothers in the Church of England. Yet he longed for a democratic civilization that was truly Christian. He tells of his young dream of going to America, and how that visit "knocked out of me all my Toryism." On every page is found his longing for equal opportunities for all people, especially for the children of the poor. His closing words in his letter to Mr. Horsfal are full of meaning in this day when a disquieted world is hoping and fearing. He says: "We have lived into times for which we hoped when we were young, times which are full of promise and full of danger. What is wanted are some people who will stop and look and tell us where we are, and where we are going."

This is the story of a modern mystic, whose spirituality expressed itself in simple common services for the neediest, through a philanthropy that believed in eliminating itself gradually by securing social legislation and making public service a religious and a patriotic duty.

MARY McDOWELL

The New Social Order—Principles and Programs. By HARRY F. WARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1919. Pp. vii+384. \$2.50.

Coming at a time when conservative public opinion in the United States is undergoing some healthy revision of its earlier drastic restrictions on liberal thought and speech, Professor Ward's book on *The New Social Order* is opportune. When leading men of all parties are beginning to see that the post-war reactionism has come perilously near forcing upon the nation the very violence of radicalism they had been hoping to avoid; and when there is beginning to be a saner willingness to give a fair American hearing at least to honest progressives trying to point out that the world still moves, it is to be hoped that the time is ripe for a statement of the most important programs of constructive reform now multiplying throughout the earth.

In this book Professor Ward courageously and expertly sets forth the principles and official programs of the more influential radical bodies and especially of those liberals who are taking Christian ethics seriously as a guide out of the present intolerable social conflicts.

In Part I, "The Principles of the New Social Order," the author expounds, from a Christian social point of view, the programs of the British Labor party, of the Russian soviet republic, of the League of Nations, of some movements in the United States, and of the churches. Under "Movements in the United States," Professor Ward analyzes the platforms of the Socialist party, the Independent Labor party launched last year at Chicago, the American Labor party of greater New York, the Non-Partisan League, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, the American Federation of Labor, the Berne Conference of Trade-Unionists and Socialists, the National Woman's Trade-Union League of America, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States—with mention of others also. For the churches he presents with comments "The Social Creed"; formulated by the Federal Council of the Churches in 1908, and analyzes the recent important and official utterances of Councils of the Church of England, the English Church Socialist League, the London Friends, the American and Canadian Methodists, the American Catholics, and others. The list of the increasing exponents of a new moral order is significant.

This book contains the first synthetic analysis of the important forward-looking programs of our time, brought under the steady white light of Christian ethics and honestly faced with the question what they require the intelligent citizen to do.

Dissenting from certain points of the program presented, as at variance with the fundamental principles of justice and social sanity, Professor Ward, nevertheless, points out that, taken together, they constitute not only a consuming indictment of the present economic order, but an insistent prophecy of a better order to come—perhaps, if we are wise, at no very distant day. The spirit and reasoning of the book may be summed up in the following quotations. "The goal is, in broad terms, a fraternal world community, the great loving family of mankind, knit together by common needs but most of all by common loyalty to common ideals, and by the power of its common love efficiently directing and controlling its common life." To achieve a working approximation of this ideal Professor Ward relies upon free popular education. He says:

Many of the plain people are coming to understand something of the origin and development of society, to get some inkling of how its customs and authority, its beliefs and ideals have arisen in the past. As this knowledge becomes diffused, the goal of social development will become clearer not only to the seers and philosophers, but also to the common folk. . . . Whatever struggle or pain or sacrifice is involved, brotherhood will be achieved. The principles and ideals which the peoples of the earth are gradually choosing as the center of a new order constitute a rational religion, the religion of democracy. . . . The plain people are learning to discard the advice of the controlled press and think and act for themselves. . . . In the new order service is the chosen privilege of free men who agree that they will seek the common development and jointly control themselves and the universe to that end. . . . One outstanding development of the war has been to strengthen the demand of the working class for freedom. . . . The question is now whether this self-conscious, self-dependent working class is going to seek only freedom and power for itself or whether it will seek the emancipation and development of all humanity. . . . "Above all nations is humanity." In the Western World there is only one answer to the armed dictatorship of the proletariat, on the one hand, or the forcible repression by the ruling class of all orderly attempts at fundamental economic change, on the other, and that is a war of extermination. . . . Whether or not economic readjustment in the British Empire and the United States is to come by gradual and orderly change is for the people of property to say. If they put their trust in force they will finally meet force; if they rest their case on reason and justice they will be dealt with in reason and justice. . . . Democracy is safe only when the strong exercise their strength for the common good, when they are leaders and not masters. . . . The world needs to listen to all propaganda for a new order that does not advocate or involve the use of violence. If political democracy is afraid of the competition of ideas it thereby confesses that its case rests upon coercion,

that it is not democracy at all, but something else masquerading under that name. . . . The experience of the war has heavily discounted among the workers that rigid state socialism which would set the political machine to run the economic life. What is more likely to develop is an amalgam of political and industrial organization working together in a joint control of the vital processes of society. The principles of democracy demand direct control of each economic function by all of those directly engaged in it, but each co-ordinating control of all the functions by all the people.

Through his debating days at Northwestern University and his ministry "back of the Yards" in Chicago, and his secretaryship of the Methodist Social Service Federation, and his later seminary professorships, Dr. Ward has been developing a very unusual fluency of speech, mental power, and moral insight that appear strikingly in this book. Although some of the chapters on the principles might well have been a little shorter and crisper, the style is always interesting, at times rising to natural and impressive eloquence; and the thought is throughout clear and weighty. This is one of the most important books for the citizen of this generation to read thoughtfully, and read at an early date. The matters dealt with are crowding fast upon us for wise control.

C. J. BUSHNELL

TOLEDO UNIVERSITY

Mind and Conduct. By HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919. Pp. ix+236. \$1.75 net.

Dr. Marshall's interesting book is philosophy rather than scientific psychology. The author discusses, in the light of the hypothesis of a thoroughgoing psycho-physical parallelism, the relations of consciousness and behavior, the self, creativeness and ideals, freedom and responsibility, and, in the field of ethics, pleasure and pain, happiness, intuition and reason as guides to conduct.

While accepting a rigid or thoroughgoing correspondence of "noetic" and "neururgic" processes, even to the extent of denying that "there is any state of unconsciousness so long as life exists," Mr. Marshall escapes a thoroughgoing mechanistic conception of life and behavior by finding an element of creative spontaneity in all nature. This creative spontaneity is not confined to organic matter, but, in less degree, is a property of all matter. It is the source of variation and creative evolution throughout nature. No mystic view of this creative spontaneity is necessary, such as that it is due to an "entelechy," since mechanistic laws are abstractions which do not take in the total reality. From this

point of view some trenchant criticism is directed toward both mechanists and vitalists, as those terms are ordinarily understood. The mechanistic conception is scientific only so long as it is used merely as a method to describe certain aspects of behavior.

It follows that our consciousness of freedom, initiative, and creativeness is not an illusion. This consciousness is merely the subjective accompaniment of the objective process of creative spontaneity, which characterizes all nature and especially living organisms. The objective creativeness of life is accompanied by the subjective sense of creativeness. Self-determination through ideas and ideals is, therefore, not an illusion. New ideas and ideals are the most striking subjective manifestations of the creative process in human society, and are the means, together with their neural correlates, by which society makes most of its new adaptations. To ignore the significance of ideas and ideals in human conduct is accordingly a species of scientific folly.

The book is open to criticism at many points, but in spite of its defects it is to be commended as an essentially successful attempt, whether we accept its philosophy or not, to show how such processes as creativeness and ideals, freedom and responsibility, may be brought within the field of science. Mechanists and environmental determinists among the sociologists especially would do well to read the book.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

The Social Problem. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. (Revised edition.) New York: Macmillan Co., 1919. Pp. 416. \$1.75.

Professor Ellwood's books are invariably a social service in themselves. This book is a task of brokerage between our individual desire to understand synthetically the forces of the contemporary social movement and the great unrest, so all-confounding rationally and spiritually in its multifarious aspects, pressingly demanding the re-socialization of so many conflicting interests. The social kaleidoscope moves too blindly fast even for the most alert and careful student of society. Bolshevism, guild socialism, the Labor party, the proletarian awakening in general—are they all arraigned against the old order, clearly and uncompromisingly? It is impossible to tell, for the new conscience is struggling and muddling through to the new world now by concession, now through revolt, frequently bloody and always tragic. When the socialist speaks of the passing of the anarchic economy, he forgets that our capitalists are not nebular hypotheses but right here in our midst, and that their

system will "pass" only by reaching its tentacles deeply into the next system. Industrial democracy is unthinkable without its capitalist heredity. The socialization of wealth and service is not the antithesis of the present order, but it will come through its development. Is not our own day, so boastfully emancipated from the idols of the past, full of slavish atavisms of class and tribe?

Professor Ellwood commands a sharp perspective into the many currents—psychic, social, and telluric—which flow into our rapid day. And he marshals all these introspections into a clear epitome, readable, broad-visioned and common-sensed. Such an abstract of *The Social Problem* would be a great tonic to the reader were it not for the ever-lurking doubt: Is there the social problem? Is there an "essence" to Christianity, to capitalism, to communism? Or is social economy so almost impossibly difficult just because the infinitely complex social nature defies clear scrutiny and scientific management?

BENJAMIN STOLBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Sociology and Modern Social Problems. Revised and enlarged edition. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri. American Book Co., 1919. Pp. 394. \$1.48.

When a thoroughly sane and sound and at the same time a genuinely dynamic sociological book demonstrates vitality enough to justify a revised edition, the fact is good reason for congratulating not only the author, publisher, and sociological colleagues, but even more the general public. So much toxic matter is consumed daily by American readers that the slightest evidence of increased demand for brain-building substance is heartening.

The perfect introductory book on sociology will probably never be written. Sufficient ground for this prediction is the fact that the constituency is a variable. No two classes even in the same school bring precisely the same mental content to a first course in sociology. It is impossible, therefore, with wisdom always to recommend the same book for ostensibly the same purpose. Professor Ellwood's elementary book, however, has proved its usefulness in many schools, and it can hardly fail to be more useful in its latest version. To the present writer it seems certain that the book has been made to cover a wider gamut of need by the insertion of the new chapters: "The Bearing of Modern Psychology on Social Problems," and "Theoretical Summary."

A. W. S.

Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great War. Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, No. 24. By ERNEST L. BOGART. New York: Oxford University Press, 1919. Pp. vi+338.

This book by Professor Bogart is the most complete and authentic account now in print of the losses of the war, stated in terms of dollars. The first eighteen sections review in some detail the direct money cost of each of the leading nations concerned and the financial methods employed in meeting that cost. The last three sections sum up these direct costs, present the indirect costs, and the general conclusion.

In the summary Professor Bogart states the costs in the following table:

Total direct costs, net.....	\$186,333,637,097	
Capitalized value of human life:		
Soldiers.....	\$33,551,276,280	
Civilians.....	33,551,276,280	
Property losses:		
On land.....	29,960,000,000	
Shipping and cargoes.....	6,800,000,000	
Loss of production.....	45,000,000,000	
War relief.....	1,000,000,000	
Loss to neutrals.....	1,750,000,000	151,612,542,560
Grand total.....	\$337,946,179,657	

As the author points out, this is, of course, not a complete statement, as no figures can give the further indirect losses of decreased vitality, moral derangements, economic dislocations, and aesthetic and political injuries of the subtler kind. The total, however, is sufficiently appalling to warrant serious efforts to prevent a repetition of such inconceivable wastes and miserable setbacks to civilization.

An interesting aspect of the work is the analysis of war finances, showing increasing emphasis on income and excess profit taxes; and an increasing heart-searching on the part of most nations as to what industries are "essential" and what "unessential," and especially, what incomes are "earned" and what "unearned."

The loss of life in the first two years of the great war is shown to have been greater than that in all wars in the nineteenth century.

The work bears the mark of painstaking cautions and scholarly method. An extensive bibliography and good index adds to its value.

C. J. BUSHNELL

The Political Future of India. By LAJPAT RAI. New York: Huebsch, 1919. Pp. 237. \$1.50.

Mr. Rai's little book is avowedly propagandist, as any ethical discussion of the Indian problem should be. None but a descriptive historian could attempt to discuss with equanimity the pacification of the recent outbreaks in the Punjab. But our sense to which Mr. Rai appeals is political fair play, and that to him is the very opposite of both antinomies, social suppression and social revolt. He wants democracy introduced into India adjustingly not precipitately. But adjustment is not always synonymous with Fabianism.

With Montagu and Chelmsford, then, Mr. Rai believes in the very swift, but none the less intelligent, metamorphosis of the Indian government from largely white to largely brown. He implies that India is not quite ready for Western political democracy, certainly not yet for industrial democracy. It is still in an oligarchic state. But it passionately desires a native oligarchy as against a foreign bureaucracy. To Downing Street it wishes to stand in the same relation as Canada and Australia. And unless such political transmigration takes place, India will never be in line for any form of democracy whatsoever.

Mr. Rai is a propagandist of compromise of the safest and sanest kind. He wishes the Montagu-Chelmsford report to serve as the bargaining basis. To further his ideal of social democracy practically in India he is fighting for what really amounts to the nationalization of foreign oppression. At the present stage of Indian polity he is wise enough to put himself into the anomalous position of pleading the cause of the hierarchy of caste for the ultimate sake of the Indian masses. And by implication he rejects the world-wide equalization of political and economic and social opportunities, for the safety of democracy in one place does not necessarily imply its sanity in another.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Essentials of Americanization. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1919. Pp. 303. (17 pages of bibliography.) \$1.50.

The book is written in splendid spirit and should be of good service to foreigners and to untrained Americanization workers. In the opening Dr. Bogardus briefly presents in four chapters the group of principles he calls "Americanisms." The chapter dealing with "Democracy and

the Square Deal," one of his four Americanisms, is the best in the book. It is much better than the other three, presenting the other Americanisms as he sees them, namely: "Liberty and Self-Reliance," "Union and Co-operation," "Internationalism and Brotherhood." The first two chapters are too florid in style. There is one bit of humor. See Mr. Roosevelt "Daring to show his teeth in the presence of special privilege, [whereby] he won a place among immortals." Immortal teeth!

Chapters devoted to presenting traits of the Indian, Negro, and Appalachian Americans follow, and should particularly prove suggestive to the foreigner who desires to study the subject from the point of view of Americanization problems. The chapter on the Negro is very good but inconclusive. Especially is this so in the suggestions that "a second line of procedure is to keep the ballot open to the Negroes," and also "a third set of suggestions involves undermining race prejudice." How? The chapter on the Appalachians, though of only nine pages, is especially gratifying to me.

Rapidly the most important of our immigrant groups are run before us, and a few distinguishing characteristics of each are noted. In an Appendix, Dr. Bogardus reproduces valuable statements of historic American ideals, such as the Mayflower Compact by the Pilgrims; others by Franklin, Henry, Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and other Americanists typical of their time. A short but suggestive bibliography follows.

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Industrial Nursing. By FLORENCE SWIFT WRIGHT, R.N. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919. Pp. x+179. \$1.25.

The purpose of this book is indicated by its subtitle, "for industrial, public health, and pupil nurses, and for employers of labor." After a brief historical introduction, the book takes up the qualifications and training of the industrial nurse and the principles of industrial nursing. Then comes a chapter on the industrial nurse and community, and this is followed by a number of practical chapters on first aid, the day's work, records and reports, food, etc. A particularly valuable chapter discusses the industrial nursing center, including the matter of industrial day nurseries, which are rightly condemned. The book is a good manual of the subject of which it treats.

C. A. E.

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Community Is a Process.—Community is a process; it is a creative process—creative because it is a process of integrating. Integration is the union of “wishes” in a working whole. An example of integrating as the creative social process is when two or three people meet to decide on some course of action, and separate with a new purpose and a new will acquired as the result of interweaving of all. In this way community process creates personality, purpose, will, and loyalty. Men have to stand before the world with joint decisions. The process of making these decisions by the interpenetrating of thought, desire, etc., transfers the center of consciousness from the single I to group I. Our conception of liberty depends upon where we put the center of consciousness. My individuality is where my center of consciousness is. From that center of consciousness, wherever it may be, our judgment issues. Accordingly, a man’s individuality stops where his power of collective willing stops. To learn how to join his thought with that of others so that the issue shall be productive is the greatest contribution a citizen can make to the state. The study of community as process does away with hierarchy, for it makes us dwell in the qualitative rather than in quantitative. Unifying activity is changing its quality every moment that the qualities interpenetrate so that at every moment the whole is new. We cannot schematize men as space objects. The whole or the unity is not the reduction to unity but the expansion toward unity; that is, the expanding process and the unifying process are the same. In other words, we are all capable of creating a collective will, and at the same time of developing an individual spontaneity and freedom. This is the community process.—Mary P. Follett, *Philosophical Review*, November, 1919. K. S.

The Unit of Civilization.—The last century has been notable for its tendency to human integration. In the political realm this is illustrated in nationalism which asserted itself in the unification of peoples of kindred race, language, and aspirations and in the organization of vast empires subordinating the lesser units to themselves. Empires have ranged themselves into alliances of empires, at last coming to deadly grip for the domination of the earth. The same integrating tendency has operated in the economic sphere. Imperialism and capitalism are twins, the root of which is the lust for power. There are signs, however, that the organization of humanity on the basis of power is failing. The cause of this is the internal diversity in the form of class strife. The process of integration has not been accompanied with a corresponding process of differentiation. Whether in the political or economic sphere, the tendency has been to efface localism and to ignore the personal human equation. But human nature is constituted for a life of personal relations and therefore it is not satisfied to be a cog in an impersonal machine. Hence a reactionary tendency of decentralization and disintegration has set in. The integration in spiritual and educational realms has also failed. The remedy seems to lie in the adoption of the smaller unit of association and activity. The number with which we can associate at any time is limited by human nature. We must encourage instead of suppress the individuality of the smaller units. The unit of personal relation and the unit of political control have never coincided nor can they wholly coincide. The state is too large a unit for intimate personal association. In short, the greatest problem of human organization for the future is the subtle and basic problem of the creative discovery of the molecule of civilization.—J. E. Boodin, *International Journal of Ethics*, January, 1920. K. S.

Latin-America’s Social Views.—The Second Pan-American Child Welfare Congress was recently held in Montevideo. Unlike our National Conference of Social Work, which does not take a stand on controversial matters, this international

American Congress is conducted largely for the purpose of arriving at conclusions after full discussion of each subject presented. It follows the European procedure and requires the submission in advance, not only of papers, but summaries of the authors' conclusions. These conclusions are announced, discussed, and adopted, amended or rejected by vote of those attending. Such action of the section meetings must be approved at a general session before it can represent the position of the Congress. Of necessity this procedure provokes lively discussion. At Montevideo, physicians, lawyers, educators, clergymen, and social workers from Argentina, Brazil, Chili, Uruguay, and other Latin-American countries came together and a few North Americans were present. The Congress was divided into four sections—medicine, hygiene, education, and sociology. Infant mortality, vital statistics, diseases of childhood, education, eugenics, sex education, dental work, treatment of the crippled, prevention of blindness, poor relief, abandoned children, industrial education, minimum wage, international co-operation, and the prevailing social system were all passed upon. The Congress summed up the general attitude as expressed in its conclusions in the following formal statement: "As all conclusions relative to individual and social problems of childhood—to wit, birth, death, crime, vagrancy, alcoholism, tuberculosis, degeneracy, education, treatment and hygiene—recognise the economic factor as a primary cause because it is present in all . . . all efforts for the welfare of children should, with due regard to the special solution which each problem may require, be directed toward modifying the bad economic organization of the present social system." The section on education urges that "American governments aid in every possible way in promoting excursions within each country and from one country to another, for purposes of study as arranged by scientific institutions, learned bodies, and educational establishments."—Dr. Edward N. Clopper, *The American Child*, November, 1919. O. B. Y.

Does Americanization Americanize?—There are three methods favored at various times as means of converting the alien into an American: (1) naturalization, (2) assimilation, (3) Americanization. The latter method involves two distinct processes: divesting one's self of a deep-rooted patrimony of old ideas, sentiments, and traditions, and whole-hearted acceptance of and participation in a new set of ideas, sentiments, and standards. To remedy our past errors and prevailing unrest we have adopted Americanization as a quick means of making Americans out of mixed immigrants. This shows much loose thinking on the subject of Americanization. And the fact the first professorship of Americanization in this country was fitted into a department of political economy indicates how even trained minds tend to look at the process from too narrow a standpoint. Human experience, history, and science show that mass or speedy Americanization is impossible by any of the methods suggested or applied. The legalistic Americanization or naturalization has increased undesirable voters in our electorate and some of our Congressmen propose legislation which will add to our un-American or pseudo-American vote. Americanization is a spiritual process and to become Americanized one must conform his whole moral character, his speech, vote, thought, hope, and plan to America and its institutions. This nation has two functions in history and toward mankind: to disseminate principles of democracy, freedom, and humanity throughout the world and to be a nation characteristically American. It is this latter function that we have sacrificed or endangered by our accelerated Americanization.—Gino Speranza, *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1910. C. N.

The Russian Problem in the United States.—Few problems have been brought so forcibly before the public in this country as that of the proper method of handling the "red" menace. The exigencies of life make Americans of foreign children, without regard to blood or family tie, but leave their parents and other adults too often outside the pale, misunderstood and misunderstanding, unassisted in their struggle for the betterment of their social condition. The cause of this lies in the lack of proper educational provisions and sympathy of the Americans toward them. Night schools, as they are at present, help the Russian workman but little. He has no patience, no time to spend a year to learn English alone; he wants to learn productive skill at the same time. Then teachers too often neglect to study or to take into account his peculiar psychology. Few Americans realize how many Russians there are in this country and

what a chance to make permanent friendship with working Russia has been lost through neglect to get acquainted in time with their needs. There are at present four hundred thousand real Russians in the United States, the majority of whom live in cities and factory towns. Recently the Russian Collegiate Institute was founded by the aid of the Carnegie Foundation, the purpose of which is to offer to Russian workmen useful knowledge of life and work. The Institute is divided into preparatory, academic, and technical departments, and such subjects as English, Russian, mathematics, chemistry, etc., are being taught. In all departments the work is increasing rapidly, demonstrating the great need for precisely this type of work. The Institute needs the support of the American public. It is only by the assimilation through proper education that the Russian problem in the United States can be satisfactorily solved.—A. Petrunkevitch, *Standard*, February, 1920.

K. S.

Ein Brief aus Böhmen.—The author criticizes an article by Menenius in one of the former issues of *Die Grenzboten* on the Czecho-Slovak question as being written from the standpoint of a Czech or Jew, and as being against the autonomy of Germans in Bohemia. He points out the following attitudes of the German people of the north Bohemian border: Germans do not fear the Czech government, but the Czech majority. They do not trust the people who for eight centuries held the ideal of their own state, but would not give Germans an autonomy. He does not agree with Menenius who is an Arian-German and who said that Germans of Bohemia would have more influence in the foreign affairs of Czecho-Slovakia if they give up their desire for autonomy. He denies that without the Czecho-Slovak state the groups of Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenians would not be able to exist as independent. He thinks it is a utopia to have the Germans of Bohemia join Germany, and hopes that their denationalization will be bearable to the nationalistic feeling and sense of justice. He is sorry that the Germans of Prague are against German autonomy. The public opinion in Germany is also strongly influenced, by the Czechs living there, in their favor.—Peter Ritschel, *Die Grenzboten*, December, 1919.

J. H.

Lamartine—a Study of the Poetic Temperament in Politics.—The Revolution of 1848 promised much and fulfilled little. In its tragic failure to fulfil the two political ideals of the nineteenth century, nationalism and democracy, lay the evil seeds that finally produced the crop of woe in 1914. Lamartine embodied the generous hopes and cruel failures of the Revolution. He engaged in political activities in the spirit of the Romantic poet ardently interested in public affairs as a means of self-expression. Throughout his political life he never identified himself with any political party, never advocated any policy of action, and never held any definable political views; yet he played a great rôle in the world of his day and profoundly influenced his fellow-countrymen for many years. His influence over the masses was essentially poetic, being achieved through the utterance of beautiful sentiments in beautiful language. A crowd is essentially a poetic group. A crowd has no idea, method, or discipline. It has emotions and sentiments, and hence it is essentially a poetic grouping of individuals. A mob orator is always something of a poet. He captivates the crowd by his "oratory," and what is oratory if not poetry chanted to the multitude. Lamartine was eloquence itself. But he was no mere word juggler. He was a true nineteenth-century liberal believing sincerely in "principles" "liberty," and "progress." His gift of words was so great that when he delivered an excellent speech he thought that he had actually formulated a policy. While his speeches were clear and logical, in action Lamartine was weak and inconsistent. He did not realize that there are two political worlds that never meet. One is the world of the masses, wherein the atmosphere is surcharged with emotion and sentiment. The crowd is always altruistic. It can be moved by appeals to patriotism, to humanity, to race, to party, to religion. Even in case of mob violence the motive is always altruistic devotion to a cause. The other world—the world of those "interested" in swaying the crowd to act this way or that—is small but potent. The secret in Lamartine's failure lay in the fact that he was a political monist and was not conscious of these two worlds. When, in 1848, he found himself, as he said, "alone amidst interests and passions," he went down to swift destruction, leaving behind only a pathetic memory.—J. Salwyn Shapiro, *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1919.

O. B. Y.

Religion as the Basis of Social Reconstruction.—The social order, which our armies and police forces had maintained, is breaking up and there is a growing sense of insecurity everywhere. The idea of social reconstruction attracts all classes and all types of mind to formulate schemes of practical reform. These rebuilders seem to have ignored two factors in dealing with the problem—education and religion. As regards the latter our conception of God has been defective. God is thought of as the supernatural creator and therefore as the autocratic ruler of the universe. We have worshipped the transcendent God, and this conception of God has embodied itself in the existing social structure. That structure has long shown signs of decay and is now falling to pieces. Let us worship the immanent God—"the life of man's inmost life, the soul of man's inmost soul." Then God is the true self of each of us and we are all potentially equal. Disinterested devotion, to the immanent, the universal God is the beginning and end of communal life, and this is the key to the problem of social reconstruction. The orthodox education has been a failure because of its uncritical acceptance of traditional methods. It has taught the child everything else but the lesson of disinterested devotion, of self-realization through self-forgetfulness, of losing the world that he may find his soul. Let us base education on the cult of the immanent God. Then the reform of our social life will become something more than a politician's promise or an enthusiast's dream.—Edmond Holmes, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, November, 1919. C. N.

Geburtenrueckgang und Gesetzgebung nach dem Kriege.—With the crushing of imperialistic ideals and the leadership of the social-democratic party in Germany, a marked difference in attitude toward legislation affecting birth-control is already making itself felt. Before the war, political theory strove for the utmost increase in population. The former régime, on the basis of the maintenance of an adequate standing army, pursuit of a definite colonial policy, and economic and commercial theories of expansion, made every effort to legislate against birth-control. With its political and military power crushed and the changed governmental control due to the internal revolution, it must necessarily follow that, in the field of social control, legislation will be dominated by other viewpoints than formerly. Legislation that arose for the protection of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children was not so much a humane measure as it was one destined rather to benefit the nation. The regulation of all problems concerned with sexual relations will be decided, in the future, from the standpoint of social hygiene and social welfare rather than from the standpoint of a political problem of population. Social democracy accustomed to favor birth-control as part of the socialistic program in recent literature has upheld the postulate, likely to become a law, that the question of abortion is one concerning the personal liberty of the woman involved. Future legislation, therefore, will tend to abolish some existing laws relating to various forms of birth-prevention and birth-control, and to mitigate prevailing forms of punishment.—Dr. Hirsch, "Rechtsanwalt," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, November, 1919. L. M. S.

Opgaver og Idealer.—A world-order has crumbled and a new one must be built up, not only the relations between nations, but the relations between classes and interests among every people. For this new order only one foundation is possible, human solidarity. The doctrine of war as a biological or divine law and the special right of chosen peoples to rule over others have brought the world to the brink of destruction. The new doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle as a social-political religion will perhaps lead the same way. It has now become urgently necessary that people, first as citizens of their several historically developed states and secondly as world-citizens, learn to co-operate with one another in the effort to create a better world. One of the constructive forces in our society is the school. It is no revolutionary power, but like the mills of the gods it acts slowly and surely. In its ceaseless influence on the growing generations lies its strength. There is a strong movement for the reorganization of the school system in the former belligerent countries. The German school has in the past been a true reflection of this people's historical life and social structure. Now it is demanded that the whole school system shall be brought into harmony with the new revolution. We learn the principles of this new education from the manifesto of the first Prussian minister of

education, Adolph Hoffmann. There is to be free opportunity for all. It is the pedagogical principles of the great French revolution which are rising again on German soil. In France there is a movement for the greater integration of the school system and in England the war has broken down the tradition-bound conservatism and a new educational policy is being formulated which will bring England to the forefront in the matter of public education.—Otto Anderson, *Samtiden*, November, 1919. O. B. Y.

Der Weltarbeiterschutz im Friedensvertrag.—Owing to the failure of the Allies to provide for passage which would have enabled them to arrive on time, the German delegates could not be present at the recent session of the International Labor Conference, which met in Washington, October 29, 1919. Their absence was a distinct loss for the cause of labor, because the German proposals for international regulation of labor problems, the plan of which was submitted at Versailles, simultaneously with that for the formation of a league of nations, far surpassed in scope the measures considered at Washington. The German demands included security of the right to organize labor bureaus for the regulation of unemployment, social insurance, and protection of home labor. If the terms of the program of the International Labor Conference are to be taken at all seriously, they must seek the same goal as the German proposals. But even the mild terms of the program of the International Labor Conference, as determined by the Entente in connection with the peace treaty, will bring the United States face to face with a social revolution. They mean nothing less than complete annihilation of social legislation for the United States, the land which decided the world-war, which, in consequence, controls the economic situation of the whole world, and which has secured this position by means of the most far-reaching and least restrained power of the entrepreneur over labor, which exists in modern times. Labor legislation in the United States is on a vastly inferior plane and more antiquated than that of European countries as regards accident insurance, old-age, health, sick, and invalid insurance. Its legislation for the protection of children is hampered by the fact that industrial regulation is a matter of the individual states and not of the federal government. Regulations as to hours of labor for adults, particularly those of women, are also far behind those of European countries. Protection of labor is further hindered in the United States by the fact that the supreme courts may declare any individual state legislation illegal. The question of the open or closed shop, that of the right to organize, and that of co-operative bargaining is still unsolved. The problem facing the United States today is the development of its political democracy into social democracy, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of peace and the league of nations. The terms of the labor program incorporated in the peace treaty are sufficiently general to make evasions possible. Work is not to be treated as a commodity. This is purely negative. A positive and comprehensive demand would be that labor should be protected economically and in regard to health and morals, against transgressions of the entrepreneur. The right of organization for all purposes not antagonistic to law is obscured by that very phrase, "not antagonistic to law." The regulation of wages for each country in keeping with a standard demanded by its own time and place leaves room for the dictation of that standard, in each land, by its ruling class. The 8-hour day and the 48-hour week are pointed out as "ideals" to be striven for, not as reforms immediately to be realized. Sunday is not demanded as a day of rest, but a 24-hour day of rest, weekly. This leaves room for overtime work on Sunday. Equal pay for equal work is a mere phrase so long as women lack organization. The final clause, stating that all these measures are not to be considered final or conclusive but rather as a guide for the league of nations, may either strengthen or weaken all that precedes.—Max Quarck, *Die Neue Zeit*, December 5-12, 1919. L. M. S.

A Reconstruction Program for Country Churches.—Having developed machinery that played a decisive part in the war, the church is in a strategic position to continue this work in the interest of reconstruction. Rural churches are particularly important in that they are often the only agency by which this work can be accomplished in their communities. War-time committees should continue to function, ushering army men back into constructive civilian pursuits. These committees should see to it that suitable community memorials to men in the service are erected, that service flags and

records contained in unpublished letters from soldiers and sailors are preserved, and that particularly men who are handicapped by the effects of wounds are re-educated into a self-respecting life. The rural church can perform an invaluable service by encouraging co-operation with state agricultural colleges and farm bureaus on the part of farmers in the community. Farmers and emergency farm laborers can be stimulated to a realization of the importance of sustained production of indispensable crops, likewise of mutual fair treatment and kindly sympathy. The emphasis of the church must be upon a forward-looking program. The preacher must realize the vital importance of his pulpit as a factor in social as well as military morale.—*Joint Committee on War Production Communities, New York City.* R. W. N.

Die Einwanderung in America.—From October, 1819, to the end of 1914 the American statistics show 32,027,424 immigrants admitted to the United States. Since 1908 large numbers are going back. The majority of emigrants from the United States are going to Canada. The migration from and to France was always very small. The largest immigration in the recent years was coming from the east and south of Europe. The chief advocates of restrictions upon immigration are the labor unionists, who are in a fear of European labor competition, though the enormous development of America is due to the immigrant labor.

The majority of immigrants to Canada are coming from Great Britain and Ireland and the United States. They have also many restrictions similar to those standing in the United States.

Brazil was the most important goal of European emigrants, especially from Portugal, Spain, and Italy. The number of the German colonists is estimated at about 400,000, i.e., those who hold their national consciousness for generations.

Immigration to Argentina is coming largely from Spain and Italy. Italian is rather decreasing. The Germans in Argentina are estimated at 100,000. The immigration to the other Latin-American countries is not very large, and not statistically recorded.—H. Fehlinger, *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, December, 1919. J. H.

Sozialismus und Bevölkerungsfrage.—The formulation of an adequate population-theory is the key to the solution of the most vital problems confronting Germany today, under the socialistic régime. It is a problem which strikes at the core of the Marxian thesis of "the law of the reserve army" of the proletariat. Families have diminished in size in cities and in rural districts, since the exploitation of child-labor was checked by protective legislation. The surplus due to improved technique has become almost negligible in the light of numerous inventions, which make new demands on labor. The labor force thus freed is small compared with the surplus due to a high birth-rate, which in recent years has been 75,000. If the influx of female labor is added to this, the result is the addition to the population of a million laborers annually. Strange to say, the importance of the problem of population in relation to socialism has not been considered. International conferences do not discuss it. It is as much an international problem as the regulation of an 8-hour day or old-age insurance, and is no insignificant factor in the development of war and peace, economic and race problems. In the last forty years, Germany's population increased thirty millions. If in one hundred years, Germany should have four hundred millions, even the application of the most ideal communistic principles would fail to support them. Even if emigration reduces their number, it is economic waste for Germany and merely adds to the surplus of "working slaves" abroad. The rearing of large families adds to the burden of those members of the state capable of work. If many children prevent the mother's participation in industrial work, the father will have to work overtime. To be sure the socialistic community can relieve him of the burden, but the fact remains that it is then only transferred from the individual to the people as a whole. There may come an era when Germany will depend entirely on her own agricultural products. This will bring an intensification of work for each small family. The prices of raw materials imported will, in all probability, exceed those of the manufactured wares exported. But the greater the increase of population, the greater will be the dependence on imported raw materials and the necessity of increased hours of labor. As long as capital is not entirely socialized, the relation of socialism to the problem of population

can only be indicated. But if organized labor, protected by the state, can bargain with the entrepreneur it can set its own price, if uninfluenced by an army of surplus labor.—Felix A. Theilhaber, Wilmersdorf, *Die Neue Generation*, May, 1919. L. M. S.

Der Frauenüberschuss.—Before the war, the surplus of women in Germany was 2.5 per cent; since the war, it is 8.5 per cent. The surplus of those of marriageable age amounts to from 14 to 15 per cent as compared with that of 5 per cent, which existed in pre-war times. The social and economic importance of this fact need not be emphasized. For an indefinite period, at least one-seventh of the women of marriageable age must remain unmarried. A part of these consist of war-widows. But this fraction, one-seventh, represents the minimum; for of the men of marriageable age many are unfit for marriage on account of disease or lack of vitality due to undernourishment or the effects of military service. This is balanced by the fact that women are increasingly entering occupations, another fact which either delays or hinders marriage. Furthermore, the high cost of living will tend to delay marriage. All of these conditions point to the approach of a period in which legal marriage will tend to be increasingly ignored, while the number of illegitimate children will increase. The deplorable results of all of these factors from the moral standpoint can only be hinted at. The percentage of criminals among the unmarried is known to be very high. The possibility that women may strike and refuse to become mothers should not be underestimated. The increasing number of abortions points that way. On the economic side, even if the approaching socialization of Germany will call for reduced production—which is still problematical—there can be no doubt that the present demands systematic distribution. This can best be approached by enforced reduction of the hours of labor, which will necessitate an increased number of female laborers.—Dr. Hans Guradze, Berlin, *Die Neue Generation*, June-July, 1919.

L. M. S.

Die wirtschaftlichen Wettbewerber in Südrussland.—Europe works feverishly on the reconstruction of her economic life. Her most important problem of today is Russia. Whether Soviet Russia will return to the capitalistic system is not yet certain, but her communistic experiments have resulted in the disorganization of her economic life. South Russia or Ukraine with her land and raw materials and her need of machinery and other manufactured articles offers an enormous market. Denikin's government has established a good order and business relations with other countries. The Allies have supported him. England seeks the South Russian markets. So also does America, and France, which has organized the Banque Nationale du Commerce Extérieur to finance the trade with South Russia. A commission of American commercial and financial interests headed by Rockefeller went to Rostov on Don to investigate the local situation, where, according to American consular reports, especially automobiles are in a big demand. Italy tries to get there with coal and other raw materials. Switzerland is again starting her exports. In Belgium the course of the ruble is going up because of the new investment interests. Poland is also exporting textiles to Rostov on Don and trying to establish firms for the trade with Ukraine. Also, a commercial treaty is being worked out for the export of goods from Poland to the Black Sea ports. Czecho-Slovakia with her highly developed industries seeks markets in South Russia for raw materials and her finished products. She is not afraid of English, French, American, and Japanese competition as she has the advantage with her proximity to the markets. The South Russian Ministry of Commerce sent delegates to Prague, in October, to make contracts with the Czech firms. Also Germany must start her relations with Ukraine and use the advantage of the low Russian exchange rate. There lies the greatest field for the German economic advancement.—Johann Gunther, *Die Grenzboten*, December, 1919.

J. H.

Industrial Unrest: a Plea for National Guilds.—National guilds are not only a possible but also an adequate substitute for the existing wage-earning system. The main features of the proposed guilds are as follows: (1) It is proposed that all workers be members of guilds. (2) The guilds will take under control and superintendence all labor and its products. (3) The guilds will remunerate labor according to the service

rendered and will hold themselves responsible for the material comfort of all workmen who belong to their membership. (4) They will give to each worker a definite place and determine the conditions under which he labors. (5) The guilds will take under their control all that pertains to commerce. They will purchase raw material, manufacture it into finished articles, and distribute them among consumers at prices which exclude profiteering. (6) Every industry will have its own guilds, but all the guilds will be closely related to each other, and also form one national guild directly under the aegis of the state. There will likewise be a guild congress, consisting of representatives from all the guilds in order to secure unity. (7) Within the guilds the only power which members will absolutely possess and use is the economic. Politics will not be their concern. The government keeps within its own province and does not even attempt the discharge of any individual functions. Herein national guilds differ from state socialism. They will, indeed, be a mediating influence between state socialism and syndicalism. Under them the state will provide for the workers' entire individual autonomy. (8) National guilds will be in cordial co-operation and will work in partnership with the state. On one side, land and industrial machinery used by the guilds will be property of the state, which will hold them as trustee; and on the other, the state will have a claim to a substitute for economic rent. Although it is not claimed that the guilds can be brought into full operation at once, yet, in the face of present social unrest, the proposed plan is worthy of consideration as embodying a positive and constructive measure.—J. W. Harper, *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1919.
K. S.

Industrial Partnership.—Before this era of machinery the laborer's work satisfied his creative instinct. Then a single workman made a whole thing—a shoe or a sword. Such work released his creative energies and moved man to make more things. But today the laborer's work consists of shutting off this valve and turning on that one. This kind of work is drudgery; it is dehumanizing, brutalizing, and destroys individual initiative and sterilizes the artist. But the industrial system is here to stay. The problem is how to humanize it. Among many plans suggested are profit-sharing, betterment of living conditions, or industrial education. We cannot see how these things will correct existing evils, for none of them are aimed at the root of the industrial system's stultification of the individual workman's building instinct. Profit-sharing plus a voice in the control of the business, i.e., partnership has a chance of satisfying the workman's building instinct. "A share in the control of production might open up to the human machines of the factories the only labor that is happiness, the labor that knows that it will reap where it has sown and also according to its sowing, that shares in the execution and in the design and the responsibility, that pockets not a wage but a profit or a loss."—John Manning Booker, *Yale Review*, January, 1920.
C. N.

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CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRY¹

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Even with my limited abilities it would not be hard to be more interesting on this subject than I shall allow myself to be. Only a small fraction of the witty and plausible things have been said about the problem that will be said before November. Something more than smart sayings will be necessary, however, before we shall have got very far toward resolving the situation. Christianizing any part of life always has been an irksome task, and it is not likely to be less so in the future. It is almost as hard to state the task in proportioned and balanced terms as it is to contribute toward its performance. Christians are due for much hard thinking before they are qualified to plan intelligently for the Christianizing of industry. My aim now is to locate some of the more important points of departure for surveying the central moral question of our time. I must try to be judicial, although I know that to succeed I must be tedious.

But this is not the worst. In nine-tenths of what I am about to say I may seem to have ignored the subject entirely, and to have

¹The last of a series of ten lectures delivered Sunday afternoons of the Winter Quarter, 1920, by members of the Faculty of the University of Chicago, on the general subject: "Christianity and the Modern World."

halted at the start to mark time with trite observations about preliminaries. In my own conception, however, in the first nine-tenths of what I shall say I shall be trying to weld several strands of substantial commonplace into a shaft solid and weighty enough to carry the arrowhead of specially pertinent detail in the remaining tenth.

I would not inflict the dull analysis that follows, if it were not my deliberate judgment that a university man cannot say the things which I shall say at last, without danger of doing more harm than good; unless he prepares the way for them by proof that they are not mere outbursts of superficial feeling, but conclusions from laborious survey in three dimensions.

It might seem desirable to treat the subject historically. All of us would be glad to know the whole story about the influence which Christianity has had throughout its ages in promoting economic justice.

Unfortunately, nobody knows that whole story, and probably no one ever will. The records are incomplete, and such as they are they never tell the whole truth—not even about their own time and place.

For instance, the influence of Martin Luther upon the acute issues of industrial justice in his own day is still a dubious question. It is by no means certain that the great reformer of the church was not a tool of industrial repression and oppression.

For another instance a member of our own historical department has brought to light the fact that one of the most important theological seminaries in the United States, a seminary not unknown to most residents of Chicago, was founded probably in part for the glory of God, but certainly in part to defeat the abolitionists.

It is easier to picture the past as we wish it had been than as it really was. When I was first studying church history in the theological seminary a book appeared which has served as a warning to me ever since. It was by Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, at that time regarded by many as the most eminent pulpit orator in the United States. The book was entitled *The Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by Its Historical Effects*. The volume was large and imposing in appearance, and the contents would

be equally imposing upon any completely passive mind. Upon any mind that demands proof and weighs evidence the book would make the impression of an extravagantly exaggerated claim. I have not seen it for many years, but to the best of my recollection it credits Christianity with every good thing which Western civilization has accomplished. The fact is that during most of its lifetime Christianity has been maintaining a desperate struggle for mere survival within this Western civilization, yes, even within the church which professes to be the embodiment of Christianity. The unvarnished truth is that many of the achievements of Western civilization have been realized in spite of deadly opposition within the church. Any encouragement to these achievements which may have come from the modicum of Christianity that persisted within the church is often invisible, and its effects are only partially measurable. We think we can recognize the Christian spirit whenever it shows itself warring against the discordant un-Christian spirit of a given time. Social issues are usually so confused, however, that we are not always able to distinguish genuine Christianity from unscrupulous hypocrisy. All in all then, every man with fairly developed historical sense is aware that we have at best very inadequate means of measuring the relative influence of Christianity. As a matter of strict reasoning, therefore, we are in a position only to *guess* how much or how little of what we value in present civilization would have been here if Christianity had never come into existence at all.

It may even turn out that Bernard Shaw's fling may rise to the rank of a sober historical conclusion, namely, the strongest argument for Christianity is *that it has never been tried!*

But I must protest against being misunderstood. I am not belittling Christianity. I am not impeaching the quality of its influence wherever it has succeeded in making itself felt. I do not doubt that Christianity has wrought effectively for good in the life of the Western peoples. I simply warn that it is a mistaken service to Christianity to claim for it more than can be proved. Christianity has been only one among many factors that have shaped Western civilization. Social science is so immature as yet that not even an adequate *technique* for measuring the proportional

influence of these factors has been invented. Even if we had the technique, it is more than doubtful whether the necessary evidence can ever be recovered to furnish the technique the material for accurate proportional rating of the different factors in civilization. The material and intellectual achievements of Babylonians and Egyptians and Greeks, for example, were before Christianity. The Ten Commandments were before Christianity. Such accomplishments as these were men's discoveries of physical and moral values by the processes of experimentation. Doubtless those processes would have continued, with or without Christianity. We believe that Christianity powerfully accelerated these processes, but we have no right to assume that they would have stopped without the support of Christianity. Critical history gives us no right to believe that Christian influences have bulked larger on the average since the crucifixion than they have since January, 1914. No responsible estimate of the ratio of Christian influence during these recent years could rate it higher than mild mitigation of some of the evils of war and war times, and contributing stimulus to some of the meliorating activities incident to war. To say the least, the main actuators in the Western world since 1914 have been something very different from Christianity. Whatever the activities have been which have made today's civilization what it is, they have been largely the direct method of reading the teachings of experience; and those of us who believe that, in the last synthesis, this will turn out to be a veracious world also believe that the tendency of this method is to converge toward consensus at last with everything vital in Christianity. The point I am trying to make plain is that between this direct method of learning from experience, and the anticipatory method of accepting Christianity in advance and trying to control life by its precepts, we have no adequate means for apportioning the credit for so much civilization as we have.

All this explains why I do not attempt a historical survey of the relations between Christianity and industry. If those relations are not unsearchable, they are still so unsearched that discourse upon them would have to be very largely mere

individual opinion. I choose to speak rather of what ought to be the relations between Christianity and industry. This too is a subject which might easily lure one into expression of mere individual opinion. I shall try to be quite frank in calling your attention to anything of that character in what I say later, but at first I shall speak of certain fundamental things which at all events are not matters of mere individual opinion. They are a digest of a great body of opinion, though not of unanimous opinion within the Christian church.

The temptation is strong also to treat the subject in a hortatory way. Especially in the closing lecture of such a series as this one might be permitted and even expected to answer the question, What are we going to do about it? One might well, with inspired or imagined evangelistic vision, point to the fields white unto the harvest, and wax fervid in appeal for a Christian crusade on a scale proportionate with the world's present needs. I shall resist that temptation too, and I shall confine myself to strictly expository method. The things that I have to say are not new. If there is anything surprising about them, it is that most of them have been allowed to remain so generally dust-and-cobweb-covered. They are primary facts and applications about Christianity, but all my maturer life I have been in a state of rarely interrupted wonderment that leaders of Christian thought have seemed to consider it so little worth their while to keep these rudiments continuously public.

My case may be summed up in a single platitude, viz.: *The indicated function of Christianity is to promote the Christian spirit.*

If I should let it go at that, I should have ended with that vain and impotent thing which the logicians call the "identical proposition." That futile form of expression seems to say something, but it merely repeats itself, like "black is black" or "an honest man is a man who is honest." In using this form I have simply said that the indicated function of Christianity is to be Christianity. But when we have said so much intelligently we have implied much more. We have implied a judgment of what is the essence of Christianity, and how that essence is distinguished

from each and all of the forms with which it has been clothed, and from each and all of the activities with which Christianity has here and there been identified.

I am not now appealing to anyone's emotions. I am trying to promote clear thought about a matter that has been muddled for two thousand years in a million minds to everyone that has got it straight. In a company of one hundred Americans there might be a hundred different theories about the essentials that Jesus taught. That disagreement, however, need not interfere in the slightest with unanimous consent of such a group of one hundred that whatever it was that Jesus taught, whether in precept or in example, it was his proposal for the solution of the mystery of life. It was his key to the way of human salvation. It was his clue to the way we must all conduct ourselves in order that the scheme of things may ultimately work out according to the divine intention. It, not anyone's subsequent version of it was Christianity.

There might not be quite as easy unanimity on the next point. Perhaps argument and reflection would be necessary before one hundred Americans could unanimously agree that this clue which Jesus offered to the divine scheme of things is essentially not a belief, not a creed, but a moral attitude, or, as the good old pious phrase had it, a spiritual frame, not any kind of external device or machinery. Jesus said virtually: "Thus and thus must we be *in our hearts*; so and so must we be disposed toward one another and toward God; after this manner must we bear our part in life, or else we are counting against realization of the divine scheme of things." In other words, Christianity is thinking as Jesus thought about life, and feeling as Jesus felt about life, and willing as Jesus willed about life.

I will not waste time arguing that this spiritual attitude is quite distinct from what we know as any period of "historical Christianity," or any section of "the church." Each and all of these have been more or less successful machineries, with more or less clearly defined purpose to get essential Christianity realized in the world. At every day of its career, however, and in every fragment of its structure, the church is liable to inspection as to

the kind and degree of success which it has had in sensing essential Christianity, and in propagating it at its time and place. Organizations are not Christianity. They are merely more or less expedient inventions for promoting Christianity. Theologies are not Christianity. They are merely more or less plausible philosophies attempting to interpret the universe with due respect to Christianity. Creeds, forms of worship, churches, are not Christianity. They are so many pedagogical devices, worth just what they turn out to be worth as means of bringing men actually to Christ.

I hope I have cleared the way for what I want to say further in the line of the proposition that the indicated function of Christianity is to promote the Christian spirit. I mean that all programs in the name of Christianity, whether they are of individuals or of organizations, must be authenticated or condemned by their conformity or nonconformity with this standard.

Throughout the history of Christendom two contradictory conceptions of method have always contended for mastery. They were conceptions which implied opposite notions of what character really is—the notion on the one hand that character is a condition which is complete in itself inside of a person, irrespective of his dealing with other people; the notion on the other hand that character is achievement of right relations with the co-operative social processes which, for better or for worse, are human destiny. This contradiction dates back not merely to Saint James and Saint Paul, in their struggles with themselves and with others to straighten out the relations between “faith” and “works”; Jesus himself evidently had to meet it all through his ministry. He had to deal all the time with a large proportion of the something-for-nothing type of people. They wanted to get into the Kingdom of Heaven by simply repeating “Lord! Lord!” He had to show them that there is no other way into the Kingdom except the way of the Cross. This difference is in part identical and in part analogous with the present issue between the “cultural” and the “vocational” conception of education. In the rough the former of these conceptions implies the idea that a person may be educated by an exclusively vicarious and subjective process. The latter view tends to the assumption that a person may be educated by doing visible things only, while

the invisible adjustments will automatically follow. From one point of view, therefore, the attempt to arrive at a philosophy of education resolves itself into the effort to find a workable reconciliation between these contradictory ideas.

Very similar has been the actual historical problem of the Christian church with reference to the contradictory aspects of its vocation. I shall come presently to the bearing of these historical precedents upon our American problem of today in the relations between Christianity and industry. People called Christians have gone to opposite extremes in pursuance of these opposite notions of the essence of Christianity. On the one hand they have retired to monasteries and convents, seeking to realize the Christian spirit by leaving the vain world to take care of itself, and by devoting themselves, till death ended their program, to unsocial contemplation and austerities supposed to fit them for heaven. On the other hand people have ruled out so-called religious exercises altogether, and have tried to realize Christianity solely in the service of justice and mercy and charity.

Both inside and outside the church the demand for a rendering of Christianity in terms of this second extreme is at its highest recorded intensity today. Many people both inside and outside the church can see no Christianity at all except in social settlements, or Red Cross drives, or purifying municipal politics or "abolishing the capitalistic state."

Organized Christianity has made some of its most costly mistakes in the past not only by forgetting its main business of promoting the Christian spirit, but by following ill-advised programs of exceeding its powers of applying the Christian spirit. The church has always sooner or later found itself on the wrong track when it has tried to be a military commander, or a policeman, or a civil or criminal judge, or a legislature, or a farmer, or a merchant, or a manufacturer, or a scientific investigator, or even a guardian of orphans. The proper service of the Christian church is to stimulate and cultivate everything in everybody's mind and heart which goes into the formation of the Christian spirit, and then to recognize the limits of its specialty as an organization by repeating day by day, Sunday by Sunday, to everyone within its

influence, "Behold I send you forth as sheep among wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Especially it is your particular task to find your appropriate vocation, and to learn how to fill up that vocation with the spirit of Christ."

Of course very little in this world works strictly according to the best formula we can make. A brick dropped from the roof of a house does not reach the ground in precisely the fraction of the current minute that the Newtonian law would predict. Life is life, not logic. Accordingly the division of labor just indicated is more easily defined than realized. A social attitude cannot be acquired in a social vacuum. We might conceivably learn to talk the language of a social spirit if we were confined for life in a solitary cell and taking correspondence lessons in ethics. There would be no knowing whether the lessons had borne any of the fruits of a social spirit until we had mingled with our fellow-men under circumstances which demanded choices between social and unsocial action. We cannot be courteous, considerate, sympathetic, helpful, truthful, loyal, just, except in actual dealings with other people under circumstances which involve temptation to be discourteous, inconsiderate, unfeeling, burdensome, untruthful, treacherous, unjust. Moral character cannot consist simply and solely of a quality lodged inside of a person. Moral character is merely moral possibility until it joins the necessary other pole of its being in volitions. These volitions actually close circuits between the person and something or somebody outside of himself. They tell the story of what the person essentially is. I do not know whether I am truthful or not, so long as I am in a situation in which there is no truth or untruth for me to tell, or no motive either for the telling or the withholding. I can know whether I am truthful or not only when it is up to me to confess some truth which it would apparently profit me to conceal.

When we say then that the business of the Christian church is to promote the Christian spirit, we have virtually said that the main, foremost, fundamental, and constant business of the Christian church is to do its utmost to help as many people as possible to realize Christian lives. On the other hand, a practical consequence of this very fact is that the Christian church has never

a great while at a time confined itself strictly to spiritual education in the most detached sense. Instinctively the Christian church has pressed out into the world of everyday men for concrete laboratory experiment with applications of its abstract teachings. Although, as I have said, grave mistakes have been committed in carrying out this well-intentioned policy, there can be little doubt that organized Christianity will continue the same policy progressively in the future. Wherever it finds a problem situation among actual people, its instinct will move it to test out the reality of its teaching by inducing people to try it in practice. Accordingly Christianity is bound to submit itself more and more to the test of service in all the legitimate operations of life, and the more obvious the need of assistance the more certain will Christianity be to welcome the test. In particular, because of present conditions Christians are bound to express their Christianity by flocking more and more into the service of economic justice. In many ways this is likely to be true not only of individuals, but of churches and combinations of churches.

That being the case, I do not know of any more timely service that a single voice can render to religion, and so to humanity, at the present moment, than in the most emphatic appeal in its power to the church not to be stampeded in either direction; namely, not to be driven to the abortion demanded by that counterfeit religion which charges the ministers with preaching "politics" or "ethics" instead of "the gospel," whenever they drive home Christianity close to the acute sins of their times. On the other hand there is equal menace in mistaken zeal to silence the charge of indifference to real human needs by a miscellaneous busy-bodying which gets to the roots of no social evils, but diverts the church from its crucial function of converting men to the spirit of Jesus Christ. It is no easy matter for Christianity to find and to keep the golden mean between being too little and too much in and of this world.

I must add in passing that Christians have never made enough of one obvious answer to both these complaints. Christians may stifle them both by demanding cases of enterprises surely making for the good of mankind which do not depend largely upon the support and leadership of men and women who claim Christianity

as their ruling motive. The number of cases in which Christians are conspicuously absent is small enough to prove that, considered numerically, Christians are doing more than their share of the world's work. This leadership of Christians in all humanizing work rather than direct assumption by the church as an organization of operations not properly its own, is the best exhibit and the best vindication of the actual function of Christianity.

An intelligent conception of loyalty to the indicated function of Christianity never has involved withdrawal from the problems of the real world in order to satisfy preferred claims of some other imagined world. As we have observed, a part of the failure of the church throughout the Christian Era has been due to the contrary idea. In certain times and places the church has been supposed to be acting under a mandate to be a slacker in the business of this world in order the better to prepare for heaven. It is too late in the day for anyone on this platform to parley with that notion. It still lurks in certain minds, but we do not expect them in a university audience. Jesus proposed his spiritual attitude as the unique, thoroughgoing, sufficient remedy for all the moral evils of this world. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God"—that is, the reign of the Christian spirit—"and all these things will be added." Jesus tried to make his generation understand that the only way the world can ever stop being a world of universal cross purposes and thwartings and bafflements and defeats and woes will be to breed out of the world the type of people who think always first and last of themselves, and to substitute a breed of men and women who will actually take God seriously and will be disposed toward one another sympathetically. Jesus tried to persuade his neighbors that life will be the same impossible mix so long as everybody pitches in to make it a conspiracy of everybody to get ahead of everybody else. Jesus tried to convince his time that the only way out of this mess must be acceptance of the world as the domain of a beneficent Father, and adoption of the belief that the only economy which can fit this world permanently is the economy of brotherly love. So far as the meager records of Jesus' teachings inform us, his entire career as a teacher was devoted to applying this big idea to petty cases. That is,

they were petty in themselves, but he made them the means of clarifying the tremendous principle. He tried to show all sorts and conditions of men what his spirit of life would mean if it were in control in their own situations. He tried to show what that spirit would be in action in the precise situation of the different kinds of common people with whom he mingled. It has been only by the most strained interpretation of the record that Jesus has been made to lend sanction to the detached and unearthly types of religion. By violence to the evidence, many counterfeit Christianities have provided themselves with pretexts for ignoring the actual moral problems of real people, and for turning religion into some sort of orgy on the one hand, or into vain contemplation of the sins of other centuries and the joys of other worlds.

I said that I should not try to pass off my own private opinion as a word of authority. With my present public it is a matter of form rather than of necessity to remark that not everyone who calls himself a Christian today accepts what I have been saying. Not everyone who calls himself a Christian believes that the mission of Christianity is to Christianize human life. There are still nominal Christians who persist in the belief that the business of Christianity is to make as many people as possible as indifferent as possible to everything involved in this life, in the expectation that this type of mundane slacking will secure reservations in heaven. Recent declarations, however, by representatives of large sections of the church, Catholic and Protestant alike, throughout the world, show that the tide of Christian affairs at the present moment is setting very strongly in the direction I have indicated. The dominant belief of virile Christianity today is that Christianity may and must save the world by manning the essential operations of the world with people actuated by the Christian spirit. It is today's orthodoxy that the ideal of the church must be to produce a dependable Christian for every station in life where a real man or woman is needed.

This way of stating today's matter-of-fact version of the function of Christianity and of the church does not satisfy certain zealots within the church nor the critics without. Both zealots and critics assume that the church is a failure unless it is some sort

of a social dictator. The zealots blame the church very much as Satan tempted Jesus by his three appeals. The devil challenged the Son of God to authenticate himself by requisitioning miraculous support in violating God's natural laws. The zealots cannot be patient with the church for not having assumed dictatorship over all human affairs. The critics also jeer the church and proclaim its total uselessness, because it has not succeeded in assuming universal dictatorship. What zealots and critics alike demand is a physical and a spiritual impossibility. The church could not be a dictator if it would, nor could it be a dictator and at the same time Christian. The reality which I am presenting is that the church is bound to be a failure unless it is first and foremost not a master but a spiritual incubator. Its main business is to bring to life a Christian in every man and woman. Then it is the business of these Christians, as they arrive at all around maturity, to find their vocations and to live their Christian spirit into the vocations until, as the New Testament phrase has it, they "leaven the whole lump."

This wide survey returns then to the further commonplace already implied that the elementary method of the church and of Christianity must be educational. There is the education of the school which operates primarily upon the head. There is the education of the church which operates primarily upon conscience and heart. When we are much wiser and much more Christian than we are now, we shall understand that each of these phases of education is abortive in the degree in which it is isolated from the other. For our present purposes, we may take so much for granted without further discussion.

Since the indicated method of the church is necessarily educational, the unalterable conditions of all education fix the powers and limitations of the church, whether toward industry or toward any other concrete interest. All that I have said makes for the conclusion that the actual problem which it is timely to consider in the present connection might be indicated by the title, *The educational aspects of the present responsibility of Christians toward industry.*

Between 1914 and 1918 the most obvious and constant urge of the Christian spirit, the most timely duty of the church, was

to visualize the attitude which Christians ought to take toward the war. The more elementary and constant duties were not ignored, and ought not to have been, but the problem of peculiar importance was how to be the best Christians possible in the exceptional condition of the world at large at that particular time.

Since the armistice, the main problem of the Western nations has shifted. The central human question now, and probably for generations to come, is, *What is right, and how may we realize the right in economic relations?* Even in the countries which are least pacified and between the countries that are trying to organize stable peace, this demand for economic justice is the pivot of all the rest. Since this fundamental question of economic justice has taken possession of the big world, the direction of religious dynamics must and should change accordingly. So long as any of us are likely to live, the church will be unable to get ahead very much, or even to hold its own, if it is content to ply children and adults with the same details of educational stimulus which were in order two thousand years ago or even six years ago. At the opening of the Christian Era the big need of Israel and Palestine was escape from the moral dungeon of Phariseism and arrival at glimmerings of spiritual light. In principle that was the crisis of the whole Roman world. The New Testament is a two-thirds closed book to us if we do not know how to read it as a reflex of the wonderful struggle between primitive Christianity and prevailing obscurity. On the other hand, over and over again Christianity has been turned into a two-thirds closed book because its authorities have tried to identify Christianity with a taking of sides upon intellectual and moral issues that had been dead for centuries. Never since the death of Saint Paul has the world looked to itself quite as it did to most of the people to whom the bulk of the New Testament was addressed. The like is true of any two later theological eras. One of the most tragic failures in the history of the human race has been the persistent fatuity of Christian leaders all through the intervening ages in the hallucination that men must first be compelled to look at life as the dupes of both Jewish and pagan Phariseism did in the first century, before they can be converted into Christians.

Then from Constantine to the Constitution of the United States Christianity was mostly owned and operated by the politicians. Whether the politicians wore crowns or tiaras, chain armor or cassocks, the essentials were the same. Theologies were often so many campaign books in support of the party in power or one fighting to take over power. The spark of the spirit of Christ that kept aglow through these centuries was a forlorn hope for the revolutionary truth that Christianity is a private right, not a state monopoly. Yet during the fifteen centuries in which this truth was muzzled the Christian teachers mostly played into the hands of the politicians. They did this either directly and willingly or indirectly and unconsciously, by equivocating about the timely matter, and by trying to interest their contemporaries in rudiments so obvious that Paul, it would seem, might have settled them once for all at the feet of Gamaliel. But now we have entered a historical stage which pivots upon a problem in essentials as old as Cain and Abel, but brand new in particular.

Herewith I come to the application of all this introduction to the religio-economic situation. For a period which cannot be measured in advance the moral center of social struggle in America must be the implicit question: *Is Christianity in a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance with the kind of property which is today dominant?* The two big distinct questions, *What is Christianity?* and *What is property?* have been thrown into the social calculating machine together. No matter who likes it or who dislikes it, the answers that will pass current in the era that we have entered will be ground out together in the life of the generations now to come.

Both Christianity at large and each local church and minister will face peculiar phases of the tasks of adjustment to this latest variation of the world's need. Both in general and in the concrete the Christian demand is for a Christianity able to vitalize economic righteousness. If one ventured to speculate as to how the methods of particular local churches and of particular ministers will be changed to meet this demand, one might easily lose one's self in theory about details. I shall venture into no such labyrinth, but I shall refer in conclusion to the larger strategy of the present Christian campaign.

The one outstanding fact which to my mind marks an incalculable difference between the Christian situation of today and that of any earlier day is that the mechanism for exchange and aggregation and direction of Christian impulse is far more sensitive, far more penetrating, far more pervasive, far more comprehensive, than it has ever been before. We have been taught to think of the Roman Catholic church as the most successful unifying organization in history. Relatively, yes. As contrasted with the decentralization of Protestantism, the Roman Catholic church is a stupendously efficient machine. We have been taught that this machine was operating at its maximum during that brief interlude in the drama of the Holy Roman Empire in which there was the least doubt that the pope ranked first, the emperor second. Yet up to the twentieth century no Roman pontiff, not even Hildebrand nor Innocent, commanded means of instant and circumstantial intercourse with the churches of Europe equal to those today at the service of every intelligent Christian in the United States about every part of the world. I am not thinking merely of the commercial organizations for gathering and distributing news. If an Anglican bishop in Africa or a Baptist missionary in Asia says or does something out of the ordinary today, it will be talked about tomorrow at ten million breakfast tables all over the world, and the day following it may divide a church council or a national denominational convention. I mean far more than that. The expansion of the world's system of communication has done no more in proportion for business, and government, and general intelligence than it has to develop a common Christian consciousness. But it will not be long before all Christendom will be aware that it has equipped itself with a new power to which this commercial agency is auxiliary. Ever since Christendom ceased to be one, the dream of reunion has had a place among Christian impulses. In recent years the phrases "Christian unity," "federation of churches," "interdenominational comity," and the like have been slogans for more or less definite and determined movements. But there is a social solidarity of which organization is less a cause than a product. Following unexampled co-operations during the war, the great mass of the Protestant denomina-

tions in the United States found themselves overnight falling into line behind leadership which was projecting Christian operations on a larger scale than the most audacious prophecy had imagined since the Apocalypse. These operations were not mere longings and wishes. They were a hundred times more definite and practical than American plans were for a waterway between the two oceans, when the United States took over the assets of France at Panama. These plans were made by representatives of many different denominations in consultation with one another and assisting one another. They involved surveys of conditions and needs challenging Christians from the doors of local churches to the uttermost parts of the earth. These needs were reviewed not merely by professional Christian workers, but by commissions of men and women to whose self-interest the facts meant nothing more nor less than large sight drafts upon their time and labor and wealth. The heart of the question before these awakened Christians was: What has the world a right to demand of American Protestant Christianity during the coming five years? The answer was worked out in more business-like budgets for the several denominational groups than the Congress of the United States has ever been able to adopt for the operations of our government for a single year. Summed up in terms of money, the answer was that the world, near and far, may fairly and rightfully demand of American Protestant Christians during the next five years the wise use of one thousand, three hundred million dollars. Today American Protestants are united as they never were before, for any reason, in assessing and collecting of themselves that inconceivable sum, and in guaranteeing its conscientious use.

But this fact in itself is not the main thing. Beyond all that, in the process of searching out this task and laying it upon themselves as their plain duty, American Christians have unwittingly acquired a mental and moral unity which is equipment for still more tremendous responsibility, and it is assurance of an output of personality, touched by the spirit of Christ, more lavish and more precious than the dedications of money. Structurally American Christians are scarcely more united than they were in 1914. Functionally they have been born again; and that not

merely in principle but in power. Christians in America have a consciousness of capacity which they never had before. They find themselves thinking like thoughts, holding like standards, reaching like decisions upon matters which look to most of them vastly more vital than any of the things which divided their ancestors generations or centuries ago. This change is bound to be intensified as the "world-wide movement" progresses. Through the commercial system of communication, plus the developed denominational organizations, with the supplementary system of the denominational press, not merely itemized information, but the wide views, the general conclusions, the composite resolutions about Christian strategy can be presented almost simultaneously to all Christian America.

I am reminded that I promised not to predict. From this outlook it is hard to keep the promise. I will, however; but one more step in exposition remains without trespassing upon prophecy. What does all this mean for the relations of awakened and equipped American Christians to the unsolved problems of economic justice?

I have spoken at length of the outstanding fact of promise in American Christianity. I will speak very briefly with equal freedom of a parallel fact, not promising but ominous.

In all the consultations which have resulted in the program to which I have referred, and in the whole spirit of sympathy and co-operation which is greater than the program, one note that should be decisive has been repeated many times, but it has been effectively muffled. As I have said, of late there has been no lack of Christian declaration that Christianity, whether churched or unchurched, must make the cause of economic justice its own. Yet evidence is still lacking that the leading laymen in the American churches are willing to throw their influence in favor of recognizing the problem of economic justice as the chief spiritual issue of our period. It remains to be seen whether the balance of power will apply the full force of organized Christianity to investigation and settlement of that problem.

This situation is the more sinister because of the very advantage of the Christian position today over that which it has ever occupied before. Christians are more miscellaneously in the world, and of

the world, than they have ever been. Christians are relatively much better able than they have ever been to know the world. Christians cannot be excused on the ground of inability to understand the tides of the world's affairs. If the Christian laymen of America should in effect take the position that economic justice is no pressing business of organized Christians, that attitude would amount to another betrayal of our Lord with a kiss.

The very fact that American Christianity today has the use of the most capable mechanism ever within human control for registering the heart beats of humanity, and for checking up the thoughts of humanity, lays upon American Christians the most authentic duty ever chartered. Our extraordinary resources are our unique commission to recognize our responsibility in the big moral problem that distinguishes our time.

I want to avoid stating that problem in any terms which might imply a snap judgment about the solution of the problem. On the other hand, I should be a traitor to my generation if I failed to voice my belief as clearly as I can. It seems evident to me that not only Russians but Americans are already in the process of mobilization for a more radical "irrepressible conflict" than the impending issue for which that phrase was coined before our civil war. At one extreme of our American economic and religious thinking are the comparatively few whose social unrest can express itself in no more intelligent creed than Proudhon's barbarism, "All property is robbery." At the other extreme are men whose attitude involves a thousand fold greater menace to present and future public welfare, men who, many of them unconsciously, are parts of a malign economic and political and social connivance to outlaw everyone who believes that there is anything whatever at fault with our present property system. Between these two extremes the great majority are trying to find their way out of different degrees of partial consciousness that something is wrong with our present property system. Middle class Americans today are rapidly reaching the conclusion that the typical good man for our time is contrasted with the bad man of our era by his will to do his part toward finding out what this property wrong is and how it may be righted.

American Christianity is equipped as never before for decisive action in the economic drama now unfolding. Christianity cannot be a neutral. Christianity cannot be a noncombatant. In spite of itself, whether it will or no, Christianity must give aid and comfort to one or the other of the belligerents. The struggle is already on. It will never be called off until its causes are removed. The inevitable conflict in its present stage is between the men who are for and those who are against critical examination of the entire foundation and superstructure of existing property rights.

Every mentally and morally adult American knows that the surest progress will be made toward the settlement of this conflict if it is kept within the limits of our established law and order. There is a tendency in human affairs which closely resembles the physical law that action and reaction are equal. Indeed, in human affairs violence generates a power of continuance which gives it an endurance beyond that of physical law detached from human will. So long as men depend upon violence in place of reason to establish their rights, instead of setting up a reign of right they consign themselves to a perpetual reciprocating motion of wrong, and for long periods it may be even cumulative and accelerated motion. On the other hand, the only fair prospect of confining the present conflict within the limits of established law and order will appear when we are sure that all the resources of our law and order are to be used in promotion of the democratic inquiry as to what our next type of law and order ought to be. Whoever fails to see this is blind as the Czar and the Kaiser and yesterday's counter-revolutionists in Berlin.

The irrefutable bad of the Russian revolution, the central reason why every just man who is also clear headed hates it, is that essentially it is *no revolution at all*. It is simply a transfer of that old guilty *dominance* of the Czar to the even more guilty hands of Lenin. There was a certain palliation of the Czar's guilt in the fact that it was not wholly his own. It was thrust on him. He was born with it bound to him. But Lenin violently usurped it. The tragedy of Russia was and is the absence of a middle class able and willing to create a real revolution by abolishing all dictatorship and introducing a régime of justice to all interests.

What needs to be revolutionized in Russia is *dominance* of anybody by anybody. What needs to be substituted more than ever is a start toward a genuine community spirit—everybody trying to accommodate himself to everybody.

There is closer likeness than we have admitted between the essentials of the Russian situation and the present economic crisis in America. The property system of each civilized country, our own for example, may be described as a fabric of devices to serve everybody's need of protection against the selfishness of everybody else. Since 1800, and virtually since 1870, Americans have added to their property system *corporate* property. Unquestionably this modern improvement adds enormously to both the efficiency and the security of the economic operations which it serves. At the same time this device of corporations operates immeasurably to stimulate and to endow the very selfishness against which property should be a protection. In one aspect a corporation is a deathless superpersonal selfishness vested by the state with superpersonal powers. This monster is commissioned by the state to exercise its superpersonal powers within the society of plain persons. Thus we have unconsciously converted our property system from a protection of similar natural persons against one another, into a licensing system of supernatural persons to carry on their superpersonal operations within the territory of mere natural persons. The invention is not, and cannot come to, good, unless the society of plain persons can either endow corporations with souls, with souls' liabilities, or create and operate in its own interest an adequate superpersonal control of the superpersonal enginery of corporations. So far as the *desideratum* of equal rights is concerned, our corporation-dominated property system is to the property system of the pre-corporation centuries as the extemporized dictatorship of Lenin is to the traditional dictatorship of the Romanoffs.

No decision more pregnant with consequences has ever trembled in the balance of the ages than this central issue, not for America alone, but virtually for all Christendom, namely, Will the present trustees of Jesus Christ in America for another era abandon the real world to its fate; will they again prostitute Christianity to

the service of a philosophically begotten, theologically conceived, traditionally propagated pietism, adapted only to a fictitious moral order; or will the Christians of today at last recognize their calling to make the world Christian? Will the awakened and equipped Christian manhood and womanhood of the United States frankly and full-heartedly accept the mandate to carry Christianity, with all it may involve, into settlement of those issues of economic righteousness which stand between our generation and the Kingdom of God? This is not a rhetorically fabricated dilemma. It is the terrific question of questions which is actually getting its answer from those laymen who hold the balance of power in today's organizations of American Protestant Christianity.

I have tried to make this analysis not an appeal, but a staking-out of points of departure for more survey. But is not this provisional survey also an irresistible appeal? Can Christian consciousness face this outlook and not open a new crusade? The world-situation never more plainly needed Christianity. Christianity never more plainly suited the world's need. In this latest crisis Christians will again be known by their works.

AMERICANIZATION: ITS MEANING AND FUNCTION

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Out of the evils of ancient ethnic nationalism has grown a new consciousness. Out of the consciousness of kind born of blood bonds between races has come a consciousness of kind based upon well-defined community of interests. The new democracy is taking root in the foundation of modern society and is abandoning the myth of race superiority which has for so many centuries been the touchstone of race antagonism, class privilege, and economic exploitation.

Out of old hates and jealousies and self-seeking trading in the destinies of peoples, so common under the influences of imperialistic ambition, comes a new watchword, a new slogan—Democracy. Misconstrued, misunderstood, and even misguided democracy is challenging not only our sincerity, our intelligence, our aspirations, our ideals, but its own very existence. In the Near East, democracy may merely be turning the odds in favor of a new class and laying foundations for a new struggle. In America, the most stable of the democracies of the world, we may so eagerly and so rapidly integrate our national life as to render democracy a lifeless, stagnant, cumbersome machine whose existence breeds its own destruction.

The Americanization movement which has sprung into being, not from any desire to develop democracy at home, but rather as an effort for national integration that would strengthen our hands in our effort to safeguard democracy abroad is pregnant with dangers that threaten the very ideals upon which the United States built its foundation; while at the same time it opens up new vistas for the contemplation of an internationalism that would guarantee the peace of the world through the creation of a dynamic and social rather than political or racial nationalism at home.

I have sought a definition of Americanism or Americanization in tireless search through the vast although fragmentary literature produced during the present war. I have examined, not without care, the political utterances of statesmen and politicians, and have gone about among the people in search of a definition of this new slogan which would lend itself to an interpretation that is not open to challenge, and that could be made the basis of a constructive program of education or agitation free from sectionalism, alien to race or class prejudice, and, above all, free from the stifling effects of the rigidity of thought that is the enemy of all progress and fair play. Instead of beholding a vision of a new national life, a new interpretation of our social and economic order consistent with the rate of the march of the times, I am haunted by the old ghost of patriotism. Instead of that involution which places individual and nation upon their own resources and makes growth co-extensive with responsibility, I find as Herbert Spencer put it, "That while an excess of egotism is everywhere regarded as a fault, excess of patriotism is nowhere regarded as a fault." For the moment we find the United States taking upon itself the gigantic task of interpreting the limits of national life for other nations and protecting their opportunities and privileges at home as members of an international family. At the same time, however, we find Americanism looming up as a sort of "territorial sectionalism," with all its evils of isolation and ingrowing aspirations, of confusing an ideal concept of the social order as expressed by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States with the concept of "a dynamic state" which is still in process of formation and integration. The whole mass of legislation of Congress and the state legislatures stands as evidence of the fact that we are still groping toward the attainment of an ideal established more than one hundred years ago and which is itself changing with the times.

Even the most hand-to-mouth existence of the social order in this country assumes at least a direction, if not an aim; but the rate of progress and the almost complete annihilation of space in international relations have made it necessary to reshape the concept of responsibility of the people, not alone to themselves and the state, but to the superstate or the international order. The time

seems not far distant when sociology or some new super-science will consider international phenomena with the same scientific care and apply the same accurate methods that we are now applying to the social order in the individual states. It is then, and then only, that "the rights of man" will come into their true significance and bear their proper relation to society. The struggle around the international peace table in Paris is witness to this new promise to the future of the human race in its relation, not alone to the rights of nations, but to the rights of labor and the rights of capital as international as well as national factors.

The present war by emphasizing and protecting the rights of nations has sounded the death-knell of nationalism. Racial or national "consciousness of kind" thrives upon pressure from without and is a conservative, static, rather than a dynamic force. With racial and national discrimination abolished or reduced, race consciousness and nationalism as social and political factors must become dynamic and progressive instead of static and conservative. But while the old basis of national classification and integration is strengthened by the renewed life granted to it by the contemplated results of the present war, a new alignment in the world-order is having its birth, and that is the classification of peoples into democracies and autocracies. This classification has taken such deep roots in the popular mind that the older nationalistic classification of the peoples of the civilized world has almost disappeared from the current discussion of the new international order. However inaccurate the basis of this new classification may seem in the face of existing conditions, and however tenaciously the old-school statesmen may resist the new current of public opinion, we are not far from the time when the people of the so-called democratic nations will demand in deed the establishment of an order under which they are living in name. Whatever may have been the meaning of Americanism at the time of the Declaration of Independence, the formulating of the Constitution of the United States, or the struggle of the Civil War, it cannot be conceived to be its meaning today. The American people have become not only the trustees of democratic tradition but they have arrogated to themselves the privilege of interpreting democracy to the world. It is for this reason

perhaps more than for any other reason, that it has become necessary so to shape the political, economic, and social machinery of this country as to make democracy attainable and its ideals most consistent with the needs of the people and most in harmony with the progress of the civilized world.

To assume that all the people living within the limits of the United States are prepared by tradition, education, or experience for the important part that they play in a new world is as presumptuous as it is untrue. The preparation of the masses for their new place in the world, is, however, nationally within our reach, but is an ethical obligation as foreign to the old ethics of nationality which resulted in the present war as was the Americanism of old western pioneer days different from the new place that Americanism has taken in international politics. The meaning of democracy is yet to be interpreted and demonstrated. The people of the United States must now make ready for the task. The obstacles in the way of this achievement are legion. To overcome these obstacles is the task of Americanization.

RACIAL AND NATIONAL ASSIMILATION

The United States Census for 1910 tells what is to some people an appalling story. Peoples from all parts of the globe with differing codes of ethics, speaking every language of the civilized world, with allegiance to governments ranging from the most democratic to the most autocratic, and bearing the outward appearance of every social group, have come here to take advantage of the social, economic, and political privileges that the United States offers.

Within recent years there has been much concern shown by anti-immigrationists regarding the dangers of mongrelizing the American people. The cry has usually come from Anglo-Saxons, who by pseudo-scientific discussion and by an appeal to the lower emotion of race superiority and the race struggle have advocated the exclusion of the so-called lower races, with the implication that only the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races are superior and therefore, desirable. The present war with the discredit heaped upon the civilization and *kultur* of the Teuton leaves the Pan-Anglo-Saxon

leaders with a clear conscience in claiming this country for the descendants of the original settlers from the British Isles, and with a large undigested mass of races either to be so absorbed and assimilated as to leave no trace of their original identity or to be kept on a low social level as a much-needed industrial group which should have and keep its place.

In a book entitled *A Vanishing Race*, the writer, Madison Grant, attempts to show that the light-haired people are slowly being eliminated from the civilized world despite the fact that they are the standard bearers of modern civilization. In proving their superiority as the advance guards of civilization, the writer appeals to history only in so far as it relates to modern times, forgetting the great civilizations of Egypt, Syria, Persia, India, Babylonia, Rome, and Spain. He is strictly a modernist because in this way alone can he come to conclusions that support his contention. I am neither an anthropologist nor a historian to attempt to analyze critically his statements. It is a well-known fact, however, that English civilization was not created by light-haired people alone, and that Great Britain has been mongrelized at least four times in the course of its integration as a great power. Anglo-Saxon, Teuton, or Latin merely designate particular species of mongrels who, by long standing, have achieved the dignity of a fixed race or people. Those familiar with the facts of history and anthropology, and who have not permitted their race instincts to blur their scientific vision, have recognized that there is not a pure race on the face of this earth, and that both Europe and Asia have built their civilizations upon the adventure of race conquest as a process of war and race assimilation as a process of peace. -Drawing from the example of Spain we might almost say that where race amalgamation and race assimilation stop, advancement stops.

Jean Finot,¹ a French scholar, and Professor Frantz Boas, the well-known American anthropologist, have shown that potentially there is no race superiority or inferiority and that race purity and national progress are incompatible terms and have been so from the beginning of civilization. Gumplovitz in his *Race Struggle* has established this principle so firmly that it has never been

¹ Jean Finot, *Race Prejudice*. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907.

successfully challenged. That the so-called races are subject to change through geographic environment, Montesquieu, Ritter, Buckle, and Ratzel have established for the scientific world, and, alas, for the scientific world almost exclusively.

With little evidence in favor of race or national discrimination on the ground of inequality, it is as amusing as it is surprising to examine the literature produced by the advocates of particular brands of race superiority, whether that be relative to the light-haired people, the special favorites of Madison Grant and Gobineau, or the dark-haired people whose cause also finds supporters. These writers seem always to find enough evidence in support of their theory upon which to hang a book.

The two main bases of discrimination against national or racial groups are physical appearance and capacity for cultural or intellectual development. In a recent study, Professor Frantz Boas¹ shows that the environment under which children of immigrants in this country live has a decided effect upon their physical development, and that the effect of these conditions extends to such parts of the body as are ordinarily taken as indexes of racial character. Alfred Odin in his monumental work *Genèse des Grands Hommes*, in which he studied the distribution of talent and genius in France, considers the relation between racial types in France and the character and rate of production of talent and genius. I can do no better than quote a portion of his statement on this subject:

If we compare this ethnographic division with the geographical distribution of French men of letters, we will seek in vain to discover the least connection between race and the fecundity in men of letters. Let any one take the map of the regions, that of the provinces, or that of the departments, and he will find everywhere that the distribution of men of letters differs entirely from that of the races. He will see that the Ligurian, Iberian, Gallic, Cimbrian, and Belgian areas prove indifferently a high, mean, or low fecundity. There is no single race in which we do not meet all grades of fecundity, while on the other hand a great many districts inhabited by different races show the same degree of fecundity. This absence of any complete correlation between the ethnologic distribution and literary "geniality" is so evident that even the most

¹ Frantz Boas, "Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants," Senate Document No. 208, 61st Congress, 2d series, 1910.

biased mind would not deny it. Nevertheless it does not necessarily disprove the action of the ethnological environment, since it may simply be due to our ignorance of the true distribution of races.¹

And later we find the following:

We here find, therefore, that the fact of belonging to a more civilized nationality and to a literature infinitely richer has exerted no favorable influence on the fecundity of the population in men of letters, but that, on the contrary, it is the inferior nationality that has been the more fruitful in this respect.²

The foregoing quotations from an impartial investigator whose findings were contrary to his own expectation would seem to indicate that at least among the less diversified ethnic types there does not seem to be any evidence of difference in intellectual creative power, provided the social conditions are favorable to such creative work.

Philip Ainsworth Means in a recent book³ in which he traces briefly the history of past civilization attempts to evaluate the various elements that could profitably be blended in the creation of democratic civilization in which all races shall have contributed a just and valuable share. His conclusions are in no way at variance with the findings of either Finot or Boas.

The absurdity of any plea for race purity, particularly among the Pan-Anglo-Saxonites, becomes especially apparent when we realize that over 80 per cent of the people in the United States are not Anglo-Saxon in origin, and that race suicide is vastly more prevalent among the peoples of Anglo-Saxon origin than among the other races in the United States.

Instead of this race provincialism which is advocated by a few writers of doubtful scientific standing but with positive views as to the superiority of their own racial origin and purity, we have a gradual but continuous race assimilation which is commensurate with the advancement of the people of recent advent in this country, and the broadening of social, political, and religious sympathies which are fostered by a democratic government.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 465-66. ² *Ibid.*, p. 468.

³ Philip Ainsworth Means, *Racial Factors in Democracy* (Marshall Jones Co., Boston, 1918), p. 468.

It is impossible to measure the rate of race amalgamation or assimilation that is going on in this country at the present time. No one can doubt, however, that this process is going on at different rates among different peoples and that a breaking down of artificial race distinctions fostered by ancient prejudices is taking place. A synthetic process of social and national integration brought about by an intensified democratic state will merge the present heterogeneous masses of racial and national groups into one great people.

It is the foreign elements that are beginning to find cause for alarm in this rapid race and national assimilation. This alarm, however, is not due to a desire to keep aloof and maintain their group integrity, but to a fear that the task of absorbing rapidly the elements of a new civilization and the exigencies of adapting one's mode of life to a new environment within a comparatively short time, will push into the background or utterly destroy those national and racial qualities that should most be preserved in the synthesis of assimilation.

With race assimilation through intermarriage, the development of new physiological characters influenced by social and economic conditions, and the process of natural selection affecting all races, it seems evident that at least in so far as the Aryan peoples are concerned, the cry for race purity is as unscientific as it is undemocratic, and that mongrelism is as much to be reckoned with as a part of the past as it is recognized as a truth relating to the future. Mongrel races are the outcome of broadened sympathies and a reaction against autocracy and aristocracy which have their roots in race superiority and right by might.

That the center of gravity of national unity has been shifting from racial similarities to *spiritual and intellectual* sympathies has at no time in the history of the world been more conclusively demonstrated than by the present war. We find, however, the beginnings of this concept of the state in its relation to the people as far back as Isocrates who at a great festival when Greece was torn by internal strife said, "*We have brought it about that the name of Greek is more appropriately given to those who partake of our Hellenic education than to those who are connected with us by the ties of blood.*"

May I add also that one of the most striking evidences of the small importance attached to race as a factor in civilization is the absence of any word which would designate race purity as a factor worthy of commendation such as we have in the word "patriotism" as indicating fidelity to the state.

The fact that only since the beginning of the war have we become truly conscious of the existence of a problem of Americanization is indicative of the fact that the war has brought before the American people for the first time the problem of a national unity. Whether national unity means unanimity of opinion, whether it means unreserved recognition of a loyalty to all aspects of the present form and practice of government, or whether it means merely the breaking away from all foreign allegiance and the participation in the affairs of the government of the United States is not always clear. The conservative Pan-Anglo-Saxon groups believe that a strong national unity can be attained only by race purity, the conservatives in the political field desire allegiance to the *statu quo* and perhaps a little myopic allegiance if possible, while the more liberal nationalism cries out for active participation in government as a sign of assimilation and Americanization. Each of these opinions has become crystallized in some form of national movement such as the Immigration Restriction League, the National Security League, and the legion of Americanization societies and loyalty leagues, commissions, and committees throughout the United States.

That there is some justification for all these efforts can hardly be doubted, but whether the remedies suggested and applied will attain the ends contemplated is not so certain. It is hardly necessary to analyze here the work and achievement of the various agencies engaged in what we have come to designate as the Americanization movement. Their aims are still ill defined, their methods still in their formative state, and their achievement hardly measurable in concrete terms. All that I shall endeavor to do in this essay is to analyze the factors which should enter into a movement which aims toward the highest individual development, the greatest harmony between the State and the state of mind of the people, the most widespread and intelligent participation of

the people in shaping the destiny of the state, and the promotion of the most rapid advancement in the welding of the masses into one people.

Let us for a moment consider what the basic factors are upon which national unity might be built. Thinkers in this field may differ as to some essentials. I shall merely presume to suggest those I consider the most important, not for the achievement of an entirely new state but for the integration and shaping the future destiny of our people and the conditions which should attend the highest development of our state.

RACIAL ASSIMILATION

Familiarity with the more recent writings on the flexibility of racial character under the influence of environment warrants the conclusion that race superiority is at least an unsettled question. There is every evidence, however, that competition for racial survival is giving way to the struggle for cultural eminence.

History has shown even within recent centuries that mongrelized peoples, such as the English, are capable of creating advanced civilization superior to the civilization of their component elements. There are no fixed races in the civilized world. There is an eternal "becoming" in the races of the civilized world and there is no race that has arrived at perfection. In the physical assimilation of one race or group of races by another race or group of races the process of sex selection with all its physical and social factors is sufficient to maintain a plane of race assimilation which will prevent race deterioration among the so-called superior racial groups.

Writers have often expressed the fear that men would select the women of the inferior race. Those familiar with the facts as they are actually taking place in our midst realize that the physical assimilation is taking place almost invariably between the best and most capable individuals and that the lower classes mix very slightly. This is especially true in peaceful assimilation where the sexes are almost equally divided and where the peaceful invaders are the passive rather than the aggressive elements. This is quite the reverse from conditions pictured by Lilienfeld who likens the

process of conquest to fertilization in biology in which the conqueror is the spermatozoön and the conquered the ovum. The former is the aggressor, the latter passive.¹ In the case of peaceful immigrant invasion the process of aggression, if any does exist, comes from the older rather than the newer elements. If a new race is to have its birth it is to be a synthetic creation subject to the laws of peaceful, natural, and social selection, acting as a free agent without haste and without aggression.

Everywhere in literature, in art, in philosophy we hear the complaint against the monotony of ideas. New racial elements are constantly required to fertilize the dormant units of development which clamor for a chance to come into being. Race differentiation is as essential as race integration, and the most highly organized civilization must slow down its rate of progress unless there is a synchronomic differentiation in national character. The simple principle of the "survival of the unlike," so well expounded by Professor Bailey,² applies with the same degree of truth to racial amalgamation and selection as it does in the life of plants. The greater the variability of type, the greater the flexibility of the social order.

As the interdependence of the people of the United States becomes intensified, as was the case during the Great War, racial valuations tend to become equalized and social valuations take on new significance. It is not doubted by serious thinkers that it is to the interest of the civilization of America to adjust its task of racial assimilation so that it may harmonize, not only with the normal rate of physical absorption of the immigrant races, but also in order to protect its institutions against a breakdown that comes from economic and social disturbances caused by the presence of abnormal masses of unabsorbed groups. What the standard of this adjustment or control should be is vastly more difficult to determine. With a large mass of ethnically, economically, socially, and politically unabsorbed foreign population still clogging the social machinery of the United States, some restrictive measures

¹ Paul V. Lilienfeld, *Zur Vertheidigung der Organization Method in der Sociologie*, p. 50. Berlin.

² L. H. Bailey, *The Survival of the Unlike*. New York: Macmillan, 1901.

are necessary. There are, to be sure, at this time certain restrictive laws which exclude undesirable types of immigrants, but the basis is only qualitative and not quantitative restriction.

Extreme restrictionists have for years advocated a closed door, but labor conditions, international obligation, and a traditional belief in the open door to the opportunities of this country have kept the tide of immigration flowing freely and in an almost torrential stream. It is obvious from the figures of the United States Census for 1910 that the foreign people who have been coming into the United States have not been absorbed with the rapidity or the thoroughness that would safeguard the social institutions of the country, nor have the conditions been such as to safeguard the immigrants themselves against such social maladjustment as vitiate their own adaptability to the new environment and at the same time places upon the country a burden of social and economic responsibility wholly out of proportion with the resources and needs of the country.¹

Some quantitative restriction is undoubtedly necessary. What the basis of this restriction should be, however, is quite difficult to determine. International relations and a sense of fairness prevent exclusion of specific nationalities which some restrictionists would call unassimilable. Judging from the mere outward appearance of the situation it seems that the more recent immigrants are less assimilable than the older groups. It must be remembered, however, that the law of diminishing returns in the assimilation and absorption of peoples is constantly at play in relation to the immigrant. It must also be remembered that the disintegration of group characters—racial and national—bears an indirect ratio to the size of the group and an indirect ratio to the contact with the new environment. The larger the group to be assimilated, the more difficult the assimilation, especially where segregation in ghettos—whether they be Jewish, Polish, French—is possible or necessary. *The problem of assimilation is, therefore, a problem of contact with the new environment and consequently a problem of distribution.*

¹ Over 5,000,000 immigrants have reached the shores of the United States between 1911 and 1917. In a double line of march the 5,516,163 illiterates in the United States would extend over a distance of 1,567 miles and marching at the rate of 25 miles a day and in columns 3 feet apart it would take 2 months for them to pass a certain point.

By distribution, however, is not meant a scattering of the foreigners into the remote and sparsely settled portions of the country, but the affording of opportunities and facilities for placing the various foreign groups where their contact with American institutions would be most readily established and where their social and economic life would be most free from the burdens of congestion and undue economic competition.

The rate of racial and social assimilation is largely dependent upon the intensity of contact with the new environment. In restricting immigration the guiding principle should be not fear of economic competition as is the case with the Chinese exclusion act, nor fear of populational congestion, which is inconceivable at least for the next hundred years, but the possibility for a quick and effective adjustment to the American order of society which would give the immigrant the best opportunity for self-development and for intelligent participation and service in the building up of an American civilization.

So far any social marking system which would determine accurately the rate of assimilation of the foreign peoples is not available. Professor Franklin Giddings and others have attempted such a marking system, but even if it could be accepted as mathematically accurate it cannot be taken as conclusive because it relates only to the elements to be assimilated and not to the conditions which make such assimilation possible. Until we can measure both elements, the conditions which promote assimilation and the results accomplished under these conditions, any accurate mathematical basis for the limitation of immigration is impossible.

The question of assimilation again is a many-sided process. Too rapid a racial assimilation is not necessary and is not a condition of social assimilation. All that remains for us to do is, therefore, the establishment of a basis of limiting immigration in numbers on the basis of their present social and political assimilation in so far as an index of approximate accuracy can be agreed upon. Citizenship, ability to speak, read, and write the English language, adjustment to economic environment, employment, etc., are perhaps the bases upon which restrictions could be based with some degree of mathematical accuracy. These factors would, if made

the bases of immigration legislation, at least, lend themselves to flexible enforcement that will keep pace with the progress that this country is likely to make in the future toward creating increasingly favorable conditions for educational, economic, and political assimilation. Such legislation should be prepared by a commission of scientists and should be subject to constant adjustment so that the progress of this country may go on unhampered by the needs for labor and without isolating America from the world-reservoirs of desirable population.

CONSERVATION OF RACIAL CHARACTERS

In our hysterical rush to assimilate and absorb all foreign elements in the United States we are in imminent danger of destroying vast treasures of racial assets which under careful nurture and direction would become invaluable assets in the development of American civilization.

Aside from the artificial inducements offered to the foreigner in order to make him accept American customs, American standards of living, American methods of employing his leisure, the law of imitation tends to denude the normal life of the immigrant of all the traditions and influences which in the home environment acted as a means of social control on the one hand and as a stimulus for self-expression on the other.

Much of the lawlessness of the immigrant is not due to criminality or immorality, but to a failure longer to recognize old traditions, and a lack of understanding of the social mechanism of the new environment.

The measure of their value as potential members of American citizenship is sometimes sought in the rapidity with which such potential citizens give up their methods of life, their habits of thought, their language, their religion, their dress, their leisure-time predilections. The foreigner who changes his whole mode of life with the ease and carelessness with which he takes off his coat is erroneously considered a good prospective American. This standard of measuring assimilation is as dangerous as it is unfair to those who preserve a certain loyalty to their traditions and customs, etc., and change them only as they become convinced that

the new is better than the old. "In Rome do as the Romans do" is not assimilation but simulation.

During the war we were too ready to accept outward appearances for actual fact and much hypocrisy flourished upon the wastes of the Espionage Act and the artificially stimulated hate that made the government a party to much unnecessary and unjust prosecution. Perhaps as much antagonism and suspicion against Americanization was aroused by the too rigid and not always reasonable enforcement of the Espionage Act and the part that the public took in it as by any other means.

What we failed to realize is that sincere disagreement with government is less dangerous than insincere agreement. To what extent the government with the co-operation of the public has succeeded in selecting and in dealing out justice to those who for one reason or another come under the law of the Espionage Act, the future alone will tell.

It seems obvious that Americanization is a growth not to be achieved by the turn of the hand. It must be gradual, it must be sincere, it must be based upon conviction. Perhaps these are trite commonplaces that are hardly worth mentioning. The practices indulged in by both governmental and private agencies during the war, however, warrant their restatement at least.

The rate of progress of society depends upon its flexibility and its flexibility is determined by its variants. Americanization if it is to become a factor of progress rather than a means of safety must look upon the foreign elements as variants with unit characters which should be subject to selection and development to the extent that they may be or may become useful in the synthetic processes upon which the progress of the social order depends. Americanization should not be looked upon, therefore, as a ritual harking back to the old, but as a creation looking forward to the new.

Each national and racial group has its own inheritance of civilization. In the field of science, art, literature, philosophy, sociology, politics, each and all display certain aptitudes which are not only worth conserving and adding to the store of our achievements

in these fields of endeavor, but they can and should be used as a leavening element in getting new interpretations, new visions of American civilization in the future.

Literature, art, science, which is not fertilized by a constant influx of new elements free from the ritualism and homogeneity which must of necessity become increasingly a part of too intensive an adaptation, becomes either sterile or monotonous. The vision of the unassimilated is frequently necessary in the opening up of new highways of thought and progress. Among the foreign groups in America we find ample manifestation of the creative elements which if developed without too great an eagerness to mold them into the pattern of the established standard will yield new and invigorating elements in the creative work of the nation.

The Americanization movement should not only tolerate these exotic manifestations of creative thought and creative functioning, but it should consider the conservation of these creative instincts as a means of accelerating progress and of increasing the variability and creative powers of the nation. Native music, native literature, native arts and crafts, the native dance, philosophic thought, political idealism, etc., are all to be found among the foreign people. These represent potentially their contribution toward native creative genius, they are capable of new interpretations for their own perfecting, and they may interpret America from new angles and with benefit to all. They constitute an aspect of Americanization that will save this country from the decadence that has overcome Spain and the stifling rigidity of the Pan-Germanic chamber of horrors.

LANGUAGE

Language as one of the common basic factors in Americanization is essential to the life of the state as it establishes a common basis of communion between the people. It is the common denominator of the nation.

In order to reach this common basis of understanding the conditions brought about by the war have called into being a spirit of contempt against non-English-speaking people and an effort to force upon the foreigner the English language. Laws have been introduced into the various state legislatures and regulations are

being urged upon all authorities to abolish the use of all foreign languages.

While I am in hearty accord with all legitimate and sympathetic effort to teach English and to establish the English language as the sole official language of the country, I am not sure that the methods employed or suggested will attain this end. The efforts of the Pan-Slavic leaders to destroy the national existence of conquered races by prohibiting the use of the native language, the methods employed by the Germans and Austrians in their endeavor to Prussianize or Germanize some of the people within their borders are not consistent with American ideals as I conceive them to be, and have so far proved themselves less effective than the policy of tolerance so far practiced in this country. There is no country in the world where more foreign tongues are spoken than in the United States, and yet no country has so quickly and so easily made its official language the common language of the people as the United States. Such a foolish law as was passed by North Dakota where not more than three people when gathered together are permitted to speak the German language, or the executive order of the governor of Ohio which prohibited the use of foreign languages at public gatherings, are not going to destroy the desire to speak that language in so far as its use in this country is concerned. The opening of adequate schools for the teaching of English, the proper subsidy of all institutions of learning which undertake the teaching of English to both adults and children, and similar friendly efforts are the only effective means of achieving this end.

I am not fearful that we shall perish for lack of a common language, but I do fear that we shall fall the prey of overzealous patriots who confuse their desire for revenge with love for their country. The army we sent to fight for democracy was not an English-speaking army. It was a truly American army made up of every race and nationality that has reached these shores since Columbus first discovered America, speaking every language of the civilized world and having given up, in most instances, allegiance to all great countries of the world in order to join American forces in their struggle for the safety of democracy throughout the world.

Love of country requires no special language but it does require a spirit of loyalty and service and devotion beyond the bounds of any known tongue.

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

Statistical statements derived from the rather antiquated figures of the United States Census for 1910 have been used by alarmists to demonstrate the pressing need for an active campaign to teach the foreigners the English language. The argument is that the foreign groups are reluctant to abandon their native tongue and speak the language of their adopted country.

Perhaps the most serious difficulty in the way of teaching the English language is the illiteracy of many of the immigrants of this country. This same difficulty is also a momentous factor in facilitating social and political participation in the affairs of the state. Examination of the figures of the census shows that while 4.07 per cent of the natives of native parents are illiterate, only 1.32 per cent of the natives of foreign and mixed parentage are illiterate, while the illiteracy of the foreign-born is only 11.86 per cent of the foreign-born population over 21 years of age. The fact that the illiteracy of the native of foreign parents is less than one-third of the illiteracy of the natives 21 years of age and over is rather significant as indicating the zeal of the foreigners to afford their children educational opportunities.

The Census of 1910 also tells us that 2,896,606 foreign born whites 15 years of age and over were unable to speak the English language. While these figures represent a very unusual proportion of foreign persons unable to speak the language of the country in which they are living, when we remember that during the four years preceding the 1910 Census of the United States, nearly four million (3,861,575) persons entered this country and that it takes some time to acquire a knowledge of the English language the figures are not nearly as significant as they seem at first. It should also be remembered that the foreign groups which have acquired a knowledge of the language have done so despite, rather than because of, the provisions made for their education by the local, state, or federal governments.

The 1910 Census also tells a rather striking story when we consider school attendance of persons between 6 and 14 years of age. While 83.5 per cent of the native children of native parents attended school, foreign-born children attended school to the extent of 82.3 per cent, but when we consider the native children of foreign and mixed parentage we find that 88 per cent of them attended school. As most of the immigrants live in the North Atlantic states it will be argued that these foregoing figures do not represent conditions with due relation to educational opportunities. We find, however, that in the North Atlantic division the difference in the proportion of children under 14 years of age attending school according to parentage is so slight as to be negligible.¹

The evidence seems to lead to the conclusion that in so far as illiteracy or the learning of the English language is concerned there has been no serious difficulty created by the immigrants themselves. The main difficulties, however, are to be found in the lack of facilities for learning English, the low grade of teachers provided, the hours and conditions under which teaching must be done, the failure to employ teachers with experience in handling foreign adults, and above all the fact that most adult foreigners during their first years in the United States must earn their living in ill-paid and exhausting occupations which leave them physically unfit for any mental effort.

With about three million persons still to be trained in the use of the English language, the federal, state, and local governments should develop well-trained teachers and proper conditions of teaching during hours when mental effort is least difficult. Perhaps there is no nation in the world that is so non-linguistic as are the natives of this country and they should have a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties of learning a new language, particularly by people with a limited education or altogether without education.

While language is the common denominator of all social and political education among the people already assimilated, it must be recognized that the most important period of political and social education in the life of the immigrant is during the first twelve months or two years in this country. It is then that the impressions

¹ Abstract of 1910 United States Census, Table XIV.

are strongest and count the most in the future adjustment to the new environment. It is obvious, therefore, that a prohibition of the use of a foreign language in public meetings, and particularly the abolition of the foreign press in this country, would be nothing short of a calamity. They are the channels through which the foreigner can keep in touch with conditions, and all leadership of the foreigners is impossible unless it is expressed in the native tongue. To assume that any foreigner can acquire a knowledge of English so as to listen to or read intelligently during a period of less than two years is to expect a great deal more than many intelligent American travelers have been able to achieve in their sojourns in foreign lands.

It is safe to say that during normal times the reading of the foreign press in the United States reveals a greater respect for American institutions, keener and fairer analysis of political and social conditions, less sweeping condemnation of public men, less unenlightened partisanship, and a better sense of proportion in relation to the abnormalities and irregularities of society than we find in much of the American press using the English language as its medium of expression. One can find more basis for dissatisfaction, mistrust, and even disgust, with American life and institutions by reading unintelligently and trustfully the statements that fill the pages of our daily newspapers than could be invented by the most imaginative, the most pernicious, and the most radical foreign agitator. From personal experience, I can state that much of the daily press published in the English language gives an unfair, a distorted conception of America, and it should be kept out of the hands of the newly arrived immigrant with the same concern as we would keep pornographic literature out of the hands of innocent childhood.

While the teaching of English and its use among the foreigners should not be forced by ill-conceived legislation, nor indeed by social ostracism or artificially stimulated public opinion, the education of the children of foreign-born parentage should be carried on primarily in the language of the country and with every reasonable effort to make this language the common language of all. In doing this, however, we must not lose sight of the danger that any effort

to interfere with the learning or use of the language of the parents presents. The disintegration of Austria, the new alignment of national units all over Europe, shows that the peaceful teaching of a language is not synonymous with the forcible abolition of the mother-tongue.

CONSERVATION AND CROSS-FERTILIZATION OF CULTURES

Teutonic egotism and imperialism conspired during the last quarter-century against the cultures of peoples whom they sought to absorb or assimilate. Like a ravaging reptile they covered their prey with the slime of contempt in order the easier to swallow them.

In this country while we are not boasting of a special kind of *kultur* and are not aspiring to a *weltmacht* patterned on the Teutonic monster, we have nevertheless endeavored to idealize American institutions and American government as the creation of a people with all claims to national integration, national independence, and a common national ideal. We are likely to overlook the fact that our language and most of our political and social institutions are the inheritance of the old world, mainly Anglo-Saxon, adjusted to a new geographic environment. Having established the new state we cannot afford to become isolated or avoid the influences of interplay of civilization and culture of other nations. A hermit individualism in a nation is as destructive of civilization as is the predatory individualism of the Teutonic type.

A glance at the broadest outline of the history of culture shows clearly that no culture has impressed itself upon the world without the widest possible cross-fertilization. Egypt, Babylon, Athens, Rome, France, England, are all the hybrids of interplay and cross-fertilization of great cultures without which decadence and reaction would have been the world's inheritance.

The vast influx of peoples from all of the civilized world affords a new, broader, and less wasteful opportunity for cultural interplay than we can find in the chronicles of the history of civilization. The Americanization movement, however, seems to have become a nationalistic movement patterned upon the traditions of Anglo-Saxon and Puritan culture. But even in the countries in which these cultures originated they have undergone in the span of the history

of this country radical changes due largely to the influences of European civilization rather than to the internal development of an older civilization and culture. The peoples which have come to these shores represent French, German, Italian—various cultures. To be sure many of the individuals are not representative of the classes which in the past have been the leaders in the development of these native cultures. It must be admitted, however, that when we analyze the conditions, economic, social, political, and religious, under which the masses have lived for generations past, and compare them with better and more democratic distribution of opportunities as well as the greater freedom of self-development afforded in the United States we shall admit that new powers of self-development will be released and that those subconscious residues of folk *mores* and folk art will again become the forces which give full sway to the creative impulse. To crush all tradition, to scoff at the *mores* of a people, to discount the creative values of the heritage of a civilization, to fail to capitalize the opportunity for cross-fertilization of cultures is to destroy the dynamic forces which make for progressive, regenerative, vital, human culture.

In so far as the approach to Americanization of the foreign people of the United States is concerned, we should, therefore, not assume that the attainment of a dead level will be either desirable for the aliens or beneficial to the perpetuation or perfection of the culture of the United States. Inbreeding in cultural development is as dangerous as in the biological life of a people.

President Wilson has said: "Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit." In Americanization a peaceful merging and co-operative development of a nation can be obtained when out of depths of each people comes a desire for participation and common benefit that is born out of equality, that is devoid of fear, that looks to the future and not to the past, that considers tradition a stepping-stone and not a chain, and that looks upon the culture of the world as an achievement to be conserved and developed rather than as a menace.

We need the music of Italy, the clear thinking of France, the industry and thoroughness of Germany, the truthfulness and art

of Russia. We have them all in our midst if we would only learn to find them, encourage them, and use them.

The Americanization study at present being carried on by the Carnegie Foundation under the able leadership of Dr. Allen T. Burns, may give us some notion of the ways in which the various foreign cultures manifest themselves in our midst and to what extent an intelligent Americanization movement would assist in making these cultures a part of our common heritage out of which will be realized a new world.

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

The din of the reiterated panacea that the distribution of immigrants would solve the Americanization problem is in everyone's ears. Take the foreigner out of the congested cities, place him in small communities or on the farm, isolate him from his fellow-countrymen, surround him by Americans and compel him to speak nothing but English and you have solved the whole problem. This method sounds so simple and practical that it is bound to be impractical and inconsistent with the experience of society.

It is clear to anyone familiar with immigrant life that congestion, poor sanitation, low standards of living, are not the reasons why the immigrants prefer the cities with all their attending evils. These conditions are merely the commodities as they find them when they reach these shores, and their control depends not upon the new arrival who has no voice in government and whose economic position is too precarious to afford a choice, but upon the already assimilated people participating in the conduct and control of our social and political institutions. The Irish and the German immigrants were the forerunners of the Italian and the Polish, and their transition into Americanism took place through slums that were even worse than what we now find on the lower east side of New York, or in the stockyard district of Chicago.

When we analyze the causes of congestion among the immigrants we find that they are fundamentally economic. A large proportion of our immigrants are unskilled workers or tradesmen with skill and training which require new adjustments to industries in which the division of tasks, the trade processes, and the conditions

of labor are essentially different from those found in the same industries in the old country.

Unskilled trades and the semi-skilled trades employ large numbers of workers and these are largely open to the immigrant. Without a knowledge of the language and ignorant of American methods of work and employment he must depend upon the people of his own race or nationality for guidance and assistance. In learning a new trade he must be able to understand instructions and in looking for a job he must be able to speak and read the language of his employer or his agent.

If he desires to go out on the farm the only choice he has is day labor, a very precarious occupation with all the attending evils of seasonal employment, ignorance of the newer methods of cultivation and complete isolation from those who in time of need can understand and help meet difficulties. To become a farm owner requires capital and a knowledge of American methods of cultivation, marketing, and business.

For these reasons the immigrant remains in his colony. He also has certain social needs which he cannot get in an American environment. The church, the lodge, the social center, cannot exist except when there are present in the community or neighborhood large enough groups of the same nationality or race to justify their presence and guarantee their maintenance. All these institutions if conducted in English are of no value to the immigrant for at least the first two or three years of his stay in the United States. Even evening schools for foreigners for the purpose of teaching them the English language cannot be maintained with any degree of efficiency without having a certain amount of segregation. The very work of Americanization cannot function unless it can deal with groups instead of individuals. To endeavor Americanization by scattering individual immigrants in American communities is to attempt Americanization by a process of gradual social and economic suffocation.

To depend upon the individual immigrant to work out his own problems of Americanization or leave the responsibility to the American neighbor as an individual, disinterested and unorganized, is nothing short of subjecting the immigrant to a lonely existence,

mentally and economically a Robinson Crusoe in an atmosphere of social ostracism.

Passing for a moment from the problem of creating the most favorable conditions for rapid assimilation to the question of making it possible for every national or racial group to contribute some share of its cultural attainments toward the life of the American people we find segregation essential. It is strange that we are always willing to purchase talent and genius when offered in the foreign market and hardly consider the price. The same talent and genius, the same creative forces are in operation, or could be made to operate, among the forty or fifty groups of immigrants if these groups are afforded the opportunity for development and self-expression of which they are capable. The record of immigrant art is already commanding respect in the cultured circles of the United States. Under conditions of poverty, congestion, social ostracism, ignorance of American taste, much has already been produced. The salvaging of this creative force, much of which becomes stifled under the conditions confronting the immigrant, should be part of a constructive program of Americanization. A beginning has already been made by the social settlements, the social centers, etc. A wider and more far-reaching field is now open, but the artist must not too abruptly be torn from the influences of his native people whom he can serve as he serves the nation as a whole.

I have often been told that the immigrant is responsible for inefficiency and corruption in government. This argument is hardly worth discussing. Government is in the hands of permanently assimilated voters, many of whom are natives and of Anglo-Saxon origin. Examination of the standards of honesty and efficiency of municipal and state governments will show that there is no relation between the proportion of assimilated foreigners and the type of local or state government. Should we venture upon so sacrilegious an inquiry as to the comparative ability of the members of the United States Congress and the nativity of the voters who elected them, I am of the opinion that the evidence would not be against the sense of discrimination of the naturalized voter.

On the whole, it may not be considered a heresy to say that the segregation of foreign groups is a desirable condition of their gradual Americanization and development as a people. Congestion with its attending evils is subject to control and the effectiveness of the control depends upon the American people and not upon the immigrant. Distribution of the immigrant is a problem of economic well-being and not one of national and political assimilation.

ENVIRONMENT AS A SOCIALIZING FACTOR IN AMERICANIZATION

To many interested in Americanization, the social and political assimilation of the immigrant appears as a process of education. Teach the foreigner the English language, educate him about American standards, inform him about American political institutions, impress him with the opportunities afforded to him by the United States, preach to him about the moral codes of the American people, make him feel his responsibility toward America; these are the ways and means by which we expect to achieve the task that is before us.

While no one would venture to discount the value of the educational processes outlined above, they imply a thoroughly developed educational system, leisure time during which this educational program can be carried out, and a mental and physical receptivity in the immigrant attained through a favorable economic and social environment.

To assume that education without adequate control of environment will accomplish the assimilation of the immigrant groups is to fail to realize the value of direct, personal contact as against bookish and oratorical forcible feeding.

With housing conditions unsuited for the attainment of the American ideal of home life; with low wages, irregularity of employment, bad working conditions, absence of or inadequate insurance against sickness, death, accident, and unemployment; with an enforced sectionalism prompted by national and racial discrimination and the constant and entirely too obvious effort to Americanize consciously or unconsciously, prompted by a sense of fear or a sense of superiority on the part of the native elements,

we cannot expect a sudden change of mind in the immigrant without reservation and with full confidence in the honesty of purpose of those most active in Americanization work.

The social agencies which have fought against child labor, which have made every effort to improve living conditions, the organizations interested in the promotion of social insurance, and all the other societies, organizations, and agencies working toward the improvement of living conditions in this country, have done more in the past and will continue in the future to do more toward the Americanization of the immigrant than all of the Americanization leagues, societies, committees, commissions, boards, etc., could do under the most favorable circumstances. Americanization without social amelioration is futile; assimilation without friendly social service is inconceivable.

THE IMMIGRANT AS A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNIT

Man is a social and political being. As we look over the history of oppressed peoples we find that the measure of their oppression may be found in the manner and extent of their participation in the social and political life of the nation. In the United States we do not find such a deliberate effort to restrain the immigrant from participation in the social and political life of the nation or the community. It must be admitted, however, that the playground, the settlement, the charitable agency, the civic organization, are constantly superimposing upon the individual and group life of the immigrant certain conditions of living, certain social and moral standards, certain moral restraints with which they are not familiar, and in the shaping of which they have had no part. It may be argued that the alien population is not sufficiently advanced either to conceive or to impose upon themselves what we loosely call American standards. This is an assumption that has never been proved and if measured in terms of the ability to develop such standards by a general organization of Americans for the same purposes we are likely to find that they are indifferent to or wholly ignorant of the needs and purposes of most important and necessary reforms. As a short cut to success most reformers assume that they know more about the things the people need or

want than the people know themselves. While this may be partially true we have never justified this assumption by organizing the people as a whole for the reforms which we impose upon them and the social order under which they live. In other words we are living in an age of extensive reform with the least possible democratic participation in the shaping and achievement of these reforms.

In the case of the foreign groups no effort is ever made to acquaint them with the purposes of actual or contemplated reforms. It is not for them to choose but to submit.

Buckle said that the chief obstacle to progress is in "the protective spirit," which leads one class of men to hamper the liberty of a nation. I fear that our Americanization movement and even our general reform movements are retarded by our failure to take the people into our confidence and make them participants rather than laboratory specimens of our social experiments. Whether it is in the organization of relief or in the development of a community center, whether it is in forcing sanitary improvements or the collection of funds for the Red Cross, the foreign groups can and should be organized and guided into an intelligent participation in all our social and political activities and reforms.

To assume that citizenship when officially granted automatically endows the new voter with the powers of discrimination, with an intelligent understanding of our complex social institutions, and with adequate experience as a participant in public affairs is as absurd as it is dangerous. In the field of health, recreation, industrial organization, moral protection, the foreigner can and should be made to function during the years of preparation for citizenship and this can be achieved without in any way interfering with his personal liberties. Participation is the most effective school of citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP

It has been pointed out that Americanization is a process not a doctrine, a growth not a science, and that experience and participation are its dynamic forces.

The foundation of the Americanization movement must, therefore, rest not upon a doctrine of a political or social order peculiar

to a particular class but upon the development of an intelligent and practical contact with American institutions and particularly with the American people. You cannot hire Americanization work done. It is the task of all the American people to inspire confidence and to offer helpful assistance that is above suspicion of creed or class.

The social worker's place in Americanization is uncontested, but this task is more directly concerned with the Americanization of the American people than with the assimilation of the foreigner. It is the social worker's privilege to know and understand the alien mind, to meet the problems and difficulties of the foreigner when at the bottom of the social ladder, to endeavor to procure justice where our institutions have done injustice, to mend broken hearts and assist in the recovery of lost hopes and ideals. The social worker has command over the most telling facts regarding the failures of American institutions. It is his duty to Americanize the Americans by making these facts known and their causes understood.

It is an interesting paradox that most of the activities of Americanization workers are centered upon the increase in the voting forces of the immigrant groups and that this movement is very largely sponsored by the conservative interests of the country. If the survival of American institutions is at stake, if imminent danger is to be found in the large masses of foreign-born people in this country, would not these dangers to American institutions be increased with the rapid and artificially stimulated increase in voting population among the groups of immigrant origin?

Anyone familiar with the adequacy and method of ascertaining an alien's fitness for citizenship will realize that they can hardly meet the needs of efficient scrutiny and determination upon the various qualifications essential in the performance of the taxing duties of American citizenship.

The law which determines fitness for citizenship is in itself so defective and out of harmony with requirements for citizenship that it needs fundamental changes and adjustments. Expediency rather than efficiency is its aim in so far as the administration of the law is concerned. The interest, convenience, and effective functioning of the new citizen are disregarded.

It would seem that six fundamentals should be made upon the basis of naturalization, namely: (1) Thorough understanding of the functions of American government. (2) Recognition of the personal element in determining upon the period of residence required for citizenship. (3) Recognition of citizenship as a possible reward for service rendered rather than as a gift to be applied for. (4) The transfer of naturalization procedure from judicial to administrative offices. (5) The recognition of a woman's privilege to maintain or acquire citizenship independently of her husband. (6) The abolition of voting restriction upon women.

Perhaps it would be proper to expand somewhat each of the above fundamentals, obvious though they may seem.

1. *Understanding of function of government.*—Anyone who has witnessed the examination of applicants for citizenship has realized the inadequacy of the present system. It is not impressive, it cannot be thorough, and it cannot be taken as a guaranty that the new voter is either capable or is in position to become capable of passing upon public issues and casting an intelligent vote immediately upon his or her enfranchisement. The limited knowledge of English required, the general questions as to the Constitution of the United States, the name of the president, etc., are hardly sufficient to warrant confidence in the system or in the value of citizenship as a guaranty of loyalty and intelligent participation. It would seem that some classification of citizenship might be found effective and practical.

The present method of requiring first and second papers in a way implies classification, as every person who has taken out first papers is entitled to some protection by the United States government. There should be a difference, however, between citizenship in the sense of protection and service and the right to franchise. As every person taking out first papers declares severance of allegiance to the country of birth it should be recognized upon proper examination as a virtual citizenship without the right to vote.

Within two or three years any person desiring to acquire the franchise should present before some state or local government agency evidence of sufficient knowledge of the English language and understanding of the mechanism of the American government,

federal, state, and local, before application for the right to full voting citizenship is granted. This would avoid clogging courts and other offices and would furnish a better guaranty of ability to exercise the vote than is possible under the present system. If we distinguish between citizenship and franchise with regard to the millions of intelligent native-born women in the United States, would it not be practical to make the same distinction in the case of the foreign peoples who have no familiarity with American institutions and American government?

Certain limits of time could be fixed to govern the securing of the right to franchise, and the acquisition of this right could be made so attractive that every effort would be made to secure this privilege. While this may retard the increase in the number of voters it would be greatly to the advantage of the immigrant to have to become familiar with the responsibilities to be assumed, and it surely would not endanger any of the present American institutions, which we are endeavoring to save, by an increase in the volume of citizens unfamiliar with the government which they must in part determine and control.

2. *The personal element.*—Five years is the minimum time required to secure citizenship and the franchise. This period is entirely too long for some people and too short for others. An educated immigrant capable of speaking the English language is surely capable of acquiring at least the elementary principles of American institutions and government. The standards of living that prevail in this country are surely more rapidly acquired by the educated, English-speaking immigrant, than by those who are alien to all education and are ignorant of the language of the country.

It would seem reasonable, therefore, to assume that a two- or three-year period, as we find it in the countries of Western Europe, would be sufficient as a minimum residence prerequisite for citizenship and the franchise.

3. *Citizenship as a reward.*—The people of this country look upon citizenship as a privilege but fail to recognize its value as a reward. There are scores of foreign-born leaders in this country who through peculiar ability and by intense devotion to the cause

of their people and to American institutions have performed invaluable public service to the country. The time limit imposed upon the acquisition of citizenship prevents such persons from becoming a part of the people of the United States within a period of five years. While discrimination in favor of such leaders would seem undemocratic, everyone realizes that reward for service rendered is essentially just. Such citizenship might be granted by Congress or by presidential decree and lift the process out of the commonplace mechanism of its present administration.

4. *Administration of naturalization laws.*—At the present time we are witnessing a very peculiar division of labor in the administration of the naturalization laws. The Department of Labor, through the Bureau of Naturalization, deals with the investigation of qualifications of applicants. Upon the evidence of the agents of this Bureau largely depends the decision of the Department of Justice as to the granting of the privileges of citizenship, while the Department of the Interior through the Bureau of Education is dealing with the problem of securing means for educating the immigrants in matters of American life, language, and government.

Those who have kept in touch with the recent activities of the various federal departments realize that the popularity of Americanization work has driven the chiefs of various bureaus and even heads of departments into a sort of competitive struggle which is likely to result in a type of governmental sabotage which will retard rather than promote effective Americanization work.

One hesitates to suggest which department of the federal government should be in full and exclusive charge of the work, but a unification of functions is necessary and the department most vitally concerned with the problem and best equipped to carry out a consistent, constructive policy should be intrusted with the responsibility of promoting the education and granting the privilege of citizenship. The training of citizens is no more the task of the Department of Justice than is health work the function of the Department of the Treasury.

Whatever department is intrusted with this important work, it should have full responsibility and adequate funds and a personnel capable of achieving the best results.

4. *Independent citizenship for women.*—One of the most serious defects of the present naturalization laws is the fact that women are entitled to citizenship on the basis of the citizenship of their husbands. This makes for injustice to native women who marry persons of foreign birth and who thereby lose their own citizenship in the country of their birth and, as is frequently the case, in the country of birth of their remote ancestors. It is also clear that in the states where women vote, the volume of women voters of foreign birth is dependent upon the qualifications of their husbands, and not upon their own qualifications. This inconsistency borders on stupidity. Should woman suffrage become effective throughout the United States, hundreds of thousands of women who have never proved their qualifications for citizenship would become voters much to the confusion of the whole body politic. Modification of the laws of naturalization separating the citizenship of husband and wife would obviate whatever danger we may be inclined to find in woman suffrage from the point of view of adding to the voting population a group of women unqualified for the franchise.

5. *Woman suffrage.*—While we are straining to secure a universal desire for active citizenship on the part of immigrants from every land, it would seem part of the Americanization movement to enfranchise half the potential voting population of the states in which woman suffrage does not exist. With the doubling of the voting population by the enfranchisement of the native women and the separation of the citizenship of the husband from the citizenship of the wife, a much fairer, safer, and more intelligent citizen body could be created and maintained.

It is clear that whatever the value of expediting the acquisition of citizenship, the naturalization laws of this country are in need of radical revision in order to achieve the ends that they are designed to achieve.

THE NEW NATIONALISM

A polyglot army with differing traditions, born in every corner of the accessible areas of the globe, with religious beliefs representing every creed and denomination known to the civilized world, fought for democracy in the trenches of Europe. They

were Yanks in spirit and in aspiration, those millions who went overseas prepared for the supreme sacrifice, but in their veins flowed the blood of all nations and in their hearts were hidden treasures of tradition and culture that have not been and will not be discovered and developed until the Americanization movement realizes that a new nationalism must be created out of the old. President Wilson has shifted the meaning of patriotism from national honor to national justice and has established the measure of nationalism within the bonds of self-determination. These new interpretations of national life, instead of tending toward a greater intensity of the old-time patriotism is paving the way toward internationalism of which the League of Nations is only a negative beginning. As we look upon the League of Nations outlined by President Wilson and the Conference in Paris we realize that its establishment is merely an incident in the new nationalism—a nationalism which will establish a national honor and a national code of morals to be judged not alone by the religious and national traditions of nations, but by a new code of international ethics, which will achieve for each nation what our courts and public opinion have achieved in fostering a free development of the individual in harmony with the state and the best interests of the nation.

By removing the resistance to the development of national life the golden gates of internationalism have been opened. In the Americanization movement the prohibition of language, taboo of customs, and disregard of tradition should be removed in order to do away with the conscious or unconscious resistances which these ill-conceived methods have produced. The war which has just come to a close will emancipate Europe from the delirium of nationalism which has for its basis the measure of national strength by the degree of national danger. Nationalism so far has been a state of mind corresponding to a geographic fact of international importance. The new nationalism in America and throughout the world will be found eventually in the sphere of social consciousness which works toward the perfection of a political state which will be measured in terms of its harmony with individual values. Based upon a political philosophy inspired by the highest idealism,

with a people in whose minds and veins may be traced the traditions of all the civilized peoples of the world, one must look upon the new nationalism as a new hope, a new ambition, and say with Black:

I shall not cease from mental strife
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

Of course, the sword is too antiquated to use in the building of a people, and the vast areas of the United States open a new world for the building of a Jerusalem in which love and loyalty and freedom shall blend to create a new people, in which the spirit rather than the sword shall lead, and in which civilization shall blend and grow by a "contagion of co-operation."

Americanization is not to be interpreted as the new nationalism unless it means the creation of a condition in which the full attainment of the ideals of America by all its people and the achievement of this ideal for all its people is understood thereby. The new nationalism will arise out of an honest effort to conform American life to American ideals and not from the satisfaction that what is America is American and should, therefore, be accepted or imposed upon all those who have come to these shores to find Americanism and have merely landed in America.

AMERICANIZATION SERVICE

A new conscience has been evolved during the war relative to the assimilation of the foreigner. It is almost the fashion now to talk, write, or organize in the interest of Americanization work. Every existing organization has an Americanization committee, every city and every state is feverishly organizing for the organization of Americanization service, and folks who used to be just human beings are being classified into American and un-American, according to their willingness to agree or disagree with the Americanizers as to what their social, economic, and political ideals should be.

They call us aliens, we are told,
Because our wayward visions stray
From that dim banner they unfold,
The dreams of worn-out yesterday.

It is much easier to assimilate and Americanize by pointing to the future than by trying to improve the past.

As far as one can discover, the new consciousness relating to the need for Americanization is justified only on the ground that the efforts of the past have failed to afford ample, intelligent, and sympathetic means of protecting the interests of the foreigners, giving them a true concept of what America is and can be, and what the relation of the immigrant to his country of adoption should be. The social settlement, the community center, the newly developed community council, the schools for adult foreigners, the immigrant protective leagues, the charitable agencies, the legal-aid societies, are all engaged in the task of translating American law and American institutions into service. By strengthening the agencies already at work, by furnishing adequate financial support to organizations struggling with inefficiency because of lack of funds, by improving the technique of the service, by recognizing the fundamental human values in the immigrant, and removing all discrimination in discussion and treatment of foreigners, we shall speed up a task which the workers in the fields mentioned understand best and are most adequately equipped to handle.

Understanding, tolerance, service, are the chief needs of the immigrant in process of Americanization. Beyond these efforts the Americanization movement applies to all the people of America and comprises all education, all effort toward social justice, all striving toward national unity and national development. Americanization as conceived by the conservative alarmist as a cure against independent thinking and against mass demands for industrial and social justice is an anachronism that will perish by its own violence.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE SCIENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

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The degree of exactness which any science attains depends almost wholly upon the technique and technology with which that science works. The social sciences are the least exact of all the sciences because they have a greater poverty of exact technology than other sciences. Their technology is meager and undeveloped because the phenomena which they seek to measure and report are the most complex known. It is not the complex but the simple facts out of which science is built. Any fact is simple that can be measured. Any body of facts that can be measured can be tabulated. From any body of facts that can be tabulated laws can be formulated. But social facts are difficult to measure and thus social laws are hard to formulate. The reason why the facts out of which science is built must be simple is that they must be observed to reappear in the same outward form many times. We cannot assert the reappearance of a fact, however, unless we can in some way subject that fact to measurement, or at least to quantitative representation. The reappearance of social facts is just as necessary for the formulation of a scientific law in the social sciences as the reappearance of biological facts is for the formulation of a law in zoölogy. That social facts do not seemingly, or even actually, reappear as frequently as do the facts of the so-called exact sciences is due to the fact that they are influenced by neither few nor well-defined circumstances. This irregularity of circumstances has not kept the social scientists from drawing generalizations, however, and to draw generalizations concerning facts is literally to demand a faith or trust in the reappearance of those facts, i.e., to demand a belief that these facts are obeying a law. It is imperative that the social sciences win for themselves the acceptance of their generalizations as trustworthy. A faith in such trustworthiness has almost

as great a part to play in converting a body of knowledge into "science" as has an established method of analyzing phenomena or an adequate set of working tools.

The facts with which the social scientist works are not only complex, but, more confusing still, they are for the most part living and conscious. For this reason they are often apparently unstable for any long period of time. The exact scientist works under no such handicap. The nerve cell of a crayfish, which the zoölogist observes, can neither deny the zoölogist's observation nor be influenced by what men say about it. Human beings, which the sociologist observes, talk and through their talk may destroy the trust which other people would otherwise put in the observation. Furthermore, the activities of men and groups of men may be so thoroughly influenced by other men as completely to change their behavior and thus upset the reappearance of the social fact of which they are a part or the whole. Few communities and no men are the same today that they were ten years ago. People believe and in fact know this and so refuse to trust many of the generalizations of the social scientists. So long as this is true the social sciences cannot claim to be sciences at all, for they are reporting observations and experiences that are not accepted. The social scientist is often further embarrassed by the necessity of submitting his observations to the individuals or groups whom they concern most vitally. Any refusal on the part of these individuals or groups to accept the observation as correct may seem to explode the fact itself, or at least may destroy the trust in the observation and thus in the body of science of which the observation is destined to become a part. The investigator in the exact sciences has no such trouble. The cold figures with which he must correlate his newly observed fact cannot refuse admission to the new member. Electrons, ions, atoms, and molecules, the phenomena of the physical sciences, do not talk and think. Men and communities, the phenomena of the social sciences, do.

Does the fact that the human race has developed a vocabulary and that men explain their actions by actual or averred motives back of their behavior deny that they do act, or deny that we can know anything about their acts? Does it even assert that their

actions are fortuitous, that their acts are not natural effects from commensurate or at least measurable causes? Certainly men act, and their acts—whether with or without motives—are objects of observation. There is nothing in all the world about which we know so much as we do about the phenomena of human conduct. Furthermore, if many of these phenomena are fortuitous it is because fortuitous phenomena are, by definition, only those phenomena whose laws we do not know.¹ By this definition many social phenomena are fortuitous, i.e., we have not formulated and so do not know their laws. This statement reveals the crux of the whole social science problem. The social sciences have not developed laws. The exact sciences have. One reason why sociology, for instance, has never developed laws is because sociologists have never learned the value of measurement. Not that there is necessarily anything scientific in mere measurement, but it is measurement which affords us the means by which it can be determined whether we have the persistent reappearance and uniformity of phenomena. If this be true the first task of the social sciences is to develop a system of technology by which they can reduce variations to the minimum and by thus doing produce uniformity. When they have done this they will have taken a very definite step in the direction of the methods of exact science which only demands that the variations be slight or the uniformity be relative. The question as to whether the social sciences, desiring as much as they do to become scientific, care to become “science for science’ sake” should not obscure the issue. Even if they always want to make the immediate application of their findings to the field of their research, they are not to be excused for seeking their facts with the telescope in preference to the microscope, or for studying abstract human relationships in preference to human groups and human behavior, or for studying society at large in preference to neighborhood societies.

The very essence of scientific method is exactness, and the prime essential of exactness is that something be exactly true of some one thing. A sufficient reappearance of this one thing in time or space, that is, the recurrence of the same fact or the occurrence of

¹ H. Poincaré, *The Foundations of Science*, p. 395.

numerous similar facts, will constitute a basis for generalization. Biology, for instance, may be considered to be the science of living organisms, but the exact method of biological investigation is the observation of one living organism at a time under a microscope. Sociology may be considered to be the science of living, conscious, acting and reacting human individuals and human groups. Has the method of sociological investigation ever been, and are sociologists willing that it should be, the subjecting of these human groups, one by one, to a patient analysis? It is doubtful. And for this reason sociology is inexact. Will it ever become exact? The history of its evolution gives no cause for denying that it can. "The trouble and pain that it costs the mathematician to discover one new decimal";¹ the long and weary experimentation by which the chemist has reduced chemical constituents to sixty elements; the development of biology from the "philosophy of living nature"² to a "mechanistic conception of life";³ the common knowledge that astronomy was at one time astrology, chemistry at one time alchemy, psychology at one time the science of the soul, and even that mathematics was at one time only a perceptual way of knowing individual things—ought to suffice to give the sociologist a faith in and a promise for the future of his science.

August Comte, a long while ago, pictured the process by which a science becomes exact, or "positive," as he pleased to call it. We may agree with him that all exact sciences have passed through the three stages which he mentions, viz., the theological stage, the metaphysical stage, and finally the positive stage. We could not agree that the first two stages were science at all according to present standards and criteria of science. This does not deny, however, that the categories of knowledge which later became exact sciences were at one time theological and metaphysical bodies of thinking. If the scientists in the field of the exact sciences know and appreciate the struggle that their forbears had to go through

¹ H. Poincaré, *The Foundations of Science*, p. 373.

² Burden-Sanderson, "Biology in Its Relation to Other Natural Sciences," *Smithsonian Report*, 1893, p. 437.

³ J. Loeb, *The Mechanistic Conception of Life*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1912.

in order to present them with the basic formulas with which they now work, they should be more lenient with the social sciences, which have a right to their natural days of adolescence. Probably another thing that Comte did not see as clearly as we might desire, and one fact which many exact scientists refuse to recognize, is that no science is absolutely exact. We do have to allow for aberration in astronomy, for variation in physics, the curve of error in statistics, and relativity in all science. We know the law of gravitation not because bodies fall always and absolutely in the same way but because we have a well-developed set of tools with which to measure the way in which bodies do fall, and thus the data and formulas by which we calculate the law of gravitation are exact.¹ The fact of the case is that there are no more persons who observe the phenomena of gravitation than there are who observe the phenomena of human nature. There are countless millions more persons, however, who know the "one, two, three" of mathematics by which gravitation is reduced to simplicity, than there are who know and believe in the "subjective, objective, and ejective consciousness" of human beings. So long as the social scientists insist upon inventing foreign vocabularies and refuse to begin with the A B C's of the common man, just that long will they deny their science that trust which covers the multitude of personal equations, aberrations, and even errors of the so-called exact sciences.

If the social sciences are to beget this trust they must utilize not only the data of the other sciences but also to a large degree the technology by which these other sciences became exact. Comte's contention was that no succeeding science could become exact or even develop to any advanced stage until the preceding sciences had become exact. This undoubtedly is true to a large degree. A no less pertinent fact is that each science became positive before or later than some other science because it was possible to reduce its data to exact and quantitative expressions and measurements.

We must clearly recognize, of course, that the more exact the quantitative symbol is, the less fully it may represent the investigator's appreciation of the fact he is seeking to portray. To say, however, that there are social facts which cannot be expressed

¹ E. Mach, *Popular Scientific Lectures*, p. 256.

quantitatively is an error. The investigator may not be satisfied with the expression, but other people who want to know and appreciate the fact in some measure will be far better satisfied than they would be with some more vague and less visual description. The ideal of science is to simplify phenomena to such a degree as to be able to widen the universe of discourse, if possible, to the universal. But as Poincaré says, "What assurance is there that a thing we think simple does not hide a dreadful complexity?" He then answers his own question thus: "All we can say is that we ought to prefer the facts which seem simple to those where our crude eyes discern unlike elements." He should have added that likeness or unlikeness is measured altogether in the light of comparison with a third thing: namely, a criterion, a standard, or a definite symbol. Sociology is confronted, just at this stage of its development, with the problem of choosing between the alternative, on the one hand, of attempting to expand her universe of discourse by use of exact—if need be mathematical—terms, which will inevitably leave out much of the sympathy which the social investigator has with the objects of his observations, but which will subject these observations to the criteria of exact science, and the alternative, on the other hand, of refusing to subject her fact to such criteria and thereby sacrificing the trustworthiness which comes with facts so exactly stated. This choice may seem to resolve itself into the question of whether sociology desires to discover and reveal facts as human experiences or whether it prefers to sacrifice the soul of these facts for the sake of being scientific. Such a dilemma is based upon a total misconception of what science is; for the ultimate purpose of science, no matter in what field, is to reveal the facts of human experience. Science is a method of describing facts. As Karl Pearson says in the *Grammar of Science*, "Step by step men of science are coming to recognize that mechanism is not at the bottom of phenomena, but is only the conceptual short-hand aid by which they briefly describe and resume phenomena."¹ The same author says in another place, "Now this is the peculiarity of the scientific mind, that when once it has become the habit of mind it converts all facts whatsoever into science."² This probably raises

¹ K. Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*, 3d ed., Part I, p. viii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

a very pertinent question in the field of the social sciences, namely: Are the social scientists willing to pay the price of patient discovery, tabulation, and classification of facts which is typical of the scientific mind? It is extremely doubtful whether many students of society have ever recognized their task as a task of science at all. We say it is doubtful because we are not sure that they have ever recognized their task as that of developing and working a method, and, as we have said above, science is method. The student of society has had so many interesting things to attract his attention that he has spent little time in simplifying these things and reducing his observations of them to order. Many of these facts have been facts of disorder, pathological facts, and for this reason have been superattractive. The social scientist has often employed his time in merely describing them, rather than in subjecting them to formulas which would enable him to draw trustworthy generalizations from them.

The importance of a fact is measured, scientifically, by the width of the universality which it yields. As Poincaré says, "A new result is of value, if at all, when in unifying elements long known but hitherto separate and seeming strangers one to another, it suddenly introduces order where apparently disorder reigned. It then permits us to see at a glance each of the elements and its place in the assemblage."¹ Such a task is more easily set than accomplished in the social sciences. It is easy enough to observe social phenomena, but it is hard to standardize these observations. Mathematics does it by counting, physics does it by weights and measures, chemistry does it by reducing everything to formulas. Even psychology does it by measuring reaction time. Every one of these exact methods, however, depends upon the possibility of isolating facts for the sake of analysis. Every one of them operates upon the expressed or tacit assumption of "other things remaining equal." Our question is, can the method of isolation be utilized in analyzing social phenomena; can the social scientist proceed upon the assumption of "other things remaining equal"? Undoubtedly the task will be more difficult than it is in the field of any of the other sciences, for the very essence of a social fact is its interdependent

¹ H. Poincaré, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

and composite nature. Furthermore, the social scientist is slow to proceed upon the basis of "other things remaining equal" when he realizes that the least violation of this assumption will vitiate the fact he is seeking to isolate. The complexity of social phenomena, together with the fact that they cannot be arbitrarily controlled for the sake of experimentation, probably indicates that isolation in the field of the social sciences will have to be accomplished in a more or less roundabout way.

Isolation is but the first step in scientific analysis. The steps which come between it and the formulation of laws are the steps of tabulation, classification, and correlation. The whole procedure of analysis is futile if it does not discover or establish correlations and classes out of which formulas may be constructed. That is why science always seeks the typical fact. It is only the typical fact that makes possible scientific law. Münsterberg says, "Every science considers the single facts in their relations to other facts, works toward connections, toward generalizations. Isolation is not less valuable than connection but it never forms science."¹ The social sciences in the step of forming connections or relations, again, have the most difficult task of all sciences. If no two men see the same thing exactly alike, how can they formulate an expression or a description of that thing which will recognize these differences and yet express the same concept, content, or working hypothesis for them both? If that which may be a fact for one observer is not a fact at all for another observer, how may they recognize this contradiction and yet establish the type? These questions and conditions present difficult problems to solve. These problems, however, are not unique to the social sciences. They are the problems of all science. It is because such perplexing experiences arise in human life that we need the simplifying method of science to resolve them. Note the following conclusion concerning the theory of errors, from an exact scientist: "We need only one thing; that the errors are very numerous, that they are slight, that each may be negative as well as positive. Simplicity of result is born of the very complexity of the data."² Even the principal

¹ H. Münsterberg, *Psychology and Life*, p. 195.

² H. Poincaré, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

of inertia or the law of acceleration must be closely guarded in experimentation in order to yield uniform results. The fact that the conditions of the experiment can be set and guarded does not assert that physical bodies actually follow these principles and laws in nature. All it asserts is that physicists have succeeded in standardizing their observations of these bodies by reducing them to mathematical formulas. The social sciences must do somewhat the same thing. They will never be able completely to control the conditions of the experiment nor completely to isolate their facts, and these facts will, as they have already done, impede progress toward exactness. On the other hand, it may be that these very conditions will assure them of having more nearly analyzed things as they naturally are or as they naturally act, and thus of having more nearly formulated a law of true behavior, than any other science has done. It is the ideal or purpose which will lead the social scientist to attempt to develop and utilize scientific methods, that is needed just now.

Sociology developed through that period of political and social philosophy in which men were arguing the contract, conflict, imitation, and countless other theories of how people came to be living together in an organized way. Other sciences passed through similar evolutions. Biology for a long time was nothing but the "philosophy of living nature." It remained such until the invention of technology made it possible to isolate and to discover great numbers of facts hitherto unknown. It was only then that the biologists became so busy with and interested in facts that they forgot to philosophize about the nature of things. This behavior viewpoint is gradually taking hold upon every science. Attempts have been made from time to time to establish marking systems which would reduce social facts to this comparative basis.¹ These systems, while laudable attempts, were created rather than evolved. Their founders asked social investigators to cease being interested in facts long enough to learn a new language. They failed because social workers refused to do this and because they knew that these systems were imposing upon facts names unfamiliar to the people

¹ F. H. Giddings, "A Social Marking System," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, XII (June, 1910), 124-29.

who were dealing with these facts. Quite the opposite is true of the methods which the social surveyor presents to social science. These are the methods which men who are seeking to solve practical problems borrow or invent just because they are good ways of representing and measuring facts. These methods have not evolved or been created because they are scientific, but because they are efficient. The investigator is seeking a means by which he can accomplish things, and in order to accomplish these things he has to know facts. He goes at his task, finds facts, and makes them work. Other people analyze, generalize, and systematize his methods and findings and call them science.

It is through methods such as those being evolved and used by the social surveyor that sociology will probably come to utilize exact methods. For sociologists are going to be as slow in the dedication of their time to the gathering of facts that cannot be observed and tested in the laboratory as they have been in the adoption of fortuitous marking systems. Happily neither of these things is altogether necessary, though probably the former would be salutary. There are myriads of social data which are being gathered by experts for immediate purposes and which the sociologist needs but to correlate and utilize in order to have exact facts. It has been said that fact gathering is the A B C of the social survey. The question is whether the facts gathered by the social surveyor can be utilized for scientific purposes. Such a question would seem to be idle, however, unless we believe in a "science for science' sake," and sociologists will probably never be interested in any such science. The only difference, as far as the sociologist is concerned, between a practical fact and a scientific fact should be that a practical fact is a fact at work and a scientific fact is that same fact subjected to measurement and correlated with others of its kind. The expert and the sociologist are not necessarily one, but they are mutually helpful and co-operative in the development of sociology as a science. The expert, dealing with applied fact, is able to utilize the findings of all other experts in his own and allied fields because of the generalizations of the sociologist, who has simplified these findings and reduced them to order. On the other hand, it is inevitable that the theory concerning any body of phe-

nomena shall become clearer and sounder as more concrete and sounder methods of gathering, tabulating, and classifying facts are discovered or invented.

The rapid development of the exact sciences which was incident to the invention of time-, weight-, and space-measuring technology; the recent development of psychology into a more or less exact science because of definite means and methods of measuring reaction time; the wide use which is being made of mathematics and statistics by all sciences, are contemporary developments. Why should sociology not also profit by these exact methods? Or possibly the question might better be asked, Why should not sociology also become scientific? Karl Pearson said, "Every group of natural phenomena, every phase of social life, every stage of past or present development is material for science. The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material. . . . It is not the facts themselves which make science, but the method by which they are dealt with."¹ August Comte said, in essence, that each succeeding science in the ascending scale toward complexity had to wait upon the maturity of the preceding sciences before it could develop into the positive stage. Münsterberg said that "naturalistic dissolution" started with the rapid development of physics and chemistry.² Undoubtedly, the chief cause of progress in biology was due to the progress which had been made in the sciences upon which it depended—physics and chemistry. Burdon-Sanderson says: "This rapid advance came in biology not because it was any more possible than before to conceive of the organism otherwise than as a working together of parts for the good of the whole, but rather that men were so occupied with new facts that they had not time to elaborate philosophies."³ Is there nothing of this kind destined to occur in the field of sociology? Our belief is that it has already occurred. The social survey may not be the master-tool for measuring and simplifying the complex facts of sociology, but it is a step in that direction. It is a unique bit of technology which is capable of estimating and reporting

¹ K. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² H. Münsterberg, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ Burdon-Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

social facts quantitatively without sacrificing the soul of these facts altogether. Furthermore, it uses the same methods which the other sciences use and so is in accord with the thesis of the *Grammar of Science*. It is contemporary with pragmatism in philosophy, cost accounting in economics, and the development of exact tests and measurements in education and psychology. Its earliest development may be traced back to John Howard's study of prisons in 1777, to Lombroso's positive school of criminology in Italy, and Le Play's study of family budgets in France.

Le Play did not make his study of family budgets as a survey of practical facts alone. He believed that the chaos which he saw about him was a chaos of social ideas and therefore he argued the need of social generalizations and conclusions drawn from a patient study of facts. He chose the family as the unit of investigation because he believed in the rehabilitation of the powers once invested in the father of the family, who was the conductor of the workshop. We are not concerned with his theory of rehabilitation of the family, but we are bound to recognize his method of discovering the facts upon which he based his theory. He laid down definite rules of research, and proceeded by use of a questionnaire in which were carefully and systematically tabulated all the facts which his investigators gathered. Each investigator was to proceed by three methods: first, direct observation; second, direct questioning of the members of the family; and third, questioning of others concerning the family. The data gathered by each of these methods could then be checked by those gathered by the other two methods. Le Play insisted that all estimates be tabulated in terms of measures and money of the country in which the investigation was being made. This was typical of his desire to subject the results of all observations, in the social sciences, to the laws of mathematical science and to the criteria of the exact sciences. In expressing this conviction he says:

The surest means of knowing thoroughly the moral and the material life of men is much like the process which chemists use to learn the nature of minerals. A given mineral is known when by analysis it has been separated into the elements of which it is composed, and when it is found that the combined weight of all these elements is equal to that of the specimen that has been

analyzed. A numerical verification of a similar nature may always be made by the scholar who analyzes carefully the existence of the social unit constituted by the family.¹

The theory of sociology was not influenced directly by the work of Le Play, but it has undoubtedly been very greatly influenced, in the last two decades, by similar investigations. Studies which have been made of family budgets, standards of living, birth and death rates, marriage and divorce rates, wage rates, crime rates, the poverty line, and many other similar problems, have without question not only presented the sociologists with a large body of data from which to generalize but have also given them a mind to distrust generalizations based upon less specific findings. Professor Small says:

. . . . people who have focused their attention upon such questions can no longer be hoodwinked by the scientific pretensions of any more wholesale and summary methods of asking and answering questions about human experience. If we are at our wits' end to understand the boys in the nearest schoolyard, it is barely possible that no one has any better understood the crusade of the children. . . . If we find ourselves guessing about the undercurrents of politics in our own ward, the suspicion naturally steals in upon us that we may have believed fairy tales about the Wars of the Roses or the revolts of the Italian cities, or the European war of 1914. . . . In a word, this at least is a contribution which present fashions in sociological research are making to the objectivity of social science in general. . . . Otherwise expressed, the sociologists are at least performing the negative service of encouraging a wholesome suspicion that much remains before anything which is conventionally accepted as social science will be able to stand the test as more than one of the tributary techniques of science, or as a gathering of materials for science.²

Social surveys have already contributed a small library of facts which are pertinent to the problems with which the sociologist deals, and the social survey has just begun to operate as a definite method in the field of sociological research. The number of social

¹ P. G. F. Le Play, *Ouvriers Européens*, 2d ed., I, 224; cf. also an article by Professor C. A. Ellwood, in *American Journal of Sociology*, II, 662-79; and an article on "La Science Sociale" in *Annals of the American Academy*, IV, 620-54. This latter article is written by Paul de Rousiers and translated into English by Cornelia H. B. Rogers.

² A. W. Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865-1915)," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXI (May, 1916), 834-35.

surveys that have been made since the Pittsburgh Survey runs probably into the hundreds. Truly, as Professor Small implies, it is the present fashion in sociological research. The social-survey methods and findings are certain to play a more and more important rôle in dictating the type of attitudes with which the sociologists will approach their work in the future. When the social scientists have become thoroughly imbued with the mistrust of these "whole-sale and summary" methods of which Professor Small speaks, they will more diligently seek exact methods of knowing phenomena and will thus probably play a dominant rôle in the furthering of the social survey as a method of scientific research.

Probably the chief thing that has kept the sociologists from reducing their facts to measurements is the belief that there is an inherent difference between the facts of the social sciences and the facts of the other sciences. Men who accept the division of labor as an essential basis for scientific progress and research do not seem to have attained an appreciation of the more profound fact of the multiple aspect of phenomena. Sociologists have been confused by this multiple aspect of phenomena. They have been unwilling to simplify their body of data because these data appeared to be so complex and variable. No two men see the same thing in the same way. What is a fact for one man is not a fact for another. People who are baffled by this seeming variability have failed to see that the fact that different men look at the same thing in different ways is the very basis of the differentiation of the sciences. Münsterberg says, "A body may appear very different from the geometrical, from the physical, and from the chemical points of view, while each one gives us truth."¹ Psychology and sociology might just as well have been added to this list, for a social fact is after all only the social aspect of any other fact. A social fact is different from a historical fact, for instance, in that it has relatively little to do with temporal order and relatively much to do with conditioning circumstances. It is different from the facts of exact science only in the use that is made of it. Neither of these differences need have anything to do with the method by which facts are discovered. The social sciences should use all the methods

¹ H. Münsterberg, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

and, wherever possible, all the tools of all other sciences. They should develop a technique and create a technology of their own, if possible, out of the things they borrow from other sciences and out of the beginnings they have developed in their many investigations. For, as already stated, the very existence of a science depends upon the tools with which it works. The social sciences must have tools with which they can isolate their facts for the sake of subjecting them to rigid analysis and exact tabulation. Professor Small says, "Today we are bolder than ever before in professing the belief that we cannot know things as they are unless we know large reaches of them as subject to human control."¹ Students of society cannot take their experiments into the laboratory. They cannot literally use the microscope or test-tube. Many of their phenomena are so intricately interwoven with other phenomena that physical segregation is impossible. They would take a long step forward if they would even test all their investigations and reports of those investigations by the canons of inductive logic. The method of agreement, the method of difference, the joint method of agreement and difference, the method of residue, and the principle of concomitant variations are all methods of isolating facts. The statistical method is a most thorough method of isolating facts and a method which has been employed altogether too little in the social sciences. The canons of inductive logic have been used quite purely as thought-processes, however, and seldom have been applied to the actual problem of isolating social facts for the sake of analyzing them more thoroughly.² Statistics, on the other hand, have often so thoroughly isolated the facts that the real social significance of these facts has been lost. The social survey appears to be a tool capable of being utilized to isolate facts without

¹ A. W. Small, *op. cit.*, p. 864.

² The author analyzed thirty-eight articles, all of which appeared in the same year and were published in the same periodical, from the pens of sociologists. It was his purpose to test the methods of these contributions by the canons of inductive logic. He attempted to classify the articles into three classes: the first including those which violated or ignored inductive reasoning; the second, those which did not lend themselves to inductive tests; and the third, those which used, to a greater or less degree, inductive reasoning and methods of investigation. According to his judgment only twelve of these articles actually made use of inductive reasoning, while seventeen of them either ignored it altogether or actually violated some one canon of inductive logic.

sacrificing their social aspects. In its composite nature it retains all the environing circumstances, which are so much more an essential part of the social fact than they are of the historical fact or the fact of exact science.

The first essential of the social survey is that it be local. It is a survey of a township, a county, a community, or a definite social situation.¹ The first essential of a scientific fact is that it be definite knowledge concerning some specific thing. The survey and science are one in their demand that observations be localized or isolated. The survey, as well as science, is diagnostic. It seeks definite information concerning one county, one township, one parish, or one community. It goes a step farther in its method of isolation when it breaks up the investigation of a definite locality into typical sections and presents the findings in typical categories. A community is usually sized up by means of a pathfinder survey, and a cross-section, if judged to be typical, is taken for detailed investigation. The following statement is quoted from a survey report: "This district was chosen because it appeared on examination to be a fairly representative section. The dwellings . . . range all the way from miserable shacks to comfortable and commodious houses; the population is mixed; the occupations are sufficiently varied to furnish a wide range of conditions."² The survey from which this quotation is taken demonstrates three steps in the method by which the social survey isolates social facts. First, this survey sought definite data in a definite community about definite things, namely, "the earnings, expenditures, and living conditions of a group of working people of New Haven." Second, it took a typical cross-section of the city. Third, it completed the process by breaking up the investigation into street schedules. The cross-section method of analysis has literally subjected social situations to laboratory conditions. Survey schedules, which are practically universal, are literally the analogues of the more quantitative categories of mathematics. A certain type of sociologist is liable to scout the idea that any such method will ever give us a doctrine of population or a correct theory of geographical or economic determinism. The reply to such an objec-

¹ P. U. Kellogg, *The Social Survey*, p. 3.

² H. P. Fairchild, *An Industrial Survey of a New Haven District*, pp. 3-4, 7.

tion is that science is not seeking doctrines but generalizations based upon facts. The question for the sociologist to answer just at this stage of the development of sociology is not "What do these facts tell us about Malthus' law?" but "Does Malthus' law tell us anything about these facts?"

Although isolation of facts is essential in the analysis of phenomena, isolation alone, as we have noted, never forms a scientific law. Classification and correlation together furnish the final step in the formulation of a scientific law. The recognition of this fact raises another question concerning the survey method: namely, Does the social survey classify and correlate? Does it establish types? Does it make possible universal generalizations concerning social facts and situations? Another question which will immediately suggest itself to the skeptic is, Are there any social facts that are universal? The author knows of no such facts. Furthermore he feels quite sure that the social survey will never discover any such facts. He is just as thoroughly convinced, however, that no man knows any such facts and that no science can ever discover such facts. The only sense in which a fact can be considered universal is that numerous facts can be subjected to universal categories of measurement. Gravitation is not the same in the valley as it is on the mountain-top. The magnitude of stars varies when conditioned by even so fortuitous a thing as a cloudy night. Even statisticians can plot a symmetrical curve only by having errors so numerous that they can allow them to negative each other. Why should the sociologist be so baffled by the seeming fluctuations of his phenomena? What he should do is to seek to analyze these social situations by means of differentiation and isolation, and then to simplify them by classification. We believe that the social survey is capable of assisting in the classification, measurement, and simplification, as well as in the isolation and differentiation, of facts. The fact that social surveyors use quite universally the same or similar schedules in all of their investigations is, in itself, a step toward classification, as well as toward differentiation.¹

¹ The writer made a study of eighty sets of survey schedules and found that there are about a dozen categories that appear in practically all survey schedules. A study of surveys of a specific type—school or church surveys—would reveal a set of schedules that is quite thoroughly standardized.

The survey, furthermore, uses much of the machinery of other sciences in subjecting social facts to quantitative representation. It is upon these quantitative expressions and categories that comparison depends, and, without the method of comparison, science is impossible. When the sociologists put themselves universally to the task of using comparative methods they will by right of that very fact set themselves the task of discovering and inventing standard measurements, categories, and symbols of representation which are capable of comparison one with the other. Sociology will then be scientific for the same reason that the exact sciences are scientific; namely, it will be scientific in method. We quote once more from the *Grammar of Science*: "It is not facts themselves which make science but the method by which they are dealt with."¹ The social survey is not the only method of social investigation that is comparative and quantitative. It is the fact that the social survey is always comparative and always quantitative, and that social surveys are becoming more prevalent every day, that makes it a method of such great promise in the field of social research. Booth says, "Comparisons with the past are absolutely necessary to a true comprehension of all that exists today; without them we cannot penetrate the heart of things."² The author of *The Coopersburg Survey* expressed the opinion that "readings would be simplified and their permanent, intrinsic, and comparative values enhanced if a uniform plan were followed in the presentation of findings."³ Accordingly the Coopersburg report follows the schedules of the United States Department of Agriculture in its "Farm Surveys." Weld, in his survey of the Red River Valley community,⁴ draws all his conclusions in the light of definite standards. He makes definite comparisons between country and village families under thirty-three schedules. *The Cleveland Survey*⁵ makes all of its comparisons between what is being done in the Cleveland schools and the standards of an ideal school system. Cubberley, in *The*

¹ K. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² C. Booth, *Life and Labor of the People of London*.

³ Z. L. Potter, *The Coopersburg Survey*, p. 9.

⁴ L. D. H. Weld, *A Social and Economic Survey of a Community in Red River Valley*.

⁵ *The Cleveland Survey*, Vol. X.

Portland Survey,¹ never leaves the basis of statistical comparison. His comparisons are made either between what he found in Portland and similar findings elsewhere, or between what he found in Portland and an ideal standard. The social surveyor follows the physician, the engineer, and other field-workers in that he uses, in any given survey, not only standards of measurement, but experiences also that he has developed in the field or laboratory. Bogardus, in his study entitled "The Relation of Fatigue to Industrial Accidents,"² demonstrates in a very convincing manner the possibility of utilizing laboratory methods and direct observations of social situations as checks upon each other. The investigator worked out his laws of fatigue in the laboratory and then visited a great number of factories in order to observe men subjected to the same conditions which he had set for himself in the laboratory. He found that the curve of accident which he worked out for the factory conditions was identical with the curve of fatigue which he worked out in his laboratory experiment. We might give examples from a hundred other surveys and investigations all to the same end, but rather than do that we shall, for the sake of summary, attempt to compare as concisely and as briefly as possible the general methods and criteria of science with the methods and criteria of the social survey, and thus attempt to get some judgment upon the present limits and future possibilities of the social survey.

We know of no more definite means of comparing the methods of the social survey with the methods of science than that of stating, as definitely as possible, the criteria of science and then stating the demonstrated procedure of social surveys. The first and most important criterion of science is that it be a method of exact and impartial analysis of facts.³ The social survey, without a single exception so far as the writer knows, has developed upon the basis of impartial analysis. It has developed practically outside the field of theoretical sociology and so has escaped altogether

¹ E. P. Cubberley, *The Portland Survey*.

² E. S. Bogardus, "The Relation of Fatigue to Industrial Accidents," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVII, 206-22, 351-74, 512-39.

³ K. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 9; H. Poincaré, *The Value of Science*, p. 137; E. Mach, *Popular Scientific Lectures*, p. 232; F. Enriques, *Problems of Science*, p. 67.

any preconceived notions which social theorists may have had. The case-worker and other expert field workers who have developed the method of the social survey have cared only for the facts which were actually operative in the community where they labored. They accumulated a large body of data for the sake of carrying on specific projects, with no thought of its scientific significance, but we have come to see that these data are the basic facts out of which social theory must be formed. These social workers and investigators have been not only impartial in their collection and analysis of facts, but they have also been exact in their methods. They were seeking these facts only because they wanted to use them for very definite purposes. These definite purposes demanded that the facts be exact, that they be representative of some very definite condition or situation, and that they be so specifically stated that other social workers would be able to understand and use them.

The second criterion that we would name is that the phenomena which are the objects of investigation be typical, that they be representative of a species, a type, or a class of facts.¹ The social survey attempts to meet this criterion. Not all surveys have been made with the purpose of investigating or discovering typical situations, typical counties, or typical communities and sections of communities. Many of them have specifically stated this to be their purpose, however. To what extent they have accomplished the purpose we shall probably be unable to state until a much greater number of surveys has been made. The only thing that we can definitely assert at this state of the development of the social survey is that many social surveyors hold it as their ideal to discover and reveal typical phenomena.

The third and final general criterion of science is that it discovers or formulates scientific laws.² The social survey lays no claim to having accomplished this final step in scientific method. Social surveying is the task of the expert. The formulation of the laws

¹ K. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 29; H. Poincaré, *op. cit.*, p. 140; E. Mach, *op. cit.*, p. 194; F. Enriques, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

² K. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 37; H. Poincaré, *op. cit.*, p. 13; E. Mach, *op. cit.*, p. 156; F. Enriques, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

science is the task of the scientist. Since, however, few if any social phenomena can be taken into the laboratory, and since the social scientists are quite universally men whose time is occupied in academic pursuits, it would seem advisable that the social expert and the professor of sociology should form a coalition for working out a method of scientific research and analysis in the field of the social sciences. When this alliance is formed the social survey will have accomplished the final step in scientific procedure, for the specific facts which the surveys have discovered will then be made over into correlated or collated facts, and the exact methods with which the surveyor operates will have furnished the social scientist with a much-needed technique and technology.

Sociologists and social surveyors, whether they recognize it or not, are interested in the same field of phenomena. Professor Small's designation of the "groups of personal wants" as: "(a) health, (b) wealth, (c) sociability, (d) knowledge, (e) beauty, (f) rightness"¹ is but a theoretical way of stating facts which could be, and in fact have been, surveyed. The attempt of Professor Giddings to classify human associations into eight kinds of rational societies² is but a theoretical way of accomplishing the same thing that the surveyor accomplishes by detailed study of communities. Nor have this common interest and direction of effort been altogether unrecognized. The findings of the social surveys are of immediate value to many courses in sociology. Practically no instructor in the field of applied sociology attempts to organize his courses or develop his field outside the body of data which has been furnished him by social surveyors or by those groups of social investigations which preceded the social survey and out of which the social survey has evolved. It was in the field of criminology or criminal anthropology that the positive method in sociology made its first real progress.³ Practically all the knowledge and principles in the field of social pathology and other philanthropy courses have been furnished by case-workers, social

¹ A. W. Small and G. E. Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 175.

² F. H. Giddings, "The Development of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, X, 167.

³ Whether or not the author accepts Lombroso's theories of crime does not vitiate the fact just stated.

investigations of different natures, and recently by social surveys.¹ The comparatively new fields of urban and rural sociology depend almost wholly upon investigations and surveys for their body of knowledge. Especially is this true of rural sociology² because of the great number of rural surveys that have been made in the last five years.

The contributions of the survey do not by any means end with the courses just mentioned, nor do they end with the field of sociology. Education,³ economics,⁴ and political science⁵ have all benefited by these investigations. Some notable contributions have been made to the field of ethnology by the far-reaching and suggestive extension of the survey method to the study of whole tribes and peoples. *The Veddás*, a survey of the people by that name, made by Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Seligmann; and *The Report of the Torres Straits Expedition*, a composite survey of the Eastern Islanders of Torres Straits, conducted in five sections, each under an expert in his field of research,⁶ are investigations which suggest that the social survey need not confine itself to any narrow territorial domain or community. In fact the method of anthropological and archaeological research has practically always been more or less the same method as that of the survey. The farther back into the recognized and established fields of science the survey method can penetrate, the more quickly will it be accepted as a true method of science rather than as a mere fad or fashion. A few illustrations cited from the two ethnological surveys just mentioned will serve to demonstrate the value of the survey method to bodies of knowl-

¹ See S. Nearing, *Income*; H. H. Goddard, *Feeble-mindedness*; H. Best, *The Deaf*; *The Cost of Living in the District of Columbia* (a survey made by the U.S. Bureau of Labor and literally hundreds of other investigations which in the past have contributed to the field of applied sociology and which today are keeping the body of data up to date.)

² P. L. Vogt, *An Introduction to Rural Sociology*.

³ E. A. Kirkpatrick, *Foundation of Sociology*, chap. 20; E. P. Cubberley, *The Portland Survey*.

⁴ S. Nearing, *Income*; F. H. Streightoff, *Standard of Living*; R. C. Chapin, *Standard of Living*.

⁵ W. H. Allen, *Efficient Democracy*; and the many contributions of numerous municipal bureaus of research.

⁶ *Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1908.

edge which are fairly deeply entrenched in theoretical tradition. Seligmann made definite psychological and physiological tests upon a number of the Veddas. His scientific examination of their senses of vision, hearing, and pain, made by means of modern scientific technology, serves to show how thoroughly erroneous an accepted theory in a given field of science can be.¹ Volume VI alone of the Torres Straits Report contains three maps and seventy figures (photographs, plates, and drawings). One of the maps is a topographical or physiographical as well as a social map.² It is as perfect a specimen in miniature of the situation under study as any enlarged graph or drawing of a zoölogical specimen could be. The graphs and plates, which are either photographs or drawings of the implements, instruments of magic, etc., coupled with the vivid description, the material for which was obtained by living and talking with the people themselves, and amplified by contributions from missionaries, traders, and travelers, furnish an authentic analysis of the life of one of the most primitive of peoples. A comparison of the findings of a few such surveys as the two cited would add more to the body of scientific ethnology than has yet been contributed to that field. Both the surveys made thorough and exact studies of types of social organizations. Rivers' genealogical tables of the Murray Islanders is as perfect a scientific compilation as could well be imagined.³ What the findings of such surveys can do and have done in the field of anthropology and ethnology, they can do and probably are destined to do for any body of knowledge or field of research to which they are applied. And since the survey method is nothing whatever but the recognized and accepted comparative method of all science, the two steps needed to assure its application to the field of sociology are a desire on the part of the sociologist that it be applied and an experimental working out of technologies which will reduce observations to a comparative basis. The contributions of the social survey are limited largely by the measure of these two steps.

¹ Cf. H. Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, I, 76-77, with C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, chap. xvi.

² *Report of the Torres Straits Expedition*, VI, 170.

³ *Ibid.*; see especially pp. 78 and 79.

The influence of the social survey has been limited because of facts which we have already mentioned but which we may be permitted to summarize at this point. The survey method has been developed almost wholly outside the field of theoretical sociology. This has resulted in three very distinct things: First, surveys have been made generally for propagandic purposes, i.e., as bases for community programs.¹ Second, the fact that surveys have been made for local purposes has kept them largely confined to local, almost colloquial, situations. Third, they have been largely made by field workers who do not have the opportunity to know and thus appreciate national and world situations, which are of dominating interest to the sociologist. The last-named fact probably has more to do with the lack of unity of efforts of the investigator and the sociologist than any other one thing. The sociologist has at his command all the contributions of history, economics, political science, psychology, and biology. To him the study of society is the study of social evolution, social change, social progress—social dynamics, in short. Therefore, to him the social survey seems static in its method. It measures things as they are now. It refuses to generalize from things it cannot observe. It is purely inductive. The survey report may contain a chapter on "the history of the community," but this history will be a summary of growth of population, topography, and similar purely tangible and measurable facts. The sociologist sees and knows that a sociology constructed out of such limited data would be quite different from any other social science if not different from all sciences.

What then must we conclude concerning the survey, the survey method, and the science of sociology? One thing we have already concluded, viz.: that the expert investigator has for some time been furnishing the applied fields of sociology with a large portion of their data; that survey findings have even altered social theories in the field of ethnology and anthropology. It is probably destined to do the same thing in every field to which it is applied as a method of research. We may further conclude that the co-operation of the social surveyor and the sociologist should not and does not end with the influence which the expert has upon the theories of the

¹ E. W. Burgess, "The Social Survey: A Field for Constructive Service by Departments of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXI, 492.

scientist. Schools of philanthropy, which are literally departments of applied sociology, train experts by teaching them the fundamentals of the social sciences and the technique of field work. Teachers of sociology everywhere make more or less use of the community in which they teach as a laboratory. In large cities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Minneapolis departments of sociology have assisted social agencies much in their organization and have used them as directing agencies for students who are doing field work. The University of Kansas, University of Southern California, University of Missouri, University of Minnesota, and University of Chicago offer courses in social surveying. Members of the extension divisions of a number of universities are now the leaders in their respective states, especially in rural surveying. A social survey of Fargo, North Dakota, was made by a sociologist upon the request of a local organization. The Child Welfare Association of Columbia, Missouri, recently requested the department of sociology of the University of Missouri to make a survey of the condition of children in that city. The state board of charities asked the same department for a survey of Outdoor Relief in Boone County, Missouri. The first of these surveys is just completed and the second is under headway. The field work has been done by students in a class in "Methods of Social Investigation" in the department of sociology of the University of Missouri. Why should not all departments of sociology train men and women to be expert social surveyors? These men and women would then in time turn back to these departments of sociology a large and reliable body of data which would be of the utmost value to the science of sociology. If the social scientist is to depend upon the social survey for his exact data and exact methods of measuring and reporting facts he should be willing and anxious to assist in developing the social surveyor. When this is done, as it surely will be done, the expert investigator will be capable of seeing beyond the immediate implications of his findings to their wider significance. And when he does this he will probably extend the survey beyond the local community to state and national, perhaps world; situations and problems, as indeed the Rockefeller and Sage Foundations have already done.

In final conclusion we should consider two weaknesses which seem to be inherent in the technique and technology of the social survey. First, the fact that the survey is highly inductive has led to the objection that it will forever be limited in application by both time and place. It is asserted that it must thus confine itself to the present and future while there are many social situations the understanding of which demands an acquaintance with wide bodies of facts in both time and place. Second, some of these facts may be out of reach of the surveyor because they demand a study of the history as well as the present status of the social situation. To base an objection on the first of these conditions is little short of foolish. No zoölogist who asserts that he has a knowledge of the nervous system of frogs claims to have studied the nervous systems of all the frogs in existence. He does not even assert that a frog might not or does not have a nervous system different from the "nervous system of frogs" that he described. All he asserts is that this is a typical frog's nervous system and that he has reconstructed or described it after having studied a number—sometimes one number, sometimes another number—of frogs. The social surveyor sets for himself a no more difficult task than the exact scientist sets for himself, namely, to study a sufficient number of typical specimens. Concerning the second condition, which seems to make the survey method a study of static conditions, about all we can say is that the social survey is new. If it analyzes, measures, and reports things as they are today and tomorrow these days will soon be the yesterdays of the many succeeding days to come, and these findings will be the history of those new days' social situations. If it discovers and tabulates the facts today, tomorrow, and all other days it is to be hoped, and the writer believes to be expected, that its influence will not end with the applied courses in sociology. If it observes and tabulates facts by means of some exact technology and does it in an unprejudiced way it should furnish a means for checking up on present social theories, and ultimately of furnishing the bases of more exact formulation of scientific laws of social phenomena. When these things become "the habit of mind" of sociologists a much-needed and long step will have been taken in the direction of a scientific sociology.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL PHASES OF INTERNATIONALISM

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The problem of problems of the present and immediate future is, of course, reconstruction, a problem that does not so much supersede all others as include all others. After the emotional and romantic months of war—for even, though it has been the most scientific and rationally conducted war probably in all history, there have been those moments of irrationality, those acts of haste, and stanzas if not hymns of hate—after the war comes the time for cool, judicious thinking. The tasks of peace are to be fulfilled not so much by enthusiasm as by calculation, not so much by coining, shouting, and following shibboleths as by rational and scientific analysis of problems. It is to be reconstruction. Yet in the American mind that word still retains some of the flavor given it by the events following the Civil War, and in one sense it may not seem inaccurate to caution, “Beware of reconstruction!” Carpet baggers of the olden time may be sand baggers today. If, then, this is to be reconstruction in the true sense, it must be founded not upon passion but reason. Like philosophy in Santayana’s definition, it must “look to sciences for its view of the facts and to the happiness of men on earth for its ideal.”

But, say some, this great war has demonstrated the failure of science. And proceeding from this premise they have deduced the necessity of man to turn from this dangerous tool to less rationalistic and intellectual interpretations of life, even to mystical religion. It has been shown by Dewey and others, however, that if the war has been the failure of science, science has failed just because in the human development of all those methods and points of view we call scientific we have failed or have not yet had time to apply them to social and political phenomena. While the phenomena of physics and biology are to a striking degree understood

and hence subject to human control, the facts of men in their inter-relations are as yet in the stage of rough observation and first generalizations. The literature of sociology in particular seems to consist largely of attempts to define and re-define that field, to block out its relations to other -ologies, and, in a quite preliminary way, to see just about what general sorts of problems fall therein.

This is not to deny that there are some details of scientific knowledge of man in his social relations. Economics, for example, is a fairly well organized field—even though some of its working concepts seem riding before a fall—and anthropology has rolled up its sleeves and set to work at some well limited and defined problems. Whatever, then, that is available in the way of data or even of well ripened opinions from the studies of the social man promises in these coming days of world reconstruction to find use and application. Social scientists may well consider the opportunity theirs. Reconstruction, I hinted, embraces problems whose name is legion; and as a scientific approach means first of all an analysis and delimitation of problems, a careful division of the questions involved in reconstruction would seem a first necessity. Further, a scientific approach involves a canvassing of established facts or well-received authoritative judgments that are in any way applicable to questions attacked.

A topic that is to be central in reconstruction programs is internationalism. And under this head problem are to be found numerous subproblems. Those preaching internationalism as an aim of the war have in the next breath proclaimed for nationalism. Obviously, it is not the idea of a world cosmopolitanism such as a Roman Stoic contemplated any more than it is a *laissez faire* policy for irresponsible individual states such as led up to the war just passing. It must be what Herbert Croly has called a "method of escape from the . . . baleful antithesis between national ambition and international order." An internationalism of universal scope has been dreamed of, sung of, but only in these latter days has it been put forward seriously as a practical and statesmanlike solution. A fundamental query oft-repeated has been, "Will it work?" "Will it be possible for lion and lamb to lie

down together?" "Can rival nationalistic ambitions be reconciled?" As a subdivision of this question let us ask what answer the available data and available opinions on the psychology of peoples may seem to suggest to the query, "Will it work?"

It is to be noted that in many, perhaps most, minds internationalism means inter-racialism; and the question before us resolves itself into whether such rivals as Bulgar and Greek, Bohemian and Teuton, Japanese and Australian will be able to group themselves into one and the same league of races.

But first, what is a race? On this ethnologists themselves are not agreed—all the way from Ripley who makes the well-known division of European peoples into Northern, Alpine, and Mediterranean races, to Thomas who holds that strictly speaking there are no races in Europe, only language-groups. Whatever technical use of the term shall ultimately be adopted, it is one too well entrenched in present human thinking and one too useful as emphasizing traditional divisions of mankind for us to neglect here. Let us see what content is to be given it.

The question as to what a race is turns on the answer to the more definite question: What are the differences between races? Anthropologists are wont to use some such divisions as physical, mental, linguistic, and cultural differences. The marks most generally used are, of course, *physical* differences. For one thing, peoples have been exhaustively studied with reference to head-form. The cephalic index, or width of head times 100 written over length of head, differentiates races such as the Sicilians or the Teutons with their long, narrow head, from the Swiss or the Lapps with short, broad heads. Stature has served also as a distinguishing mark, the differences between Caucasian and Mongolian, between North European and South European, being well known. Hair texture has been found to vary with the grosser divisions of mankind, the negro having the crisp, curly variety flattened in cross-section, the Chinese and the American Indian having the stiff, straight hair round in cross-section. Color of hair, as also color of eye and of skin, has been considered important; and it may be mentioned that many authorities hold that skin-color, whatever its

scientific value, is of great importance psychologically in understanding racial antipathies. Finally the facial oval and the proportions of the various features form another much-used differentia.

Even though these various differentiating marks have failed to correlate accurately when it comes to the working out of a history and distribution of distinct races, nevertheless they have had such attention as to warrant our consideration of the critical work of some of the latter-day anthropologists. The common assumption is that physical differences of race are stationary and permanent. Boas, the foremost of American anthropologists, has made a detailed study of this matter, especially among the immigrant peoples of New York. The East European Jews in their original homes are of a more or less decided type, with heads short and round, and of medium or low stature. Those that are born of these same parents in America, however, are found by actual measurement to be departing from the extreme ancestral type—their heads are longer and narrower and their stature increased. So with other races. The long-headed Sicilian if born in this same American environment shows a shorter wider head than that of his ancestors, with a slight decrease in stature. The changes in Bohemians and in Hungarians are still different. The American-born of these people differ from their European-born kindred in the possession of shorter and narrower heads, taller stature, and narrower faces. The matter is the more interesting in that the relation between the date of the change and the time of arrival of the parents in America is close; that is to say, children born just after the landing of the parents in America show unmistakably the changes in head-form, whereas their brother by the same parents born in Europe not long before the immigration show the ancestral types. As to stature—a trait that is much more susceptible to change after birth—it is found that the younger the immigrant at the time of landing, the more does his adult height vary from the ancestral model. Furthermore, Fritsch has stated that human beings under civilized conditions differ in one respect from humans in savagery just as do domesticated animals in general from their wild congeners. In either case, domestication seems to be associated with a heavier and more open bony structure, wildness

with a slenderer and more solid structure. Add to this the report of other investigators that Irish-American and German-American recruits are taller than their brothers in the old countries. There can be but one conclusion from all this careful and exact work: so far as anatomical traits are concerned, racial types are instable, plastic, and are subject to environmental influences almost and perhaps quite sufficient to neutralize the characteristic features supposedly due to racial heredity.

Differences of race have been thought of also as *mental* differences. The stubbornness of the English, canniness of the Scot, mechanical plodding of the German, pacifism of the Chinese, pessimism of the Hindu, shiftlessness and sensuality of the negro—these and like characterizations of groups of people are too familiar to need repetition. They are indulged in to a degree implying their permanence as types. The mental differences between peoples have been revived and made much of in the service of such political propagandas as Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, Anglophobia, etc. Are such individual distinctions supported by scientific research? Does psychological examination establish any particular people as the chosen of God?

From the foregoing remarks on the lack of fundamental and permanent physical differences between races of men, the corollary suggests itself that mental differences too may be found to be much less than expected. What of the facts? The psychologist will promptly and properly warn us that the measurement and comparison of complex mental traits is extraordinarily difficult, that the truer scientific method of approach would be by the study of simpler and more directly measurable capacities. Myers, studying the natives of Torres Strait, Woodworth, studying various races assembled at the Saint Louis Exposition, and other well-equipped investigators find for one thing that the keenness of the senses is about on a par in the various races of mankind. In speed of simple motor reactions, in liability to illusions, in memory, in concentrated attention, in self-control or inhibitions, even in capacity for abstract thinking, differences between races are slight indeed, and in no way comparable to the differences between individuals within the same race. In only one trait has a difference

been brought to light: in solving a test of intelligence, i.e., ability to size up a novel situation and to limit activity to its working out, the Indians, Eskimos, Filipinos, some whites, and other races were found superior to the Igorots, Negritos, and Pygmies. But among the former or among the latter, differences were insignificant. Racial comparisons as to temperament have not been made the subject of exact study, though it seems possible that more definite inequalities may here be found. The only conclusion to be drawn from the scientific investigation of racial mental differences is that in the more fundamental intellectual processes no real unlikenesses of importance are found, and that where striking intellectual differences seem to appear, very much account must be taken of their respective environments, social and cultural as well as physical. Racial distinctions, then, are not to be based upon inequalities of mental endowment.

A third differentia used has been that of *language*. Particularly in regard to European peoples the ethnologists have used affinity of language as indicative of affinity of race. Only a few words are needed on this head. In ancient as well as in modern times there have been races or nationalities without a common language. Consider the Jew in his various habitations, and the many human stocks not yet assimilated in the United States but speaking English. Surely exhaustive scientific analysis is not needed to make it clear that language is largely an accident of social environment.

So also for the *cultural* differences as marking off races. Below the more or less superficial contrasts of manners and morals of separate races a fundamental sameness of forms of human thought and culture are observable. As Thomas puts it, "Ethnology and kindred sciences have already established the fact that human nature, the external world, and the fundamental needs of life are everywhere much alike, and that there is, roughly speaking, a parallelism of development in all groups, or a tendency in every group which advances at all to take the same steps as those taken by other groups." Some of the parallelisms he mentions are: a spirit belief along with ecclesiastical institutions, blood revenge preceding juridical institutions, matriarchal preceding patriarchal organization, artistic and mythological concepts of the same

general pattern, and common possession of concepts of number, space, time, etc.

To conclude this general point: Not only is no one of these racial differentia a true differentia, but also there is no great correlation between them, for Boas has pointed out that each of these traits may be and has been changed by a group without changing the other traits. Surely, as Todd has said in his recent book, "Race is psychological," and "There is nothing either Jew or Greek but thinking makes it so." Nationality, then, whatever it is, is not necessarily nor perhaps primarily a matter of race; nor, in so far as racial elements do seem to enter in, do these form insurmountable barriers, threatening the whole idea of internationalism.

The first meaning of "nation" given by lexicographers is a stock or race; the second meaning is a community of people in a given territory with an independent government. Nationality today is by many associated with the idea of a political state. "Self-determination," "autonomy," are employed as political terms. The next problem for our examination may be put thus: Conceiving nationality as a matter of political states regardless of the racial characters of the populations, will internationalism work? Is there anything in the idea of an autonomous government as evolved by a people to which a permanent inter-government organization would be repugnant? Are the human motives prompting to state organization logically and psychologically opposed to a further extension of the allegiance to include rival states?

To approach this matter let us take up the psychological analysis of the group-building process in general, trusting this to furnish some data as well as a perspective relevant to the question. Parenthetically it is to be noted that on this general topic there are not available data possessing definiteness comparable with head measurements in millimeters; and we are limited to a canvass of the opinions and judgments of the best acknowledged authorities.

Perhaps the best known theory of the psychical origin of human society is that of Giddings: "The original and elementary subjective fact in society is the consciousness of kind. By this term I mean a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or

high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself." "It is about the consciousness of kind, as a determining principle, that all the other motives organize themselves in the evolution of social choice, social volition, or social policy." "The consciousness of kind . . . is at once perception and feeling." A somewhat different method of analysis is that of McDougall, Petrucci, and Graham Wallas. Social groupings are instinctive in origin. It is the original human tendencies to act gregariously, sexually, sympathetically, protectingly, imitatively, etc., toward others that prompt the formation of associations. These sporadic social relations then become more and more constant and stable under the influence of human tendencies to be suggestible, to imitate, to follow beaten paths, etc., made so much of by Tarde and by Baldwin and Ross. Habit or inertia become increasingly important in the stabilizing of groups, and gradually customs and tradition assume an increasingly dominant rôle.

Meanwhile, according to Ross, associations developed on a basis of resemblance between individuals in the primitive, impulsive stages give place in the more rational stages to associations on a basis of community of interests. This suggests to the present writer a modification of the Giddings theory. Observation of the behavior of animals, children, and human adults would suggest that social relations come to be established, not on a basis of a recognition or feeling of similarities between the other and oneself, but on the basis of the experience of complementary or identical interests and acts. The unsophisticated child associates readily with any other who will share and increase his fun, regardless of whether he be tidy or frowsy, big or little, boy or girl, or even human or canine. So, too, the adult in most of his social relations naturally falls in with those who are going his way, who complement his own endeavors, who co-operate in some sense, who play some part in his own enterprises and interests. Surely it is this that is behind the assertion of Robert E. Park that "social institutions are not founded in similarities any more than they are founded in differences, but in relations, and in the mutual interdependence of parts"; and the principle of "consciousness of kind" does not operate in a way to challenge the conception of a co-operation of "kinds."

Another psychological step follows. Ross puts it: "In the relation of compatriots, or co-religionists, or co-conspirators there comes first the thought of the ideal, leader, dynasty, territory, possession, organ, or symbol that serves as keystone locking the social arch . . . the attachment of all to something which serves to mark off that body of persons from the rest of the world." Symbols of the group-consciousness become thus established and personal allegiance to them aroused. Among the forms of personal allegiance is that toward the political organization of the group, patriotism.

Patriotism, it is clear upon analysis, is a case of "sentiment," using this term with the technical connotations particularly defined by the English psychologists, Shand, Stout, and McDougall. "A sentiment is an organized system of emotional dispositions centered about the idea of some object. The organization of the sentiments in the developing mind is determined by the course of experience." Patriotism, or the feeling of allegiance to the group-unit, usually in the form of a political state, is in the mind of the individual a gradually developed abstract idea, but also one which has from the very first been associated with a certain class of emotional reactions, and thus in its nature form is as much a matter of non-rational impulses and feelings as of definite ideas. By virtue of this particular mental organization the individual man is predisposed to laud and support the one who acts for his own local group and to despise and hate the one who fraternizes with members of another group.

This psychological factor in social coherence not uncommonly—in fact, usually—becomes heightened and strengthened beyond all rational bounds—for jingoism and chauvinism must appear highly irrational and senseless to anyone able to take a truly humanitarian viewpoint. It is this, then, that gives us pause in the contemplation of an organization of nations wherein each must adopt a viewpoint and a program sympathetic as much to the other nations as to one's own. Now, any psychological account of patriotism must make much of the fact that this sentiment feeds on opposition. The opposition may be in the form of a contest with other nearly equal states, for territorial booty, for preponderating

armament, more rarely for scientific and literary honors. Or the opposition may be offered to oppressors. Both motives are striking in any patriotic movement, whatever its actual occasion; as witness the various national anthems, as witness the canny use of "liberty" in naming the government loans. In proportion as there is an element of danger, real or imagined, in the situation the sentiment of patriotism develops toward jingoism; whereas the elimination of any threatening element helps to modify it into good-natured rivalry.

If nationality be identified with the political state, then, two psychological points have bearing upon the question as to whether an internationalism will work. The most important element in the situation on the mental side is that particular species of allegiance called patriotism. This is found to be a sentiment, and, by definition, to be *a product of experience varying in strength with the character of experience*. In particular this sentiment may be rendered an implacable foe by an internationalism that is not also nationalism. Again, it is too easily forgotten that the political grouping of men is only one of many actual groupings. In the history of nations we may read the stories of competitions between this form and its competitors, especially the church. At the present time the state has succeeded fairly well in subjecting all the other forms of human loyalty to itself—the secret fraternity, the church, the family, the profession, the cause of labor, etc.; but that it ought to or can maintain permanently this absolute ascendancy is by no means certain. In other words, the nationalism of the political state may not form an inevitable barrier to internationalism; its strength may decay by reason of internal rivalries. It was something of this sort that Brailsford had in mind when he said: "One may have an elaborately organized society without the State. The essential for nationality is that it should be wholly free to cultivate its own language, to worship in a national or 'autocephalous' Church, to express itself with entire sincerity and without external restraint in literature, journalism, and the arts, and to maintain its own tradition in a complete educational system under its own management, ranging from the village school to the University, and finally, to associate with full liberty in parties,

clubs, and in literary, commercial, co-operative, or charitable societies. If it has all this, if its schools receive their fair share of any national grant, if it is subject to no legal disabilities or inequalities, its destinies are in its own hands, its culture is secure, its soul is its own."

It remains to take notice of a third interpretation of nationality, the *cultural*. "Lithuanian and Finn," says H. A. Miller (in 1913), "are revolting against the culture authority of Pole and Swede rather than the political or economic authority of Russia. This is because in both cases the nationalizing people feel that their individuality is more endangered by the spiritual than by the material power." The disunion of Norway and Sweden was motivated by a feeling on the part of the former of restraint in cultural matters. And it is possible that jealous attachment to its own brands of sweetness and light has been a hidden spring in many a people's movement for political autonomy. The problem is present in America wherever immigrant communities refuse to learn the language, attend the schools, or read the newspapers of the new land. The particular questions for us here are: taking nationality as identical with a culture group, first, are the differences between culture group and culture group definite and fixed; and, second, are the mental attitudes engendered by these rivalries inevitably hostile to attempts to weld the cultures closer together?

In regard to the first point it is to be said that a national individualism in culture, outside Tibet and the Soudan, does not exist in extreme form. Differences of language furnish only a temporary bar to the spread of literature. Art museums welcome accessions of foreign art as readily as local. Modern science is driven abreast in all countries, with its working concepts and terminology standardized in the three principal languages. Homer was claimed by seven cities; monuments to Shakespeare are erected in Paris and Berlin.

As to the mental attitudes involved in the nationalism of cultures a former principle deserves to be re-applied here. Nothing so tends to intensify the group's jealousy of its language, arts, sciences, as efforts by other groups to control or repress them. Competent observers testify that in the last fifty years Bohemia, which was

almost Teutonized, has in the face of Austrian opposition revived its national language to a flourishing condition. The Bohemians are said to be freethinkers because their Austrian masters are Catholics; the Irish are fervent Catholics because England is Protestant, Poland is Roman Catholic in defensive opposition to the Russian Orthodoxy.

Taking the two points together it would seem to be true that cultural differences between groups tend to be increased with the application of coercion in the name of uniformity, but in the absence of pressure tend to decrease by reason of the natural channels of inter-communication.

Though it is not logically a part of our subject here, attention may be called to the suggestion that from the standpoint of general human culture and civilization progress may best be made if the nationalistic or local centers be encouraged in their independent development, but be offered access to the international battleground of criticism and discussion.

In answer to the question, "Will internationalism work in spite of the present strong nationalistic tendencies?" Our survey of available data and opinions has brought out the conclusion that whether nationalisms be thought of as primarily a matter of races or of political states or of cultural traditions, in every case the divisions between group and group are highly instable and inconstant; and that in no case are the differences of a magnitude to render the conception of a league of nationalities psychologically untenable.

STATEMENT TO THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CONSTITUENT COMPANIES OF THE UNITED STATES
STEEL CORPORATION¹

EDWARD T. DEVINE

Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America

GENTLEMEN: I greatly appreciate Judge Gary's invitation to appear before you. Even as an invited guest it would be very presumptuous for me, in an individual capacity, to address you on the labor policy of the Steel Corporation; but I appear on behalf of a committee appointed by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches. This Commission is not a newly created body; it has not been called into existence by current strikes, or by the war, or by the reconstruction problems arising after the war; it has been in existence several years, and its position on industrial relations has been known to the churches for ten years or more.

Its particular function is to keep the churches informed, through the religious press and otherwise, about social and industrial questions; and to help to formulate recommendations in regard to particular situations which involve ethical, moral, or religious factors, and on which the churches should take a position.

Although this Commission has on it some able men, it does not aim to do the thinking for the churches; and although there are on it some earnest and devout men, they do not conceive that they have the conscience of the churches in their keeping. This Commission is merely an investigating, an advisory, an educational body, representing a co-operative effort on the part of all the great evangelical Protestant churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, and the rest—to economize labor and increase efficiency in getting at the

¹ On behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Commission on the Church and Social Service.

salient facts in industrial controversies, and also the underlying facts of working and living conditions. Its purpose, as you see, is to enable the preachers in their pulpits and the editors of the religious press to deal sanely, candidly, and helpfully with these situations. Sometimes we have done our part merely by conference and correspondence; sometimes we have felt constrained to make public a statement of the issues involved in a controversy and of our findings in regard to the moral questions involved. In these connections we have often discussed the one-day rest in seven, the length of the working day, and the principle of collective bargaining.

When our committee, Rev. Paul More Strayer, Shelby Harrison, and myself, called on Judge Gary on December 2, it was partly in order to communicate to him, and through him to those who are responsible for the labor policies of the United States Steel Corporation, our position on these questions; but more especially to obtain from him, or from such sources as he might indicate, any information not already in our possession which should be taken into account in any statement which we might think it appropriate to send to our constituent bodies in regard to the strike in the steel industry.

To recapitulate the substance of that discussion, we mentioned, merely to narrow the issues:

1. That, unlike many other industrial disputes which we had occasion to investigate, the question of a living wage is not, as far as we could ascertain, especially involved in the present controversy.

2. That the unfortunate agitation against foreigners as such, which is becoming altogether too common in the daily press and in much current discussion, had not, as far as we knew, been countenanced by the Steel Corporation, and that at any rate Judge Gary's own published statements had evidently carefully avoided any references which would add fuel to such indiscriminating, anti-alien sentiment.

3. That the seven-day week, although restored in some measure under the pressure for the production of war materials, would be eliminated, as we understood, in the near future, in accordance with the earlier established and clearly defined policy of the Corporation. We were assured by Judge Gary that this was correct.

We would also, if there were occasion to do so, very gladly call attention to the enlightened policies of the Corporation in regard to the prevention of accidents and in regard to welfare work.

We were thus brought to the consideration of the two issues which are of immediate interest here: the twelve-hour day and collective bargaining.

Referring to the published estimate that about one-fourth of the employees were working twelve hours a day, we assumed that this included all of the employees of the United States Steel Corporation: those who are working in mines or on railways or in other operations in which the Corporation is engaged, as well as in the production of steel; and that if the estimate were to include only those actually engaged in the manufacture of steel, the proportion would be much larger, possibly 50 or 60 per cent. Judge Gary said that this might be correct, and that at any rate there would not be the slightest objection to making known what proportion of the steel workers, as distinct from the proportion of all persons in the employ of the United States Steel Corporation, are working a twelve-hour turn. I presume that I need hardly take up your time with a discussion of the twelve-hour day on its merits. Your own committee of stockholders, of which Stuyvesant Fish was chairman, in its report of April 15, 1912, expressed the opinion "that a twelve-hour day of labor, followed continuously by any group of men for any considerable number of years, means a decreasing of the efficiency and lessening of the vigor and virility of such men." Your committee of stockholders asked then, as we ask now, that "the question should be considered from a social as well as a physical point of view," and they urged upon "the intelligent and thoughtful consideration of the proper officers of the Corporation" that "steps should be taken now—i.e., seven and a half years ago—that shall have for their purpose and end a reasonable and just arrangement for all concerned." I am quoting from the official statement of the testimony of Judge Gary before the Senate Committee with which this 1912 report of the Committee of Stockholders is incorporated. At that time $25\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of all your employees were working twelve hours a day, according to the report of the stockholders' committee. The proportion of all

employees now working the twelve-hour turn, according to Judge Gary's statement before the Senate Committee, is $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The actual number of men working twelve hours a day, seven and a half years ago, was 45,248. When Mr. Gary made his statement, it was 69,284—an increase of 24,036, or considerably more than 50 per cent. More than 100,000 men were working ten hours a day.

The fact that a basic eight-hour day has recently been adopted as a basis for pay, and that time and a half is allowed over eight hours, is of course of interest in connection with wages, but it is wholly irrelevant from our point of view in discussing the objections to the twelve-hour day. No doubt this change gives the men a financial inducement to favor the twelve-hour day, and to that extent it may shift the responsibility from the Corporation to the workers; but the physical and moral effect remain the same. Whether the long day is desired by the employer, in the interests of profits; or by the worker, in the interest of wages; it is equally disastrous to the family life of the workers and equally disastrous to the American community conceived as made up of self-governing citizens. The churches are interested in the character of individuals, in the homes of the nation, and in the kind of neighborhoods or communities of which the nation is made up, and it is their testimony, gentlemen, that the twelve-hour day, which as your own committee pointed out, means an absence of at least thirteen hours from the family, deprives the children of the parental oversight to which they are entitled; deprives the mothers of the full partnership to which they are entitled from their husbands; deprives the men of the chance to get acquainted with their children and the free time which their physical and social well-being demands. It is the view of the churches, expressed in many platforms and resolutions, that a twelve-hour day for industrial wage-earners means overwork. We are quite aware that farmers and professional men often work longer, but the compensations are so obvious that it would be an insult to your intelligence to dwell upon them. The question which we raise and press with all the earnestness at our command is whether any corporation has the right, for any considerable number of years, to "decrease the efficiency" and "lessen the vigor and virility" of their men; whether any employing cor-

poration, even if, for the bribe of overtime pay, the workers themselves acquiesce, has a right to deprive American families of the presence of the head of the family for thirteen hours of the day; or the right to deprive the community of the vigor and virility of its citizens. There is a true Americanization program and many false Americanization schemes, but it is a part of any sound plan of Americanization that workers shall have free time for their families, or self-improvement for the discharge of their community obligations. It has been urged that workers spend their leisure time, when they have any, at saloons instead of at evening schools or in the churches. This difficulty, at any rate, has now been removed. We are to have no more saloons. The moment is opportune, therefore, to reconsider any policy based upon that argument.

We are of course not prepared to solve the financial and technical problems involved in changing from a twelve-hour to an eight-hour day. Experience shows that they are not incapable of solution. All the tendencies throughout the world have been moving irresistibly in the direction of the eight-hour day. The International Labor Conference in Washington has just declared for it. Whether the change could be made in such a way as to enable your workers to earn in eight hours what they are now earning in twelve, without unduly reducing profits or increasing the price of your products, you must know far better than we. The cost of the change was estimated, I believe, by the experts of the Department of Labor to be about 2 per cent in the production of pig iron, and 6 per cent in the case of finished steel products. Your own estimates may be different. The cost, whatever it may be, might have to be divided, part falling on profits, part on wages, and part on the ultimate consumer. That it should all fall on labor would of course be impossible, for if common labor were to be paid for eight hours at the current rate of forty-two cents an hour, the earnings would obviously be below a living wage and below what common labor is commanding in the open market. As I have said, we do not come with any ready-made solution of these questions, which we assume are occupying your attention, but only to inquire whether we may report to our constituent bodies the cheering message that, whatever it may cost, there is hope of an early and

complete abolition of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry, and whether there is reasonable expectation that this may be done without any substantial reduction in the standard of living of the families dependent upon that industry for their support.

We come finally to the subject of collective bargaining. On this subject the Commission on the Church and Social Service, which we here represent, made a statement under date of July 1, 1919. This statement reaffirms our approval of the policy of trade agreements between employers and labor organizations. We have never advocated the closed shop, but we have advocated the right of workers to form unions and to have the advantage of collective bargaining in which the workers would be represented by representatives of their own choice. Judge Gary informed us, and it is common knowledge, that the United States Steel Corporation has a different policy in this respect; that it declines to have dealings with the unions; that it insists on the right of its employees to deal directly with the companies rather than indirectly through the unions. In our conference on December 2 we urged that the right of an individual workman to remain outside a union is at least no more sacred or important than the right to belong to a union; and we asked whether the alleged policy in some places of discharging men and blacklisting men, merely because of their activity in trying to form unions, should not be once for all repudiated, and the policy of the open shop so interpreted as to put no obstacle in the way of legitimate unions wherever the workers desire to have them.

However, we are not here today to discuss this question. We assume that nothing that we could say would be likely to change your attitude in a matter in which your decision has been so clearly formulated and so frequently announced. We venture, however, to raise a more fundamental question: whether you have unions among your workers or not, and, if you have, whether they are craft unions, each controlling a particular group of workers, or of some different type such as that which would embrace all the workers of a plant; is it not fair to assume that the time has come when the Steel Corporation must devise and put into practice some affirmative policy for dealing collectively with its workers? We

believe in the integrity of the labor movement, but we are not its spokesmen. Without in any way compromising the right of the unions to speak for themselves and to exert in their own way whatever influence they may establish, we think it reasonable to ask whether, in view of your decision not to deal with them, you are ready to inaugurate any plan—any sincere plan of industrial relations in the steel industry which will satisfy the principle of democratic representation. There must be some industrial structure natural to the steel industry, and it should not be beyond the wit of the directors and officers of the company to discover this natural and appropriate form of organization. If it is not the unions, what is it? On this subject the statement of the Social Service Commission to which I have referred has the following to say:

A deep cause of unrest in industry is the denial to labor of a share of industrial management. Controversies over wages and hours never go to the root of the industrial problem. Democracy must be applied to the government of industry as well as to the government of the nation, as rapidly and as far as the workers shall become able and willing to accept such responsibility.

If the Steel Corporation would come forward at the present time with a statement that they will deal with their employees collectively; that they will make no discrimination against unions or against those who have been on strike; that there will be no reprisals for strike activity; that a scheme of industrial representation, whether originally proposed by the corporation or by the companies or by the men, shall be at any rate made satisfactory both to the companies and to the workers; and that, as the first problem to be dealt with, the elimination of the twelve-hour day shall be put squarely up to a representative council or conference, or whatever it might be called, in which workers are represented on some plan to which they have agreed—this would, I believe, not only settle the present controversy, with good feeling, but might go far to influence the industrial development in other basic industries in the years immediately ahead. The introduction of such a labor policy would release enthusiasm and loyalty, creative interest, and motive to hard work which would compensate for the entire cost of the eight-hour day and any other improvements in the human side of the industry which you might decide to be desirable.

However, you will understand that this is only a personal opinion. I have no authority, either from the workers or from the churches, to propose any specific plan. I am here, in connection with this matter as in connection with the twelve-hour day, merely to ask whether I may not carry some message of hope and encouragement to those who are anxious and have reason to be anxious about industrial relations; to those who believe, as we think that you believe, that boards of directors have not merely a financial responsibility for safeguarding the interests of stockholders, but also a human responsibility for safeguarding the interests of their workers. May we say to the churches that your attitude is not merely negative; that you have an affirmative labor policy which reasonable workers, conscious of their mutual relations to other workers, conscious of their responsibility for maintaining wages, standards of living, and freedom to associate with others for the promotion of their common purposes, might reasonably accept? Whatever you can say to us in these directions will be reported faithfully and carefully weighed by those who have no other desire than to help to clarify public opinion and to promote a fair understanding of the industrial situation.¹

Statement by Mr. F. E. Johnson of the Commission on the Church and Social Service: After Mr. Devine presented his statement before the presidents of the steel companies, a considerable interval passed during which no word was received from the steel corporation. Dr. Strayer then wrote Mr. Gary, and he said that as yet no action had been taken but that another meeting was to be held a little later. I called up Mr. Leet, Mr. Gary's secretary, twice, to know what was the status of the matter and whether any further statement was forthcoming from the corporation. Between these two conversations with Mr. Leet, I wrote to Mr. Gary but received no reply from him. Mr. Leet seemed to be quite ignorant of the whole matter beyond the mere fact that a statement had been made by Mr. Devine. The last word that I had from the office, Mr. Leet knew of nothing that was forthcoming and saw no reason why we should not make any use of Mr. Devine's statement that we desired.

¹ When Dr. Devine's statement was received from the Editorial Council of the Federal Council of Churches, application was immediately made for copy of the reply by the steel corporation. In response we received the subjoined statement which will explain itself.—EDITORS.

NEWS AND NOTES

Notes of interest to the readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENT

The time and place for the next convention of the American Society for Municipal Improvement has been arranged for October 12-15, 1920, at the Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, according to the announcement of the secretary, Charles C. Brown, Valparaiso, Indiana.

HORACE PLUNKETT FOUNDATION

A syllabus of lectures on rural sociology by Arthur W. Ashby has recently been published. This course of lectures upon rural sociology in England was made possible by the Foundation established by Sir Horace Plunkett. In 1914, Mr. Ashby was a graduate student in economics and sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

THE FAMILY

The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work announces the publication of a national house organ, *The Family*. The ultimate purpose of this periodical is to improve the standards and methods of social work with families. As a technical trade journal of case-work, it will provide social workers information upon up-to-date methods. At the same time it is designed to interest the intelligent lay public. The publication committee consists of ten prominent social workers. The managing editor is Thomas K. Brown, Jr., 130 East 22d Street, New York City.

AMHERST COLLEGE

President Alexander Meiklejohn announces the gift by an unknown donor of \$100,000 for the creation of the Amherst Memorial Fellowship for the Study of Social, Economic, and Political Institutions. Graduates of colleges and universities, not necessarily recent graduates, are eligible for appointment to this fellowship. Among the qualifications enumerated

are sound health, qualities of leadership founded upon strength of character, marked mental ability in some branch of the social sciences, promise of original contribution, a spirit of service rather than ambition for personal advancement, and an intention of devoting one's life to the betterment of social conditions through teaching in its broad sense, journalism, politics, or field work. A fellow shall be appointed every second year for a period of not more than four years. At least half of his appointment shall be spent in study in Europe. It is hoped that each fellow shall at some time deliver a course of lectures at Amherst. The fellowship fund will provide \$2,000 a year for each fellow.

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

Up till the present year economics, political science, and sociology have been a single department under one man. The only sociology offered was a one-quarter introductory course given during the spring term. Because of the large numbers that have elected Sociology this past year sociology has been separated from economics and political science and the following list of courses are now being offered: 1-2. Introduction to Sociology. Two majors; 3. Cities. Major; 4. Rural Sociology. Minor; 5. Social Origins. Major; 6. Family. Minor; 7. Social Pathology. Major; 8. Social Insurance. Minor; 9. Social Psychology. Minor; 10-11. Social Theory. Two majors; 12. Social Investigation. Major.

During the three quarters the enrollment in the different divisions of the introductory courses was three hundred and eighty and in the advanced courses one hundred and twenty. Because of the size of the beginning classes they had to be run in sections. This means that advanced courses for the time being are only given in alternate years. The enrollment previously in sociology was from twenty to twenty-five. Because indications point to a much larger enrollment next year plans are being worked out to divide the introductory classes into quiz sections, three sessions a week being devoted to lectures and two sessions to quizzes under assistants.

Assistant Professor J. E. Hawkins of the German department has been in charge of the courses in economics during the past year. The following appointments have been made for the coming year: W. A. Jackson, of the University of Chicago, instructor in economics; G. W. Harris, superintendent of schools, Gatesville, Texas, instructor in political science and history.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

Mr. Daniel H. Kulp, II, professor of sociology in Shanghai College and director of the Yangtsepoo Social Center, Shanghai, China, has been appointed professorial lecturer in sociology for the second semester, 1921. Dr. Dealey takes a sabbatical leave for that period.

During the past year Mr. Kulp has been instructing in sociology at the University of Chicago.

CARLETON COLLEGE

Jacob Balzer, M.A., has been engaged as a member of the staff of this college for next year and will teach sociology and New Testament.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Miss Pauline Wherry, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been appointed supervisor of social service training work carried on jointly by the university and the American Red Cross. This is a new course and includes two lectures and one conference each week.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

The co-operative plan of the department of sociology and the social service agencies of Hamilton, Ohio (an industrial city of 50,000), is an increasing success. A number of students have gone into various fields of social work in the last three years from this course of training.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The department of sociology of the University of Minnesota has had during the three quarters of the regular session of this year approximately 2,150 registrations in its courses. Of these 960 were in the introductory course and 1,190 in the advanced courses. These figures include approximately 100 extension students on the main campus who are given the same work as that assigned to the regular students. The registration for the spring quarter runs over 850.

Mr. W. W. Hodson, director of the child welfare division of the state board of control of Minnesota, has been appointed lecturer in the department of sociology and will offer a course on "The Legal Protection of the Child" in the summer school and in the regular session of next year. Professor Louis A. Boettiger, A.B., A.M., of Fargo College, and Charles E. Lively, A.B., A.M., now assistant in the department

of sociology, have been appointed instructors for the next regular session. Andrew N. Wray, professor of sociology and economics of the Northern State Normal School of South Dakota, at Aberdeen, has been appointed Teaching Fellow in the department.

The leave of absence of Professor A. J. Todd has been extended for another year, to cover the session of 1920-1921.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The North Carolina Club has recently published a bulletin on "State Reconstruction Studies." This publication, like bulletins which have preceded it, is the result of a co-operative effort of students in the department of rural economics and sociology. The activities of the North Carolina Club, in their organization under the leadership of Professor E. C. Branson, are an interesting demonstration of an experiment in participation of the university in the service of the state.

COLORADO STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE

The department of sociology of Colorado State Teachers' College has secured the services of Dr. Edward T. Devine, of the *Survey*, and Dr. Edward Carey Hayes, of the University of Illinois, both in the dual capacity of teacher and lecturer, during its summer-quarter session. Each will teach in two classes and give one week of evening lectures on sociological questions of popular appeal. Dr. Hayes lectured and taught at this college last summer.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The third annual meeting of the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences was held at the university, April 2 and 3. Professor J. E. Hagerty spoke on the subject "University Salaries versus Business Salaries." Dr. Monroe Stowe, president of Toledo University, gave a report on the Survey of the Social Science Teaching in Ohio High Schools.

THE RICE INSTITUTE

Dr. John W. Slaughter is in charge of the courses in sociology with the title of lecturer in civics and philanthropy.

SMITH COLLEGE

Charles Franklin Emerick who has been professor of economics and sociology here died on March 23. He was fifty-three years of age.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

William C. Smith, of the University of Chicago, has been elected assistant professor of sociology. His work will begin in September, 1920, and he will offer new courses in Social Origins, Social Attitudes, Ethnology, and Eugenics in order to meet the increasing demands on the department for sociology courses.

According to announcement made in the current issue of the *Revue internationale de sociologie*, Professor E. S. Bogardus has been elected an associate member of the International Institute of Sociology, Paris.

Professor H. J. McClean has resigned as president of the Los Angeles Social Service Commission, which position he has held for the past three years.

Ralph F. Burnight, assistant in sociology, is publishing a small monograph on the Japanese problem in rural Los Angeles County.

The courses in Americanization are being especially emphasized in the six weeks' summer session, beginning June 28.

Professor Clarence E. Rainwater is specializing in the field of community organization and has recently written a syllabus on the subject which has been published by the Southern California Sociological Society.

WASHBURN COLLEGE

The undergraduate work in sociology is flourishing. There are one hundred and eighty-two students now registered in the department.

REVIEWS

Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism. By W. B. PILLSBURY. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1919. Pp. 314. \$2.50.

This book would be valuable just because it was written, even though it had no intrinsic value. A psychologist of reputation and the director of the psychological laboratory at the University of Michigan has entered a new field. This is an event in itself. Only a few years ago psychologists were saying that a problem as big as society itself was too much involved with other values to be a proper subject for psychological investigation, so that all the first steps in the field of social psychology were taken by men who were first interested in social problems and driven to psychology for adequate explanations. Professor Pillsbury's departure indicates that from now on we may look to the psychologist to attack the larger problems directly, which ought to hasten progress materially.

There is nothing of the "brass instrument psychology." In fact the author's interest "was suggested by contact I had with the American Greeks returned to Greece to fight in the Balkan war." Nothing further is told about the Greeks, but general psychological analysis is presented which underlies all national organization. One more blow is given to the worn-out but persistent notion that there is any necessary biological basis for a nation. It is shown to be entirely the product of psychological conditions and these conditions inhere in the nature of the group. The relation of the nation to the traditional crowd psychology is presented in such a way that the crowd loses its fearsomeness at the same time that its significance in the social process is perceived.

Although the consideration of "Hate as a Social Force" is illuminating it is not worked to the full. For example in describing the national consciousness of the Irish and the Jews he does not interpret the similar oppression experiences as lying at the bottom of the solidarity.

There are countless illustrations through the book, and it is psychologically sound, but it is illuminating rather than final, which is perhaps as it ought to be, but one has the feeling that while the key to

the problems indicated by the title of the book will be found in psychology it has not yet been found.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

OBERLIN COLLEGE

The Italian Emigration of Our Times. By ROBERT T. FOERSTER.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919. Pp. xv+556.

This volume is new material gathered with much painstaking labor from an abundant supply of governmental sources and other quite as reliable data. Whereas the text carries sufficient facts and figures for all class purposes, the author has generously added his bibliographical sources page by page with his text. The study is in all ways a very acceptable one, and may well serve as a model for similar studies of other nationalistic groups. In this short review justice can in no way be done to the wealth of material available.

I recall that years ago an Italian professor, noticing the annual outflow from Italy, exclaimed: "Must Italy become the breeder for the rest of the world!" Dr. Foerster's study would almost prove that Italy is in just about such a situation. Today as never before large labor undertakings call for toilers. Italy has relatively few such undertakings, but she has about 400,000 more births than deaths per year, so that she can supply the migrating laborers. When we take from Foerster the reply of the Italian in Switzerland as to whether he loves his country, that "Italy is for us whoever gives us bread," we see how easily the Italian laborers can leave their homeland.

They go almost everywhere: "The Italians have come to be the most numerous foreigners in France." To France, with her stationary population, the Italians in certain agricultural work have become "absolutely indispensable." In France as nearly everywhere, the Italian does not readily assimilate—"he remains the *macaroni*," as the Frenchman says of him.

In Germany the Italian is not a population, but a surging stream. He does not mass in racial colonies in the large cities, neither does he labor much on the farms. He is satisfied with the poorer industrial jobs. He does not ask cordiality—"toleration has sufficed." He is satisfied with scarcely more than bread.

He does somewhat better in Switzerland, but still he seldom assimilates or amalgamates. In the cities he lives in his colony and eats imported Italian foods purchased at Italian shops. "Italian he remains body and soul." The Swiss seem to reciprocate the feeling, for the

Italians are said by them to remain as "guests who are necessary rather than welcome."

In Austria-Hungary "only the call for bread has made the traditional enemy tolerable." Though they play a large rôle in the economic life, they show little tendency to assimilate. The reviewer recalls the aloofness of the Italian shopkeepers in Triesti, Fiume, and Zara, early in 1914, along the Austrian coast of the Adriatic, though some of them had lived there for half a dozen generations.

The Italian emigrant goes also to Great Britain, Belgium, Luxemburg, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Russia, Serbia, the Balkans and even Turkey. They go in large numbers to North Africa, not only to Tripoli but to Tunisia and Algeria. "Where work was, there the Italian went"—particularly did large public works attract him.

Into Argentina, which is known as Spanish in language and culture, about twice as many Italians as Spaniards have gone. By 1856 they outnumbered the Spanish. Whereas Argentina strove to assimilate the Italians, the Italians have resisted assimilation. In the forty years between 1872 and 1912 less than 6,000 of all foreigners in Argentina were naturalized.

Brazil, thought of as Portuguese in language and culture, has about twice as many Italians as Portuguese. They play a more important part in Brazil than in Argentina, and a much larger number of outstanding national leaders are of Italian blood than is true in any other country to which Italians migrate.

What can be said of the Italians in the United States? We have at least 3,500,000 of them. They are doing more of our railway and street building than any other racial group. They are being crowded out of several fields where once they were noticeably successful, as that of bootblack, fruiterer, restaurateur. They are packed into our worst slums, and stay there saving, saving, saving from their small wages. "It is no view of general comfort that the history of the Italians reveals. The pictures that cut across the years are sombre." Indeed, this is true to one who knows them in our cities. "Their task is to earn, to live, and to save." They have been more exploited here by their countrymen than has any other group, probably. They also, probably, more commonly lose touch with their church. My friend, a most human lovable, Italian priest, tells me his people come to church twice—"to be married and to be buried." Dr. Foerster says: "Like a low-grade ore deposit, they have value in the large," but he believes they have come to us too late to have any lasting effect on America.

In his closing pages the author well states the case of the ardent nationalist in the following words—with emphasis on certain definite characteristics these same words could be truthfully applied to all modern developing nationalistic groups: “The Italian people are one of the priceless assets of the world. What the world may gain by making the Italian emigrants and their children into citizens of other countries is as nothing compared with what it may gain from continuing in a Greater Italy their language, their traditions, their finest spirit as it breathes in the arts of civilization.”

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Matériaux d'une Théorie du Proletariat. By GEORGES SOREL.
Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1919. Pp. 413. Fr. 7.00.

This is a collection of essays published at various times from 1898 to 1912 by the well-known French syndicalist, author of *Réflexions sur la violence* and *Les illusions du progrès*. They were brought together under the foregoing rather pretentious title in 1914, but on account of the war the publication of the book was delayed till 1919.

The book is divided into three parts: (1) “The Socialist Future of Labor Unions (*Syndicates*)”; (2) “Bases of a Social Critique”; (3) “Divers Essays.”

The first part dwells upon the antagonism of the professional classes and the proletariat, and holds that only to the labor unions can the proletariat look for its emancipation. Workers should insist that labor unions have charge of all funds for the aid of the working classes, such as sickness insurance, old-age pensions, accident and unemployment allowances.

The second part stresses the high value of contemporary socialism in its giving a new valuation to social questions, that of man above property, and condemns the position of the moderate socialists as a betrayal of the proletariat and contrary to the spirit of Marx.

The third part argues that socialism is not derived from Christianity, and that there is a fundamental antagonism between the two. It also upholds the right of the worker to strike and the right of the worker to his work.

The book is frankly revolutionary. A few sentences from the Preface will indicate its spirit: “The victory of the Entente was a triumph of demagogic plutocracy. It intends to finish its work by suppressing the Bolsheviks, whom it fears. . . . The bloody lesson of

the things which will happen in Russia will make all workers feel that there is a contradiction between democracy and the mission of the proletariat. The idea of constituting a government of producers will not perish. The cry, 'Death to the Intellectuals,' with which the Bolsheviks are reproached, may end by being taken up by the workers of the entire world."

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World. By EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1919. Pp. xi+352.

In this volume Dr. Moore convinces us that the enterprise of modern missions really makes an important chapter in the study of history and of sociology. Perhaps no book has succeeded better in relating the missionary movement to the background of general history. The author has been for nineteen years professor at Harvard and for seven years president of the American Board of Foreign Missions, so that we are not surprised to find in his work both the adequate grasp of administrative detail of missions and the scholarly handling of historical material. The book is exceedingly compact and comprehensive but serves well as a textbook in missions, outlining the work of all churches and in all lands, and briefly evaluating the life-work of the chief contributors to missionary progress. A remarkably full list of references to sources and collateral readings is appended, classified in accordance with his chapter headings. This list covers twenty-four pages and greatly enhances the value of the textbook. It is refreshing to find in the book no trace of the enthusiast or the propagandist to interfere with the unbiased interpretation of history.

G. WALTER FISKE

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Child Welfare in Kentucky. An inquiry by the National Child Labor Committee for the Kentucky Child Labor Association and the State Board of Health. By E. N. CLOPPER, director. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1919. Pp. 322. \$1.25.

The general plan used by the National Child Labor Committee in its state surveys is followed in this inquiry. The chapters deal with health, schools, recreation, rural life, child labor, juvenile courts, and

law and administration. It is much more incisive than the preceding reports, partly because of the conditions uncovered but probably also because of growing aggressiveness on the part of the investigators. It seems wise if a state neglects its children and refuses to pass laws or to enforce them, to say so and to jolt the people into a realization of their shortcomings. The report should accomplish this end. While not unkind nor carping in its criticism it clearly states the unwelcome facts and suggests for each problem an appropriate program of improvement.

The investigation revealed an enormous amount of disease and a very high death-rate. There is much tuberculosis; eastern Kentucky alone has perhaps 33,000 cases of trachoma, typhoid fever is common, there are many cases of diarrhea and dysentery, and diphtheria is altogether too prevalent. Hookworm, however, has apparently declined since the campaign against the disease several years ago. The reorganization of the state board of health in 1918 with a greatly increased appropriation for work promises some improvement in the health conditions of the state.

Many of the rural schools are seriously neglected; the equipment is poor and the teachers are of inferior quality. In the smaller cities the compulsory attendance is very poorly enforced, while the salaries of teachers throughout the state are low. Furthermore the school systems are in politics.

The state suffers greatly from the lack of wholesome recreational facilities. Playground equipment is meager and play leaders among the teachers are too few. On the other hand the commercial recreations transact a thriving business, and of these the most objectionable is the traveling carnival.

Kentucky has the best child labor law in the South, but the sentiment for its enforcement is weak and many violations occur. The juvenile court law also embodies high standards, but in many parts of the state its spirit is clearly misunderstood, and as a consequence serious injustice is done to the children. Often they are tried in courts other than the juvenile court and in frequent cases the disposition is most unfortunate. The dependent child is seriously neglected, but the state makes some appropriation to the Kentucky Children's Home Society.

The report contains an excellent summary of the laws relating to children and points out the chief weaknesses and omissions. Although the state appropriates money to some of the children's institutions it has no department of charities and no agency authorized to inspect or

supervise these institutions. Many of the laws are clearly inadequate and should be brought up to standardized form. A number of chapters close with recommendations which suggest the needed legislation and improvement in administration and methods. It is also recommended that a "children's code" commission be appointed to standardize and co-ordinate the state laws relating to child welfare.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

MISSOURI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

Justice and the Poor. By REGINALD HEBER SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919. Pp. 249. \$1.50.

The failure of our people to secure justice for the poor, weak, and friendless, who seem unable adequately to protect their legal rights, has been notorious. Startling illustrations have occasionally aroused the public to sporadic efforts at relief. In recent years, many of these efforts have borne fruit, and actual progress has been achieved, as, for example, the exposure of the incredible abuses of the old justice court system in Chicago, which led to the abolition of the "justice shop" and the establishment of the Municipal Court. But fundamental as the evil is, it has never received any adequate or systematic treatment prior to the publication of this very scholarly and able study. While it is universally admitted "that freedom and equality of justice are essential to a democracy and that denial of justice is the short cut to anarchy," yet it has remained for Mr. Smith to give us the first scientific analysis of the problem and the various efforts at its solution.

The scope of the work, which was prepared for the Carnegie Foundation, includes "the whole question of administration of the law as it affects members of the body politic who by reason of poverty, ignorance, or lack of knowledge of the language are at a disadvantage in the effort to secure justice as between man and man in our present complicated industrial and social relations" (p. xi). It analyzes the causes of the present denial of justice to the poor, gives a splendid account of the various agencies that contribute to the more equal administration of the laws, and ends with a full discussion of legal aid work and its accomplishments in the United States.

Throughout the work is sane, scholarly, and balanced. The author is possessed of a fine historical perspective, and is thoroughly grounded in the fundamental, juristic principles that are involved. It is an invaluable contribution to an important but neglected problem, and should stimulate new interest and efforts toward a genuine solution.

Coming at this period, which seems ominous with the spirit of unrest, and when statesmen are seeking to remove all just causes of complaint, the volume is very timely. For as the author observes: "Differences in the ability of classes to use the machinery of the law, if permitted to remain, lead inevitably to disparity between the rights of classes in the law itself. And when the law recognizes and enforces a distinction between classes, revolution ensues or democracy is at an end."

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Effects of the Great War upon Agriculture in the United States and Great Britain. By BENJAMIN H. HIBBARD, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Wisconsin. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, No. 11. New York: Oxford University Press, 1919.

This study was written in the summer of 1918, so that it can deal only with the immediate and obvious effects of the war on agriculture. It gives a concise account of the production, prices, and exports of crops and live stock for the United States from 1914 to 1918 and will be a useful reference work for these statistics. The methods and policies of the federal and state governments in encouraging agricultural production and marketing, and of the United States Food Administration, are described. The control of the price of milk, particularly on the Chicago market, is fully discussed, but it is not indicated that this control greatly strengthened the organization of dairy farmers producing city milk throughout the country and convinced them of the absolute necessity of collective bargaining.

Obviously the author could not give an interpretation of the after-effects of the war on agriculture, yet he neglects the effect of the governmental policies on the farmer mind which was very apparent in 1918 and was an important potential effect of the war. Professor Hibbard concludes: "Everything considered, it is safe to say that the farmers are making money faster than they ever did before"; but the data offered in evidence of this conclusion is rather meager. This conclusion would lead the ordinary reader to feel that American farmers are in a better condition than ever before as a result of the war, which is by no means the case. The effect of the war on farmers' incomes cannot be lumped in such a statement any more than can the effect on the incomes of manufacturers or merchants. Prices were ruinous to certain

industries in certain years, as for cotton in the South in 1914 and for poultry in New York, where as a result the number of hens was reduced from twelve to eight million. The most pronounced effect of the war on agriculture was that it made an erratic and uncertain market for most agricultural products, interfered with stable production, disorganized the established system of farming in many places, and thus produced unrest among the farmers. Farmers were thoroughly disgusted with government regulation and saw the need of co-operative selling associations as never before.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

American Community Civics. By A. G. FRADENBURG. New York: Hinds, Hayden, and Eldredge, Inc., 1919. Pp. 14+345. \$1.25.

A text for secondary schools. This book is not a *community civics*. It is rather an elementary and vivid description of American government. Its legibility for the secondary student is the principal contribution of this book. The simplicity of vocabulary and narrative style should attract the pupil. The historical origin of each institution, town, state, and nation is described in a brief but interesting manner; the development of municipal government is traced from that of the manor, the medieval town, the colonial town, to modern principal government. Facts and changes have been brought up to date. For those schools that are quite limited in time for presentation of government and community civics and are required to pay considerable time to state and national government, this book should be of value.

ERNEST H. SHIDELER

UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Temperament and Sex. By WALTER HEATON. Boston: Richard D. Badger, 1919. Pp. 144. \$2.00.

Sex consciousness, immediate or sublimated, is essential to artistic expression. "Only when his sensual system is educated" can the artist have a message. Strongly armed with this Freudian ultimate, Mr. Heaton calmly sails through one hundred and forty-odd pages of fairly pretty English, showing off this fashionable formula like a cloak model slowly turning in her latest dress. He reminds one very much of the popular Darwinian, now passing, who "accepts" that "man

comes from monkey" with an air of profound *Aufgeklärtheit*. The point, of course, is that Darwin never uttered his classificatory as well as intuitionally complex natural philosophy in the tone of sweet though learned innocence. He worked for decades on his investigations and his volumes, so as to clarify his implications to his own genius. With equal tenacity the earlier work of Freud rests on clinical detail, minute introspective and behavioristic intricacies, and on a veritably uncanny perspicacity in synthesis. Nothing can possibly be more unfair to scientific genius than its simplification by non-technical admirers. Whatever Freud might have "meant" he certainly never meant to be used in the parlor.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

The League of Nations. STEPHEN P. DUGGAN (Editor). Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1919. Pp. vii+357. \$2.50.

Many discussions of a league of nations have sought to construct a more or less utopian scheme for an ideal international organization. Others have explained or attacked or defended the specific plan of the Paris Covenant. The volume, edited by Mr. Duggan, takes up the general principles underlying any sort of league, the functions it should perform, and the difficulties it must encounter. At every point, however, reference is made to the particular league which is to be established by the Treaty of Versailles. After an introductory chapter and one on the historical background, fourteen chapters are devoted to different aspects of a league of nations, the problems connected with it, and the place of the United States in the league. Each chapter is by a different writer, well qualified by previous study of experience to discuss his particular topic. While the feeling is uniformly friendly to the general idea of a league, and to the Paris Covenant specifically, no attempt is made to minimize the difficulties, no extravagant claims are made, and imperfections in the present plan are not denied. To a reviewer in sympathy with the league the volume appears sound and useful, and its arguments for a league and its handling of objections seem convincing.

The historical review shows that some form of a league of nations is the logical, desirable, and necessary culmination of the development of national states and the expansion of Europe. The interesting and important ways in which international co-operation has already proved practicable are discussed, including the international co-operation during the war in controlling shipping, food, and raw materials. The point

that a large degree of efficiency in action is possible without the creation of a supernational body with coercive powers is emphasized. While the importance of a league in removing causes of friction and settling disputes without war is given due prominence, the other aspect of its activities—co-operation in time of peace for the handling of matters of international concern—is also emphasized.

There are many persons who are confused by the partisan controversy now raging over the adoption of the league covenant by the United States. They feel that some form of a league is desirable, but they wish to be reassured as to the particular plan proposed. This volume should be of great service in strengthening the conviction that some form of league is desirable and practicable, and in showing that the Paris Covenant, while not theoretically perfect in every detail, involves no unwarrantable interference with national sovereignty, creates no superstate, and does not threaten to involve the United States in difficulties which a policy of isolation would avoid. The success of any league depends on the willingness of the governments of the world to co-operate honestly in making a go of it, and this in turn depends largely on a favorable public opinion. Books like the present one are valuable in helping to form, and to inform, public opinion. The book should appeal to the general public, and it might very profitably be used for reference in a number of college classes.

ARTHUR P. SCOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Free City. A Book of Neighborhood. By BOUCK WHITE.
New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1919. Pp. 314. \$1.75.

It is difficult to begin Mr. White's book without considerable misgivings as to his political scholarship in view of the rather startling dedication of the work "to Aristotle and Jesus . . . the founders of political science." Both Jesus and Aristotle were bred in the civic community and hence they naturally viewed the social problem more in the light of intimacy than in terms of extension. But otherwise no societies could possibly be more different than the social economy of Aristotle and the spiritual commune of Christ. To call Christ "a toiler for sound jurisprudence" is to endow him with an interest to which he was particularly indifferent if not hostile, for the essence of his Christianity is fundamentally so very non-political that, philosophically at least, it would brush aside even equity for the reign of love.

The book abounds in epigrams of erroneous presupposition. "Paganism—belief in the miraculous—is patriotism heated to the combustion point, whereupon it blazes up, and we call it poetry." One can at random hit upon any passage on any page of this 300-page volume, which is equally meaningless to anyone to whom efforts at mixed and striking word picturization are not necessarily identical with sociological wisdom.

The thesis of the book is peculiarly uncontemporary. Mr. White's ideal is the Greek city-state. And in terms of this somewhat socially atavistic petty-group-life utopia he would have our century attempt to solve the social ills of the international society. All the pathological aspects of our social mechanism and the Babel of our therapeutic isms disappear in his "Free City," which "draws the lines perpendicular to the social strata, . . . destroys class consciousness . . . which is forbidden by cosmic degree," etc. I fear that the freedom of Mr. White's city is founded altogether on his love of phrase, a love which rarely courts insight.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Community Leadership. By LUCIUS E. WILSON. New York: The American City Bureau, 1919. Pp. 137.

This is a small volume devoted to the work of the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. It presents the spirit and underlying methods involved in the secretary's work rather than any detailed account of his procedure.

It is to some extent a preachment on the desirability of chambers of commerce assuming an attitude of civic leadership in the community rather than permitting themselves to be absorbed in the more materialistic enterprises that occupy the attention of most commercial organizations. The work of the secretary is presented as guiding the organization into such an attitude and practice. The spirit of idealism and civic interest in which the volume is written is one which would revolutionize the work of many chambers of commerce if actually adopted. It is doubtful, however, whether many of these organizations have actually attained a very close approximation of such a spirit.

The fundamental weakness of the point of view of the writer is that he has adopted the same conceptions of the relations of the Chamber of Commerce to other community organizations as most community

agencies have, namely, that this particular organization is the Moses, chosen by divine decree, to lead the community out of darkness into light. There never can be any very effective organization of community resources so long as each particular agency which exists independently of other community agencies thinks of itself as the leader of the community. There are many tasks in the modern community, and a variety of agencies is needed to meet them all. Affective promotion of the community welfare as a whole will come more quickly when the various agencies realize themselves as each a part of a whole, taking their places in a community of activities instead of each assuming that its function is to lead while the other organizations follow.

CECIL C. NORTH

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The Church and Socialism and Other Essays. By JOHN A. RYAN, D.D. Washington: The Catholic University Press, 1919. Pp. 251. \$1.50.

This book consists of eleven essays on the church and socialism, social reform, a living wage, false and true conceptions of welfare, etc.

The position of the author as professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America indicates accurately his point of view. It is individualistic, static, absolutistic. He maintains the orthodox English classical economics but dominated by the religious and moral ideas of the Catholic church. The final authorities are the encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius X.

He criticizes state socialism as Schäffle did in his *Quintessence of Socialism*, ignoring the more recent distinction as set forth by Vandervelde between statism or the organization of labor by the state and socialism, the organization of social labor by the workers grouped in public associations. He also criticizes rather effectively Carver's fundamental standard of value, i.e., only whatever increases the production of material goods is worth while.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Policeman and Public. By ARTHUR WOODS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. 178. \$1.35.

This book is one of the series of Yale Lectures on the "Responsibilities of Citizenship." Written by a man who was deputy police com-

missioner of New York City from 1907 to 1909 and commissioner from 1914 to 1917, one would expect it to be a practical discussion of the subject. Such it is. As a police commissioner Mr. Woods learned to understand the difficulties under which the policeman labors. Throughout the book is a sympathetic discussion of the problems from the standpoint of the policeman. At the same time he appreciates the reasons for the sometimes hostile attitude of the public toward the police.

Mr. Woods shows that the difficulties of the policeman arises partly from the fact that the law which he is supposed to enforce is rather puzzling on certain points. Judges cannot always agree as to just what the law means. How, then, can the policeman always decide wisely? Nevertheless, the policeman is the judge of first instance, for before the law comes to the courts for interpretation the policeman must enforce it. Moreover, the policeman is not only interpreter of the meaning of the law, but he is the people's advocate. It is his business to see that the law is so carried out that the interests of all the people are protected. He must not allow private interests to interfere with the rights of the people.

Mr. Woods points out the practical difficulty which the policeman has by reason of the fact that we pass laws which we do not expect to have enforced. Here is where most of the temptation of the policeman comes. He does not always know just which laws he is expected by public opinion to enforce. If he arrests people for violation of laws which are not supported by public sentiment, then the policeman is made a fool of by the judges discharging the cases as fast as the policeman can bring them in.

Mr. Woods believes that the police force in most cases is sound at the core. The few individuals who graft and are timeservers are the exceptions rather than the rule. If they are such it is because they are not well officered by men who are square, who will hold them to strict accountability, but who will fight for them and their rights. Mr. Woods believes that the source of most of our police difficulties is to be found in the police commissioner, the man at the head of the force. He urges as modification of the usual civil service rules in promotions, but is in favor of keeping them for taking men on the force.

In his opinion the city will have just as good a police force as the public demands. He summarizes the duty of the public to the police force thus: "The duty of the public toward its police force is, then, to provide it with sound leadership; to keep informed as to how the work

is being done; to insist that the policeman's welfare—physical, mental, moral—is well looked after; to demand from the force a high grade of performance of duty; to despise and condemn dishonest or any other unworthy conduct of the policeman or one who tempts him; but to be quick, cordial, and generous in perceiving good police work and in giving it whole-hearted approbation."

J. L. GILLIN

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

RECENT LITERATURE

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

Science and Social Unrest.—This is the era of science. At every point human experience has been changed by the contribution of science and invention. We are living in an age socially as discontented and feverishly restless as the world has known, and the dissatisfaction is not hidden, but is self-conscious, boastful, and even blatant. If the scientist has made our era, he surely must also accept responsibility for our characteristic unrest. The scientist in the past has given scant consideration to the social problems created by his splendid success in mechanical and industrial development. The things that men handle have been multiplied and magnified, while man himself has lagged behind, altogether too confident that the results of material progress would in themselves bring social progress and sanity. Science has been valued by the majority of people for its accomplishments, not for its portrayal of the advantages of stern discipline in mental experience, whereas social well-being has needed the teaching of science more than its products. In the present temper of the people no change, whether it be in industrial organization or wealth distribution, can bring cessation of social restlessness. Science has created an appetite that no governmental or industrial régime can satisfy. The only solution lies in the popularizing of the spirit of science. For the most part in the past science has been indifferent to its teaching function, and, on the other hand, has been subservient to the ambition of commerce, and never-ending effort has been made to popularize the demands for the products of science. The promise of social progress is in science teaching men and women with the same success that it now feeds, houses, and gives them playthings.—Ernest R. Groves, *Scientific Monthly*, February, 1920. V. M. A.

A Functional Interpretation of Human Instincts.—Recent development in the study of human behavior makes it possible to begin a reinterpretation of instincts and related phenomena which today admittedly constitute the darkest chapter in psychology. In this paper the writer attempts to suggest a functional interpretation of human instincts and their integration into instinctive conduct. An instinct is a comparatively simple and direct response to a specific stimulating object or condition. It is the functioning of a connate potential reaction system which is organized from simple psychophysiological dispositions to respond to stimuli. That instincts are so highly spontaneous may be accounted for by the fact that the specific way in which the reaction system functions depends upon the stimulating conditions. It is this molding of the response by the surrounding conditions which is the source of marvelous tales of intelligence among the lower animals. Instincts may be classified as (1) food-getting, and waste eliminating responses, (2) sexual reactions, (3) expressive acts, and (4) protective responses. These classes represent specific adaptations to particular adjustment activities, that is to say, concrete actions and, with the random movement and reflexes, form the matrix of the entire series of human behavior. The function of human instinct is to adapt the person to various surroundings in which he is found, pending the intelligent responses usually required for such adaptations. These modes of instinctive response develop in the species of organism during its interaction with its environment; consequently there is an entirely natural genesis of the instinct paralleling the growth of the human being in the evolutionary course of the animal species to which he belongs. The response and stimulus together constitute an act, that is, specific adaptation. From the psychological standpoint the individual at any particular moment is this series of reaction systems. In contrast to the instinct, instinctive conduct comprises adjustments which are essentially acquired tendencies of response, and in most cases constitutes intelligent behavior. Since the natural environment of human organism consists primarily of responsive objects we see why the human adult has no instinct, but always responds with a partially acquired

reaction pattern. Instinctive conduct composes a considerable portion of practically all adjustment from the simplest to the most complex. The essential characteristics of instinctive behavior is the invariable presence in it of at least the rudiments of intelligence. The controversy concerning the specificity of instincts arises from an inclination toward a structural psychological position. When we take concrete human behavior to be the province of psychology we are very soon impressed with the fact that instincts are necessarily specific in their functioning, but that the adult individual has no instincts. Furthermore, the obvious generality and unpredictability of adult behavior should lead us to observe that instinctive conduct is general because the environing conditions to which it is responsive are incessantly variable in their stimulating capacities. Three cognate obstructive tendencies which persistently hinder psychological thinking concerning instincts, and which prevent the scientific interpretation of instinctive behavior are as follows: (1) metapsychological speculation, (2) biological abstractionism, and (3) psychological simplification. A functional viewpoint of behavior avoids completely the three insidious tendencies above mentioned.—J. R. Kantor, *Psychological Review*, January, 1920. K. S.

The Community and Economic Groups.—Today we realize that the control over our lives is far more economic than either political or religious. We see that those who control prices or who can shut off the supplies of food and fuel from great cities are really arbiters of our fate. The conflicts between political and economic forces are at bottom contests between different groups. The English aristocracy, though surpassed in financial power by a middle class, maintains its dominance essentially unimpaired, since its social prestige enables it to take over from time to time sufficient wealth to renew its strength. Only a labor group which does not aspire to be adopted into the gentry seems likely to put up a real opposition. In America there was no labor group before the development of the cotton industry, when property in slaves was changed from a private affair to that of commercial and political power. After the Civil War manufacturing assumed the position of power. At present an increased share in power as well as in profits is demanded by the labor group. The three stages are: (1) recognition of the union; (2) demand for control over conditions in shops; (3) participation in the management. The emergence of these great economic forces has shifted men's attention from such older political objectives as liberty to more economic objectives. Political organization has tended in the direction of equality of rights, and economic power has succeeded in maintaining the incentive of competition and co-operation in a less bloody form than that of wars. But economic power is in the hands of a small minority. Political legislation is theoretically for the public interest, while economic action is for special groups. There are three lines of development which seem most probable: (1) Society might proceed by extending its political organization, either negatively in the way of restricting economic inequality, or positively in the way of taking over economic functions, as in state socialism; (2) the method of syndicalism, which abandons the general community for the economic group as the important organization, and consequently is weak in developing responsibility to the public as a whole; (3) the method of giving to economic groups considerable functions as committees for certain purposes and holding them responsible for their results within their field. The new powers, the complex interests, the enlarged satisfactions, which the economic process has introduced, need to be adjusted to the older conceptions of responsibility, justice, and democracy.—James H. Tufts, *Philosophical Review*, November, 1919. V. M. A.

The Bolshevist Utopia and the Religious Movement in Russia.—The civil war which is now going on in Russia is accompanied by a spiritual conflict not less determined and portentous. For the bolshevists the only question is that of realizing a certain political and social program of human relationship. Their program is merely a particular application of the materialistic conception of life, erected into a dogma and proclaimed as the fundamental principle of human society. It is not surprising, therefore, that bolshevism has for its adversary a religious movement, which is now becoming a powerful effort of the whole nation to recover its soul. One of the most striking characteristics of bolshevism is its pronounced hatred of religion, and of Christianity most of all. Christianity to them is an enemy to be wiped out of existence. The bolshevists, further, flatly refuse to admit the existence of any spiritual bond

between man and man. For them economic and material interests constitute the only social ties and they recognize no other. But to set up material interest as the only social bond is to destroy society, for the reason that it makes the material interest of each individual of more value than society itself. This explains why bolshevism failed to bring a real state of peace among the people. The real opponent of bolshevism in things moral and intellectual is the religious movement which began in Russia after the revolution, toward the end of 1917. The period which preceded the revolution was one of religious decadence. The empty triumph of bolshevism would have been impossible but for the utter enfeeblement of the religious life of the nation. But now, thanks to the persecutions which the revolution has set on foot, there has come into being a genuine religious revival. During the imperial period the church was materially prosperous but spiritually polluted; now this process is reverted and the church, pillaged and persecuted, lost all the material advantages it had enjoyed but in return regained spiritual life. The endeavor of the bolshevists to annihilate religion and to suffocate the church has produced exactly the opposite effect. Religious leaders of able type have appeared and are slowly gaining influence over the people, and the minds of the people have been profoundly impressed by the coincidence of national disaster with the triumph of religion. The bolshevists are fully aware of the danger confronting them and are determined to prevent it. Religion is being persecuted on a scale and with ferocity without precedence in history. The church in the meantime accomplished a complete reorganization during 1917-18 in Moscow, which brought about many important changes in its functions. It seems now assured that the materialist utopia is doomed and the victory of the spirit is being realized.—Prince Eugene Traubetzky, *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1920. K. S.

Rousseau and Bolshevism.—To regard Rousseau as the originator of bolshevism is to misunderstand both his doctrines and the significance of the social upheaval that has prostrated Russia. The causes of bolshevism were the incompetence of the Russian government and the weakness of human nature as expressed in socialistic utopia. The differences between Rousseau's doctrines and bolshevism are: (1) he believed in discipline while the Bolsheviks aim to remove all restrictions on the appetite for material enjoyment. Duty has a meaning for Rousseau, but to the Bolsheviks selfishness is the only law. (2) Rousseau advocated the voluntary imposition of restraints by the individual upon himself which certainly is not in accord with Bolshevik notions of liberty. He insisted on the recognition of personal dignity and individual rights rather than on satisfying the material desires of the masses. The goal has now become purely economic whereas it used to be spiritual as well as material. (3) Rousseau's ideas were most obviously and vitally opposed to those of the Bolsheviks in the matter of the class war. He recognized the value to society of others than artisans. These differences show Rousseau to be in opposition to bolshevism and an exhaustive study of his works would show many other differences almost as fundamental.—Sidney Gunn, *Unpartizan Review*, March and April, 1920. C. N.

The Jews as a Revolutionary Leaven.—Hercen, like Heine, closed his review of Hegel's philosophy by a messianic dream of the mission of Russia. Hercen took a prominent part in the revolutionary movement in Russia and Europe and rejecting all forms of civilization he leaned toward anarchism. Heine has much in common with Hercen. Heine, Marx, and Lassalle were united by their Jewish origin, by a common admiration for Hegel, and by the similarity of the revolutionary conclusions in regard to the social order which they derived from Hegel and Feuerbach. Anarchism followed directly from Feuerbach's teaching. Marx was the first to provide socialism with a strong theoretical foundation, and due to the fact that Jews had been persecuted and slighted for many centuries they could have no feeling but hatred toward Europe and especially toward Christianity. Heine does not occupy the same position toward socialism as Hercen does toward anarchism, but the spiritual affinity of the poet with Marx and Lassalle is evident. Heine had a prophetic vision of the present storm in Russia and his presentiment was realized, for it is now clear what an active part Jews have taken in the revolutions in Russia and elsewhere, and how dangerous to our civilization and to Christianity are such unscrupulous and blood-thirsty monsters as the leaders of Russian upheaval.—Soissons, *Quarterly Review*, January, 1920. C. N.

The Spirit of Modern Japan.—The spirit of democracy is spreading in Japan with its demands for more right and greater freedom for people. Since the war, Japan has thrown off the German influence which had dominated her social and national policies, and entered into the era of general reconstruction. The initial step was the extension of the political rights of the people. Till the spring of last year, of the total population of sixty millions only one and a half million voted. But at that time a bill was passed which cut down the sum of qualification tax from ten yen to three yen. This doubled the number of voters. Not satisfied with this, however, the people began a tremendous drive for a universal manhood suffrage since last fall. There is no doubt that the movement will succeed. Industrial adjustment is another problem which present Japan has to solve. Laborers are fully awake to the world-situations and demand not only the recognition of human dignity but the right to share equally with the capitalists the control of industry. Strikes of all kinds are occurring almost every day involving vast numbers of workers. The number of strikes in 1916 was 108, but in 1917 it was 397. Another problem widely discussed is that of women. Personal values of women have never been fully recognized in Japan even long after the arrival of the era of enlightenment. Present effort for the improvement of women's status is being largely directed toward the greater social freedom and recognition of their fundamental human rights. Perhaps the greatest task of present Japan is to understand clearly the true meaning of democracy and strive for its realization.—Tasuku Harada, *Japan Review*, February, 1920.
K. S.

The American Poles and the Americanization Problem.—It is estimated that there are four to four and a half millions of Poles in the United States. There are in this country about one thousand Polish Roman Catholic parishes. Taking three thousand as the average membership of one parish, we have a total of three million Polish Catholics. To this must be added some three hundred thousand members of the Polish National Church, the same number belonging to various other denominations, and finally 20 per cent of the total not affiliated with any church. This makes a grand total of four million, three hundred thousand. Of this number one hundred and twenty thousand are residents of Greater New York. The Polish immigrant is almost exclusively of peasant origin and naturally possesses agricultural talent. Those who have settled on farms in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Texas, Washington, and Oregon are as a rule excellent farmers. It is to be regretted that so little effort is being made by the federal government to induce Polish immigrants to settle on farms. The early Polish immigrants settled on farms and the further west they went the greater was their success. What are the characteristics of the Polish immigrants? They are almost always hard workers. They are thrifty and good-hearted, but stubborn. They are honest. There is a great deal of mysticism in the depth of the Polish soul with plenty of beliefs in supernatural and unknown forces—beliefs which are characteristics of the people who lived in immediate contact with nature and who suffered a great deal. The emotionalism and drinking habit are responsible for the faults with which they are reproached. The Americanization work of which so much is heard nowadays will hamper the process of Americanization, and this is particularly true with respect to the Poles. The Poles came to this country, first of all, because they wanted to escape Russification or Germanization, and they are therefore naturally suspicious of any action tending to make of them something which they are not. The best way to Americanize the Poles is not to try to Americanize them. The most effective method is to show them more goodness, more justice, and to create in their minds the inspiration of confidence not only in American institutions but also in the individual Americans with whom they come in daily contact. As a constructive program, night schools are excellent if they are not compulsory and if the instructor is well acquainted with the psychology of the Polish pupils. The Poles are people with many interesting traditions and splendid culture. These offerings to America are invaluable for our cultural development.—A. M. Nawench, *Standard*, March, 1920.
K. S.

Fredens Sociale Problemer.—The social economy of the period which preceded the war was characterized by several conflicts between two opposing tendencies. Liberalistic and organized society contended for supremacy. Strangely enough

economic theories seemed to uphold liberal society while the facts showed that organized society was steadily gaining ground. In a highly developed industrial society social politics become a necessity. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century we find it an important phase of economic development and the early part of the twentieth century also showed a decided progress. But there was much opposition to social legislation and this opposition was growing rapidly immediately before the outbreak of the war. Thus in Germany there was a growing ill-will against social legislation among the influential classes and such expressions as "social weariness" came to be used. In England, Lloyd George "almost trumped his social insurance laws through" and the sentiment was in nowise favorable to further development. Opposition was also growing in this country. (Denmark.) The years of the war have gone hard on the structure built up to lessen social friction and a number of new social problems have been created. Society must orientate itself again. The largest possible production and the best possible distribution of produced goods must be the goal. Social legislation has long had the reputation of being uneconomical. This was a vestige from the days of liberal political economy which demanded free play for the economic forces. On this point the views of the past and present will differ most decisively. In the future the regulation and control of society will be understood to be not merely a social necessity, but also an absolute economic requisite.—C. V. Bramnaes, *National-økonomisk Tidsskrift*, December, 1919. O. B. Y.

The Real Meaning of a Labor Government.—The Labor party is a curiously qualified democracy. It is a democracy in which the controlling power and executive authority are always reserved for a certain section of society—minority. Thus the Labor party is not a pure democracy as it does not give equal rights to all citizens. It would rule in an arbitrary way and the legislative supremacy of the House of Commons would become nominal. Beginning from the bottom its program includes: (1) nationalization or socialization of the means of production (these terms are being very vaguely defined); (2) control of industry, i.e., direct interest in the profits of the concerns in which they work; (3) full payment of the producer, by hand or by brain. The private owner is to be bought out or expropriated on grounds of social justice, and the only capitalist will be the state; (4) immediate financial policy of the Labor party—there should be a graduated levy on all owners of more than a thousand pounds, that no income tax should be levied on incomes below 250£ a year. This survey of the Labor party as set forth in their own words shows that those aims are such that they can only be accomplished by the overthrow of society as it exists at present.—Walford D. Green, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, February, 1920. C. N.

The Cost of Living for Working Women! A Criticism of Current Theories.—Five theories at the present time hold sway in various quarters regarding the financial responsibility of the woman worker. (1) The *pin-money theory* presupposes that the low-paid woman is so well-off on her own account that she can afford to work for a pittance that covers only a part of her necessary expenses. But the fact is that the great mass of laboring women never have worked "for fun" even in war time; (2) the *joint-cost theory* falls short not only in that it fails adequately to take into account the problem of the woman adrift, but also in that it treats the expenses of the woman at home as supplementary to, rather than an integral part of, the family budget; (3) the *temporary independence theory*, and (4) the *permanent independence theory*, both of which have the disadvantage of ignoring the great mass of women at home. The temporary independence theory has the added disadvantage of leaving out of account the important minority who are adrift for long periods of time; (5) the *family support theory* which is inextricably interwoven with the demand for "equal pay for equal work" and the "minimum wage rate to cover the cost of living for dependents." The advocates of the theory have failed to define what they mean by "dependents," to indicate how typical any degree of dependency is, or to point out its relation to any consistent standard of self-support. We should take for our working woman's standard the cost of independent living and for the items other than board a full temporary independence minimum.—Dorothy W. Douglas, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1920. C. N.

Industrialism in Wales.—The Welsh people have undergone a transformation from a small, widely scattered, pastoral and agricultural people to a cosmopolitan people crowded in towns and industrial centers. A study of the effects of the opening of the Welsh coal fields and ironworks in the first half of the nineteenth century upon the mental characteristics of the Welsh people, their literature, their ambitions, their mode of living, and their education is interesting. A perusal of the vernacular press in the middle of the nineteenth century and afterward shows that the feeling of the workers then was general that the interests of labor and capital were identical. Socialism has profoundly modified the orientation of the ideas and sentiments of almost every class in Welsh society. The development of the social sense among the miners is largely due to the influence of the South Wales Miners' Federation, but this organization has also deprived the miners of individual liberty on the ground that no one must be permitted to do anything that may be considered injurious to fellow-workers. Recently the refusal of one miner to join the Miners' Federation caused 1,800 miners to stop work. There is a growing disparity between the value of educational labor and manual labor. While every effort is made to enhance the manual workers' wages, there is no similar effort made in behalf of the professional and lettered classes, with very distressing results to the latter.—J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1920. O. B. Y.

Das Ende der Lohnarbeit in der Landwirtschaft (Die neuen Agrargesetze Mittel- und Osteuropas).—About a century ago the German peasantry was freed not only of its feudal bondage by the memorable edict of Stein in 1816, but also of 1,650,000 hectares of land. Between 1816 and 1865 another 1,760,000 hectares were given up by the peasant farmers because their small farms (*bäuerlichen Betriebe*) could not hold their own in competition with the large landed estates (*Groszgrundbesitze*). The opinion of Marx and Engels, that in the sphere of agriculture, too, large-scale production would carry off the victory over small enterprises, was fully justified on the basis of conditions as they existed in eastern Germany into the sixties. An area which, under the management of the peasant (3 *Feldersystem*) could support only 2,000 persons, was found with the application of scientific methods to support more than twice that number. But from about 1865 on, the large estates suffered from lack of labor, while the small peasant farms (*Bauerngüter*) had benefited by the application of improved technique of management and began to hold their own. Present conditions indicate that the small farm from 5 to 20 Hektar will be the most successful and that it will owe its success to the abolition of hired labor (*Lohnarbeit*). Its work will be done by the various members of the family of the owner or, if necessary, assisted by near relatives. The goal of the law of August 11, 1919, is to put in place of the *Groszgüter*, which, in effect, expelled the population, smaller estates, adapted to the management by family labor. Indirectly, but surely, this law makes for the abolition of hired labor. The important question is whether this partition of the *Groszgüter* into *Kleingüter* will not seriously diminish production. It has not been satisfactorily explained how the small farms (*Zwergbetriebe*) of from 2 to 3 Hektar have managed to hold their own. However, it is certain that the estates of from 5 to 20 Hektar are at least equal to the *Groszbetriebe* in production. They have not only held their own in all parts of the world but have become more extended. Eduard David, in his work entitled *Sozialismus und Landwirtschaft*, has explained how this was possible. The decisive factor, in his view, lies in the fact that the productive process in industry is a mechanical one, while that in agriculture is an organic one. Because agriculture concerns itself with the production of living organisms, plants and animals, its labor is controlled by the seasons and laws of reproduction. Agricultural pursuits demand a continual change in time and place of work, which prevents such division of labor as is permissible in industry. This chief cause of the superiority of large-scale production over small, in industry, is thus eliminated in agriculture. The advantages of improved technical methods, machinery, etc., are just as applicable to the smaller as to the largest estates. To a certain extent the application of scientific methods in agriculture is more successful in *Kleinbetrieb* than in *Groszbetriebe* because in the former the laborers, consisting of the owner and his family, perform their tasks more conscientiously than the hired labor of the large estates. In animal

husbandry, the products of the *Kleinbetrieb* are vastly superior. Since co-operation in buying and selling has taken place among the small farmers, another advantage of the *Grossbetrieb* is eliminated.—Dr. Ludwig Quessel, *Die Neue Zeit*, January 30, 1920. L. M. S.

What May We Expect of the Farmer?—The student of social problems is forced to accept class struggle as a fact. The question is how the instinct of pugnacity underlying the class conflict may be elevated so as to effect the creation of new forms of co-operation. Many observers have been led to believe that the root of America's problem lies in the city. As a matter of record it is the decay of country life which has always preceded the fall of history's past civilizations. There are elements in the farmer's psychology which can be appropriated for the ultimate ends of democracy. The farmer is subjectively conservative but not objectively so. The three great progressive movements which have been realized in our generation are prohibition, equal suffrage, and a shift of taxation from property to income and unearned increment. Each of these movements received its impetus and support from our rural population. North Dakota, 93 per cent of whose population is farmers, has enacted the most progressive economic and social program in our history. In spite of the many disadvantages of rural life there are splendid native qualities which are inherent in the occupational psychology of the farmer which may be utilized in the interest of social progress.—E. C. Lindeman, *Rural Manhood*, February, 1920. O. B. Y.

The Nonsense of Christian Science.—To describe Christian Science as nonsense is no reflection upon its character. On the contrary it is but emphasizing its chief point of merit. The real question at issue between Christian Science and all other science, when reduced to its lowest elements, is nothing less than balancing over against each other the respective claims of sense versus nonsense perception as the most reliable interpreter of the universe. Mrs. Eddy rejects *in toto* all sense knowledge as false and erroneous. Thus in *Science and Health* she says: "The five physical senses are the avenues and instruments of human error. . . . Relinquish all theories based on sense testimony." The demands of Christian Science involve three revolutionary changes in the operation of one's psychological machinery. First, the five human senses must be debarred from giving any testimony whatsoever upon the subject which is true. Second, all deductions of human reason must be rejected as fallacious. Third, the human mind must be relegated to the position of being "nothing claiming to be something; . . . error creating errors; . . . that which neither exists in Science nor can be recognized by the spiritual sense." Just how man will be able to keep his bearings in this world when deprived of his senses, his reason, and his mind is a question that is not answered.—Albert Clarke Wyckoff, *Biblical Review*, January, 1920. O. B. Y.

Zur "Aufklärung" in Kampfe gegen die Geschlechtskrankheiten.—Efforts to check the spreading of social disease have led to the adoption of measures which have as their chief aim the enlightenment of the masses by making accessible to them scientifically established facts. Thus, it was thought, public sentiment could be aroused and utilized for social control. The usual means were resorted to, such as the organization of clubs, the help of the press, lectures, congresses, exhibitions. Lectures were delivered before the youth of the preparatory schools, parents and educators were given information through lectures and literature, the theater and the motion picture show were brought into service for graphic presentation of the evils of sexual indulgence. What has been the result? Is enlightenment in itself a sufficiently forceful check to the growth of social disease? If it were, the results should be evident now, for never was there a greater campaign for enlightenment concerning social disease waged than that among the soldiers during the war. The experiences in this regard, during the war, raise two questions: (1) Can the methods of enlightenment be effective? (2) What is the extent to which they are? Statistics show that ignorance is not the cause of transgression. The highest percentage of sexual indulgence is found among the enlightened, academic classes taking the lead, and the medical profession having the highest percentage among these. Surely they cannot

be accused of ignorance. Experiences during the war, in camp and garrisons, show that enlightenment caused no sexual restraint though it may have resulted in more prompt reports to a physician. Have we not been guilty of the Socratic fallacy that knowledge of the good is sufficient for the avoiding of evil? It is not our intention to belittle the good effects of the campaign for enlightenment, if such there are, but we must point out its inadequacy as a means of control. Have we not had sufficient proof that emotion influences thinking and decisions, according to our innermost desires? Reason, as such, does not suffice to check the sex impulse. Training in self-control, inhibition through the effective functioning of other impulses will be the only effective means of control. We come to the conclusion that in order to conform to sexual-ethical demands man needs not so much intellectual enlightenment as education and training of the will.—Kurt Finkenrath, *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, January, 1920. L. M. S.

Rikets Pliktbel.—The decrease of births among modern culture peoples has long attracted attention, but few solutions of the problem that have been offered have promised to be effective. An exception is the proposal made in Germany by the well-known statistician, Dr. Kueszynski, and Dr. Mamsfeld which is set forth in their book, *Die Pflichtteil des Reiches*. The aim of this proposal was to furnish motives which would counteract the tendency to decreasing birth-rates, but it is original in that it proposes a policy which may have a much wider social and economic significance. According to the proposed law the state can demand a "duty share" of all estates in excess of 20,000 marks if the deceased does not leave three or more children. The "duty share" would be a percentage of the legitimate share of a child heir and would vary in rate and in the amount exempted according to the number of children and other dependents left by the deceased. The funds thus created would be used by the various communes largely for the general improvement of housing and other improvements designed to decrease the death-rate.—E. Storsteen, *Sociale Meddelelser*, December, 1919. O. B. Y.

Experiments in Community Organizing in a Public Evening School as Conducted in Evening School No. 40, Manhattan.—In organizing numerous activities the aim is always the more perfect adjustment of the foreigner to American ideals. The scope of all activities divides itself into (1) an educational campaign and (2) a socializing campaign. The method of procedure is through (1) publicity advertising in foreign language and American newspapers; (2) co-operation with organizations, settlements, churches, etc.; (3) enforcing compulsory education laws for minors with the aid of the children's court; (4) establishing classes in English; (5) holding foreign nationality meetings; (6) community nights; (7) recreational activities; (8) clubs within each classroom, etc.; (9) general organization meetings; (10) concerts; (11) community singing; (12) lectures; (13) weekly and monthly newspaper publications; (14) moving pictures; (15) open forum. The results so far have been (1) an increased use of the school building; (2) a warmth of social atmosphere among groups and individuals; (3) a co-operation between the students and the faculty; (4) an increased co-operation on the part of foreign organizations, leaders, and newspapers to assist in the work of educating foreigners; (5) an actual increased registration in the evening school. Of the technical values the teaching of English, increased attendance, entertainment, and inculcating American ideals are the most important.—Caroline Cohn, *School and Society*, March, 1920. C. N.

The Movies—Bane or Blessing?—The moving picture has outstripped all the other arts of expression, both in the rapidity of its development and the universality of its adoption. Speaking a language common to all humanity, the photoplay is enjoyed alike by aristocrat and Hottentot. In spite of its defects and abuses, it has transformed the world in many ways for millions. The horizon of the remotest community has been lifted, so that its citizens now witness scenes of interest occurring across the world. The cinema as an educative force has not fulfilled the expectations of its supporters, because its use is contrary to the modern ideas of education. The tendency today in pedagogy is to regard education as self-activity. From the standpoint of instruction, there is little use for the screen in teaching the mechanics

of reading, arithmetic, or writing. The objection to the film in story-telling is that it interferes with the formation of the child's own mental imagery by substituting the elaborately finished image. In the intermediate grades, where geography, history, literature, etc., are taught, the moving picture is at its best. But the boy at that age is seldom reached by seeing such tame pictures when he can see blood-curdling dramas at the theater. Though these difficulties may be overcome, the main problem still exists in the movies as they are now produced and displayed. The moving-picture theater is furnishing most of the standards for the young and the chief appeal of the screen today is to the erotic senses. Doubtless, if a strong censorship were established and maintained, the producers would soon begin to turn out pictures free from objections. As they are, the movies are both bane and blessing; they are capable of being one of the very greatest blessings ever given to humanity.—Charles W. Crumly, *Education*, December, 1919. V. M. A.

Some Institutional Problems in Dealing with Psychopathic Delinquents.—Typical cases of psychopathic delinquents are discussed from the point of view of institutional management. The charges of undue severity and improper punishment that are made from time to time are found upon investigation to be for the most part exaggeration of actual fact or pure fabrication. The disciplinary difficulties behind this unpleasant publicity come from a combination of three factors: (1) lack of scientific training in dealing with cases of genuine mental disturbance on the part of the heads of some of our women's institutions; (2) the lack of equipment and a properly trained staff for handling such cases in the ordinary routine of a reformatory; (3) and the fact that these institutions are the dumping ground for a great many kinds of women, the only common denominator being violation of the law. The feeble-minded should be removed from ordinary reformatory institutions and given proper treatment. An individual who can never be made self-supporting on account of a permanently incurable mental defect has no place in an institution whose aim is educational. Clinics for mental examination are being established in connection with the courts, and it is apparent that hospital treatment must be provided for the cases which cannot be sent to an insane asylum. The individuals must be under observation for considerable periods of time, during which they must be in the hands of specially trained psychiatrists and nurses and in an institution built and equipped with a view to their special needs.—Katherine Bement Davis, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, November, 1919. V. M. A.

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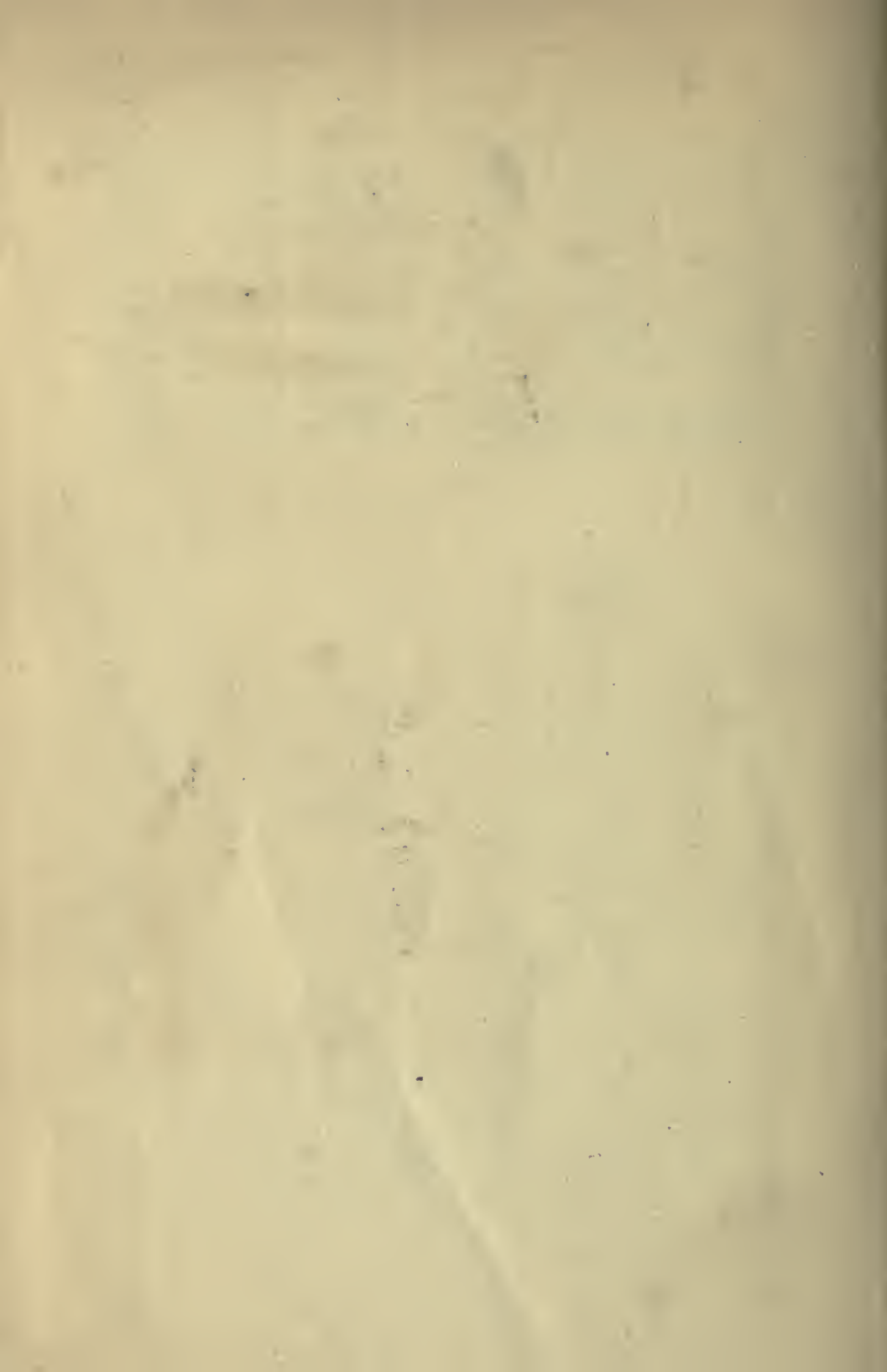
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